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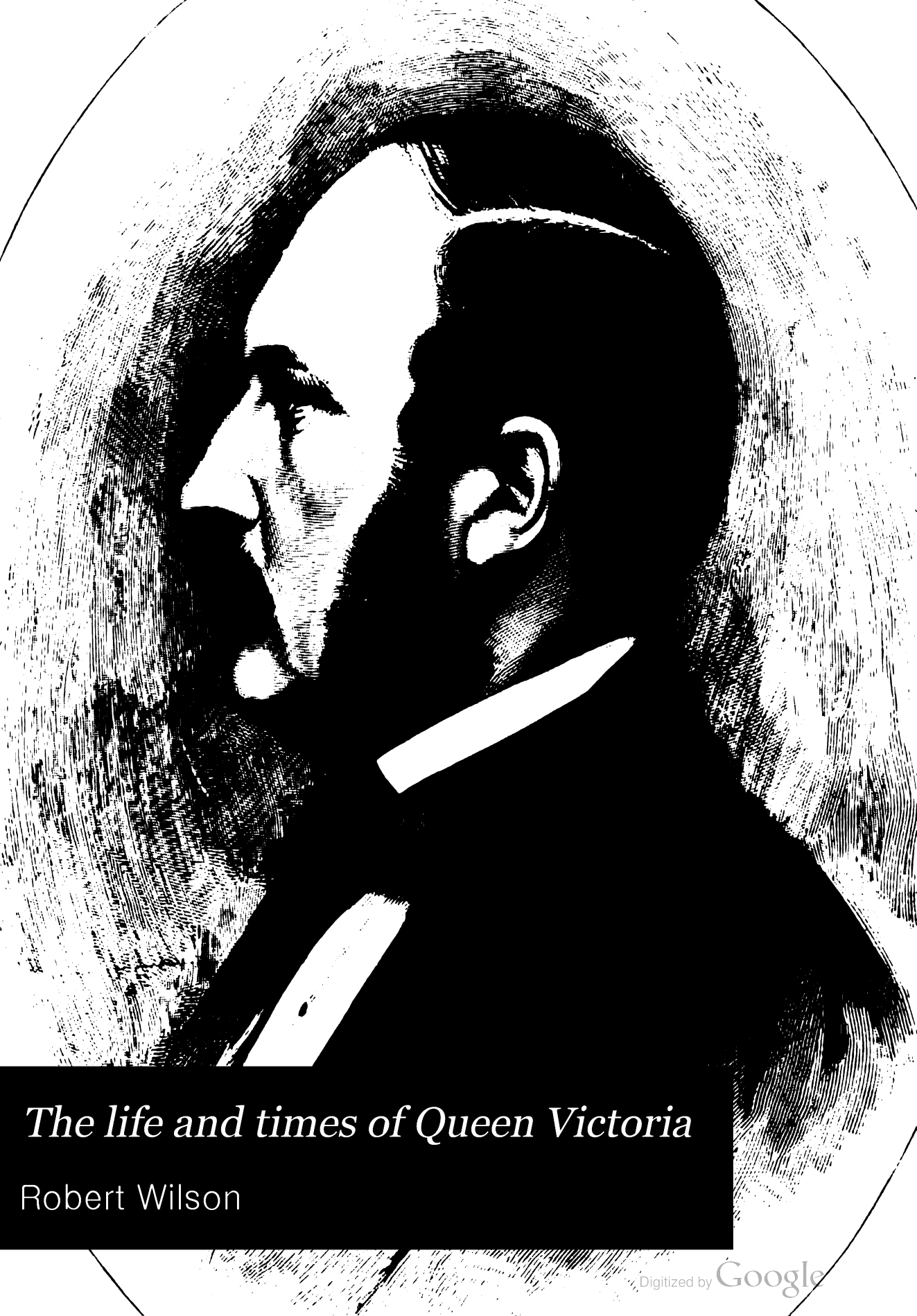
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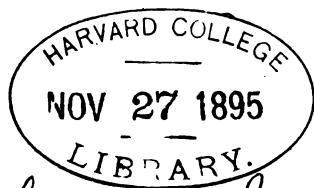
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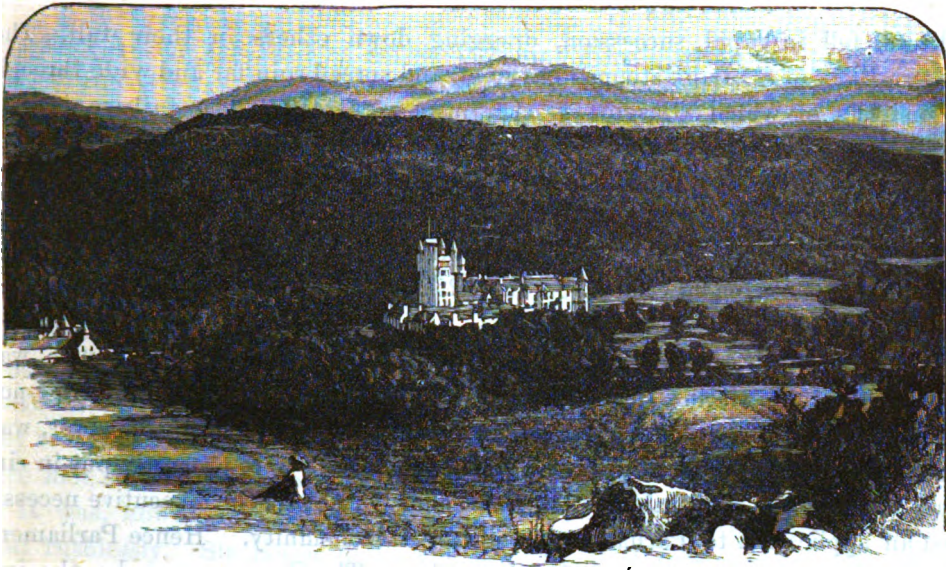
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BALMORAL CASTLE, FROM THE NORTH, LOOKING TOWARDS LOCHNAGAR.

(After a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co., Aberdeen.)

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF QUEEN VICTORIA

CHAPTER I.

LORD DERBY'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

A Commercial Crisis—Suspension of the Bank Act—The Fall of Lucknow—Sir Hugh Rose in Central India—Last Days of the Rebellion—The Operations in China—The Queen's Personal Direction of Affairs—Palmerston's waning Popularity—Attacks on Lord Canning—The Orsini Plot—French Menaces to England—The Conspiracy Bill—Defeat of the Ministry—The Second Derby—Disraeli Government—Abandonment of the Conspiracy Bill—The Queen's Opposition to the India Bill—The Oudh Proclamation and Ellenborough's "Secret Despatch"—A Tropical Summer and an Exhausted Legislature—Confirmation of the Prince of Wales—The Queen at Birmingham and Leeds—The Dispute between France and England about the Principalities—The Queen's Visit to Cherbourg—The Royal Visit to Prussia—The Meeting with the Princess Frederick William—A Royal "Middie"—The Indian Proclamation—The Queen at Balmoral—Donati's Comet—The Controversy over the Indian Army—Abdication of the King of Prussia—The Queen's Letter to the Prince of Wales—France and Portugal—Falling Health of the Prince Consort.

TOWARDS the end of 1857 the commercial credit of the country was severely shaken. The great railway companies in America sank under the burden of debenture debts: when they failed to pay their creditors, the banks were unable to give gold in exchange for their convertible issue of notes, and then private firms of the highest standing rapidly tumbled into insolvency. The effect of these disasters on English commercial credit was most serious. Houses engaged in American commerce that had been rashly over-trading on the capital of their

creditors, fell in rapid succession, dragging down others in their fall. The Western Bank of Scotland stopped payment, and spread ruin far and wide through the districts of which Glasgow is the business centre. The failure of this establishment revealed the fact that gigantic frauds had been perpetrated by the auditors, who had certified the existence of a fictitious surplus of £2,000,000. A panic in Ireland, together with these disasters in Scotland, brought the crisis to a head in England. The sudden demand for gold at the Bank of England alarmed the Government, which, on the 12th of November, suspended the Bank Act, limiting the issue of notes.

It has been already mentioned that in 1847, when a similar course was adopted, the mere notification of it restored confidence, and the Bank did not take advantage of the licence granted to it. The crisis of 1857, however, was more serious, for fresh notes in excess of the legal issue were promptly put in circulation.* But the suspension of the Bank Charter Act by the Executive necessitated an application to Parliament for a Bill of Indemnity. Hence Parliament was summoned to meet on the 3rd of December. The Queen was under the impression that fresh light would be thrown on the crisis by the debates in both Houses; but there was really nothing new that could be said on the subject. As the Prince Consort observed in one of his letters, "Long prosperity had made all bankers, speculators, and capitalists careless, and now they are being unpleasantly reminded of natural laws which have been violated, and are asserting themselves." Other matters besides the Indemnity Bill were mentioned in the Royal Speech; but, after passing that measure, Parliament separated on the 12th of January, 1858, to meet again on the 4th of February.

The business of suppressing the Mutiny was carried on vigorously in 1858. After Campbell's victory over the Gwalior army at the end of 1857, he remained for two months at Cawnpore, whilst his reinforcements were coming to him, and the surrounding districts were being swept by flying columns. Then with an overwhelming force of artillery he moved forward swiftly to effect the final capture of Lucknow.† On the 4th of March the last of the siege train reached that city, and operations began in real earnest, ending with the capture of the third line of defence on the 14th of March. The place was virtually taken on the 15th; but most of the rebels had escaped. The Queen of Oudh, with 7,000 men, still clung to the Palace of the Moosee Bâgh, and the fanatical Moulvee of Fyzabad yet held the heart of the city. Outram captured the Queen's position, but not the Queen herself, whilst Sir Edward Lugard drove the Moulvee from his stronghold. Campbell's loss was 177 killed and 505 wounded, and of the enemy 3,000 were buried, though no exact account of their wounded could be

* In 1847 the rate of discount had risen to 8 per cent., and the bullion in the Bank had fallen to £8,313,000. On the 9th of November, 1857, the rate of discount rose to 10 per cent., and yet gold still flowed out till it sank to £7,171,000. The Bank was authorised to increase its issue by £21,000,000.

† Campbell's army consisted of 25,000 men, 16,000 being European troops, the largest number ever brought together in India up to that time.

ascertained. On the 23rd of March General Grant overtook and routed a large body of fugitives on the road to Seetápoor, which brought operations to an end in this region.

The mutineers had now contrived to concentrate at Bareilly, with Khan Bahádoor Khan, Prince Féroze, of Delhi, the Queen of Oudh, the fanatical Moulvee, and the Nana Sahib of Bithoor, as leaders. Bareilly, however, suffered the fate of Lucknow, the leaders again escaping. The rebel Kōer Singh was hunted out of Báhar and the jungle round Oudh, by Brigadier Douglas, after much harassing irregular fighting. During May and June the rebels contrived, greatly to the surprise of the Government, to concentrate in force at different places in the most unexpected manner. Driven out of the Upper Provinces, they tried to find refuge in the eastern Gangetic districts, but at every turn they were met and dispersed by flying columns told off to watch them.

It was, however, in Central India that the sword of vengeance was plied most ruthlessly. Sir Hugh Rose, with the army of Bombay and the Hyderabad Contingent, had, early in 1858, begun his march from Indore, hoping to reach Lucknow in time to take part in its capture. He had, however, to devote his attention to the insurgents of Central India, and conduct a campaign over the most rugged and difficult ground. He relieved Saugor on the 3rd of February. He invested the formidable fortress of Jhansi, the Ranee, or Queen, of which was, as Sir Hugh himself said, "the best man of the war." On the 1st of April he defeated, in spite of great odds against him, a rebel army that attempted to raise the siege. On the 3rd he stormed a small breach in the walls, the Ranee effecting her escape into the jungle. On the 4th he carried the citadel, and took possession of the town. The investment was so complete that escape was impossible, and, as at the Secunderbund, the mutineers, to the number of 5,000, were all massacred.*

The Ranee of Jhansi and Tantia Topee had now concentrated an army of 20,000 men at Kalpi, and held an entrenched position at Kunch. Here, on the 7th of May, Rose defeated them, and his pursuit was so fierce and unrelenting that hardly a single fugitive escaped. Another rally was made at Kalpi, which was seized on the 23rd of May, the flying Sepoys being cut and shot down by hundreds, no quarter being given or taken. "Soldiers," said Sir Hugh Rose, in his proclamation to the Central India Field Force, "you have marched more than a thousand miles, and taken more than a hundred guns; you have forced your way through mountain passes and intricate jungles, and over rivers; you have captured the strongest forts, and beat the enemy, no matter what the odds, wherever you met him; you have restored extensive districts to the Government,

* Sir H. Rose's losses were 38 killed, and 215 wounded. The starving women and children were, however, spared, and, indeed, fed by the English soldiers, out of their own rations. The massacre of the garrison was an act of vengeance for the treacherous butchery of the English in Jhansi, who, on the 4th of June, 1857, had surrendered, on the assurance that their lives would be spared by the implacable Ranee. She, however, ordered them to be killed, as at Cawnpore.

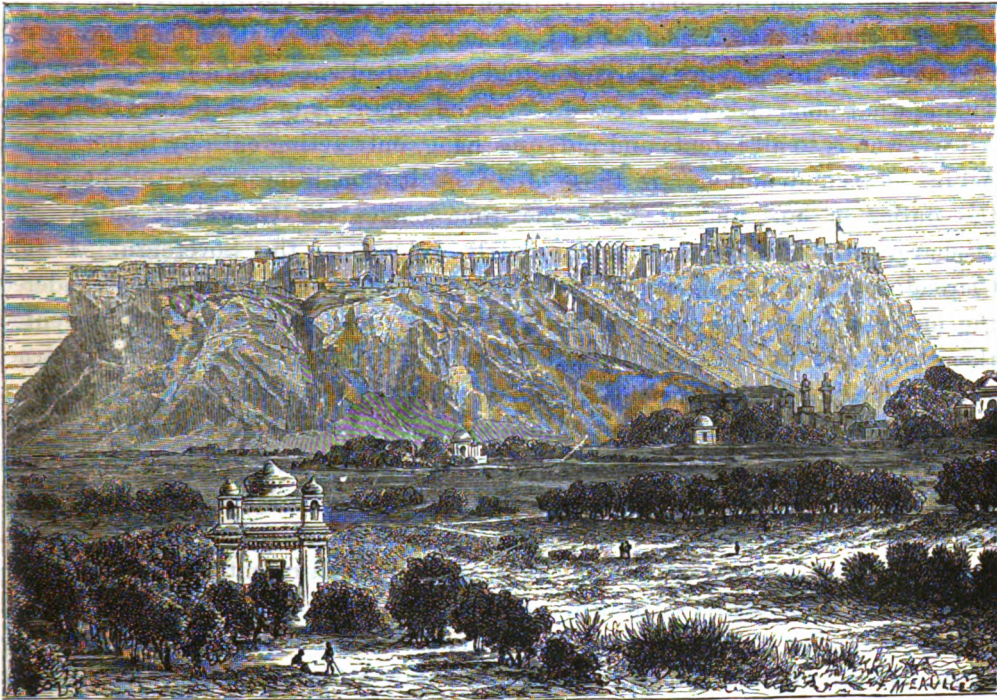
and peace and order now reign where before for twelve months were tyranny and rebellion; you have done all this, and you have never had a check." Led by a dandy, who might almost be termed the Alcibiades of the Indian army, the Central India Field Force had carried fire and sword from the shores of Western India to the waters of the Jumna, and literally quenched the spirit of the insurrection in blood. But fresh work awaited Rose and his followers. Tantia Topee had organised a conspiracy against Scindia at Gwalior, whose contingent had, early in the Mutiny, revolted from his standard. Instead of waiting for British help, Scindia insisted on striking at the conspirators with such troops as he had still attached to his household. When he attacked the enemy at Barragaom, his followers deserted him, and he had to fly, with a small escort, to Dhólpoor, leaving the great fortress of Gwalior, with its vast stores of arms and munitions of war, to be occupied by the rebels. This gave fresh life to the Mutiny: the Nana Sahib promptly proclaimed himself Peishwa, and took the field with a new army of 18,000 men, strengthened by the superb artillery of Gwalior. But the news of this terrible misfortune did not daunt Sir Hugh Rose. He immediately resumed the command of the Central Field Force, which he had laid down, and made a dash for Gwalior. On the 16th of June he surprised the rebels at Morar, where he waited for one of his brigades, which came up on the 17th. He drove the enemy before him, like chaff before the wind, tearing them to pieces by fierce onsets of cavalry, in one of which a trooper of the 8th Hussars slew the dreaded Ranee of Jhansi, who fell fighting in male disguise. On the 18th the rebel army was in full retreat, and on the 20th Scindia took possession of his capital, the sack of which by the rebels cost him the loss of £500,000 of treasure, jewels, and other property. Nana Sahib's broken army alone kept up a faint semblance of rebellion in Oudh towards the end of 1858.

Nor were British arms less fortunate elsewhere than in India. The operations at Canton, which had been suspended by the Mutiny, were successfully ended at the beginning of the year, a small French contingent acting as our allies against the Chinese. Commissioner Yeh was captured along with the city of Canton, in which Admiral Sir Michael Seymour established a provisional government. But the Imperial authorities affecting to consider the dispute a purely local one between the British Consul and the Imperial Commissioner, refused to come to terms. Lord Elgin accordingly crossed the bar of the Peiho river with a strong naval force, proclaiming his intention of attacking Peking itself. The Imperial Government, therefore, made haste to conclude the Treaty of Tien-tsin on the 26th of June, which formed a new basis for British commercial intercourse with Eastern Asia.* The interest of the Queen in this achievement

* The Nankin Treaty of 1842 was confirmed. Ambassadors and diplomatic agents were by the new Treaty to be appointed at St. James's and Peking, and the British Minister was to be received at Peking without being called on to perform any humiliating ceremony. Disrespect to the British Minister was to be a punishable offence, and Consuls in open ports were to be respected. Chinese Christians were to be

was heightened by the fact that the treaty was brought to her at Balmoral (20th. of August), by Mr. Frederick Bruce, Lord Elgin's younger brother and secretary, also brother to Colonel Bruce, governor to the Prince of Wales, and a confidential friend of the Royal Family. A Commercial Treaty with Japan followed, which completed the triumph of Lord Elgin's energetic and adroit diplomacy.

Home and Foreign Affairs, however, brought more trouble and annoyance to



THE FORTRESS OF GWALIOR.

the Queen than the operations of war in the East. In fact, at this period of her career, her Majesty found it more necessary than ever it had been to devote her best energies to the public service. In a conversation with Mr. Greville during the autumnal recess of 1857, Lord Clarendon said that "the manner in which the Queen in her own name, but with the assistance of the Prince, exercised her

protected, and not persecuted by the Government, and British subjects were to have a right of travelling in China under passports. Newchwang, Tang-chow, Taiwan, Chan-chow, and Kiung-chow were to be, with the ports, opened by the Treaty of Nankin free to British subjects. British subjects were permitted to employ Chinamen in any lawful capacity, and British ships were to trade on the Yang-Tze river. All questions of right between British subjects were to be decided by British authorities, but Chinese criminals were to be punished by the Chinese tribunals. Other clauses stipulated for a war indemnity to England, for full privileges of protection to British subjects, and for tariff and customs dues on goods carried by British ships. After the Treaty was concluded, the Chinese Emperor evaded his obligation to ratify it, till compelled to do so by force in 1860.

functions, was exceedingly good, and well became her position, and was eminently useful. She held each minister to the discharge of his duty and his responsibility to her, and constantly desired to be furnished with accurate and detailed information about all important matters, keeping a record of all the reports that were made to her, and constantly recurring to them; *e.g.*, she would desire to know what the state of the navy was, and what ships were in readiness for active service, and generally the state of each, ordering returns to be submitted to her from all the arsenals and dockyards, and again weeks and months afterwards referring to these returns, and desiring to have everything relating to them explained and accounted for, and so throughout every department. In this practice Clarendon told me he had encouraged her strenuously. This is what none of her predecessors ever did, and it is in fact the act of Prince Albert, who is to all intents and purposes King, only acting entirely in her name. All his views and notions are those of a Constitutional Sovereign, and he fulfils the duties of one, and at the same time makes the Crown an entity, and discharges the functions which properly belong to the Sovereign. I told Clarendon that I had been told the Prince had upon many occasions rendered the most important services to the Government, and had repeatedly prevented them getting into scrapes of various sorts. He said it was perfectly true, and that he had written some of the ablest papers he had ever read.”*

The Queen, however, like the Prince Consort, was uneasy as to the stability of the Government. But she had erroneously formed an opinion, which was indeed shared by many others, that the danger to be apprehended was from the decay of Lord Palmerston's health. “Clarendon,” writes Mr. Greville in November, 1857, “told me of a conversation he had recently with the Queen *à propos* of Palmerston's health, concerning which her Majesty was very uneasy, and what could be done in the not impossible contingency of his breaking down. It is a curious change from what we saw a few years ago, that she has become almost affectionately anxious about the health of Palmerston, whose death might then have been an event to have been hailed with satisfaction. Clarendon said she might well be solicitous about it, for if anything happened to Palmerston, she would be placed in the greatest difficulty. She said that in such a case she should look to *him*, and expect him to replace Palmerston, on which Clarendon said he was glad she had broached the subject, as it gave him an opportunity of saying what he was very anxious to impress upon her mind, and that was, the absolute impossibility of his undertaking such an office, against which he enumerated various objections. He told her that Derby could not form a Government, and if she had the misfortune to lose Palmerston, nothing remained for her to do but to send for John Russell, and put him at the head of the Government. She expressed her great repugnance to this, and especially to make him Prime Minister. Clarendon then entreated her to conquer her repugnance, and to be persuaded that it would never do to offer

* Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. II., pp. 125, 126.

him anything else, which he neither would nor could accept; that she necessarily was to have a man who could lead the House of Commons, and that there was no other but him; that Lord John had consented to take a subordinate office under Lord Aberdeen, who was his senior in age, and occupied a high position, but he would never consent to take office under him (Clarendon), and the proposal he would consider as an insult. For every reason, therefore, he urged her, if driven to apply to him at all, to do it handsomely, to place the whole thing in his hands, and to give him her full confidence and support. He appears to have convinced her that this is the proper course, and he gave me to understand that if Lord John acts with prudence and moderation all the present Government would accept him for their head." *

The real danger, as will soon be seen, which menaced the Ministry was not Palmerston's decaying health, but his waning popularity. The Party of Reform early in 1858 had become convinced that nothing was to be hoped for from him beyond empty and evasive promises. They were therefore, when Parliament reassembled on the 4th of February, simply waiting for a pretext to turn him out of office.† While the Radicals were mutinous, Mr. Disraeli, through the medium of Mr. C. Greville, was intriguing with the younger Whigs‡ to form a Coalition.§ Palmerston had also incurred much unpopularity by appointing Lord Clanricarde to the office of Lord Privy Seal; in fact, it was known that this appointment would have been laid hold of as a pretext for moving a resolution which might destroy the Ministry. Of course, when Parliament met no division of opinion existed as to the propriety of passing addresses congratulating the Queen on her daughter's marriage. But when, on the 8th of February, resolutions were moved thanking the civil and military officers in India for the ability with which they had dealt with the Mutiny, some of the Tories,|| let us hope reluctantly, led by Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, made themselves the mouth-pieces of the "White Terror" at Calcutta, and opposed a vote of thanks to Lord Canning. His policy had been objected to because it was not sufficiently bloodthirsty; therefore, argued his critics, it was rash to pass a vote of thanks to him. The vote was carried, but it was clear that the Indian policy of the Government would bring trouble on their heads. The Indian government

* Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. II., pp. 133, 134.

† Palmerston in defeating Mr. Locke King's motion for leave to bring in a Reform Bill committed a fatal error. The Cabinet originally meant to support the scheme, but to insist on raising Mr. King's £10 county franchise to £20—which would probably have settled the Reform question for ten or fifteen years. As it was, by opposing the measure, and referring Reform to a Cabinet Committee, they disgusted a powerful body of their own supporters, who felt that the Whigs meant to shelve Reform altogether.

‡ Lord Granville and the Duke of Argyll.

§ Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. II., p. 155.

|| Mr. Henley, one of the ablest members of the Tory Party, strenuously opposed his leaders on this question, and supported the vote of thanks to Lord Canning.

must be transferred to the Crown, and as Mr. Vernon Smith, a man of limited capacity, was the Minister responsible for India, the prospect was not thought by experienced Anglo-Indians to be an alluring one. We ought to wait till we had stamped out the last traces of the Mutiny, it was contended by Lord Ellenborough, before we brought India directly under



LORD CANNING.

the Government of the Queen. Still, Ministers defeated a resolution to postpone their India Bill, and nothing seemed fairer than their prospects, though they were even then (18th of February), on the brink of destruction. The blow came when Palmerston, desirous of conciliating the French Emperor, introduced a Bill to alter the Law of Conspiracy.

The history of this fateful measure is as follows:—Ten days before the marriage of the Princess Royal, a small group of conspirators in England carried out a plan for assassinating the Emperor of the French in the Rue

Lepelletier, Paris, by exploding hand-grenades under his carriage. The Emperor and Empress escaped, but ten persons were killed, and 156 were wounded. The plot had been concocted by Felix Orsini in England. Therefore, the followers of the Emperor, whose fortunes depended on his life, denounced the English nation as Orsini's accomplices. The Emperor himself was so unmanned by the incident, that after he drove home to the Tuileries, he and the Empress, on retiring to their room, wept bitterly over the



ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.

wretched prospect before them. His terror probably prevented him from appreciating the fact, that if his own police could not protect him from Orsini, it was not likely that the police of a foreign country would be much more efficient. It may be, too, that the ease with which he had forced Palmerston to accept a humiliating settlement of the Question of the Principalities deluded him into the idea that it would be equally easy to compel him to restrict the freedom of Englishmen, in the interests of the Bonapartist dynasty.* He may also have imagined that England's difficulties in the East

* It is more than probable that had the Tories been in office Napoleon III. would never have dreamt of pressing them, as he pressed Palmerston, to alter the law of Conspiracy so as to harass political refugees in England. In 1853 he sounded Lord Malmesbury on the subject, who told him, with manly firmness and frankness, that "Every country had its own subject on which no cession could be

would render Palmerston's Government more complaisant than the Tory Ministry showed itself on this matter in 1853. His calculations, however arrived at, proved to be correct. The French Government addressed menaces on the subject of harbouring refugees to Sardinia, Switzerland, and Belgium. On the 20th of January Walewski wrote a despatch to Persigny, which he had to communicate to Lord Clarendon, and which not only accused England of deliberately sheltering the assassins of the French Emperor, but also asserted that the English Government ought to assist that of France, in averting "a repetition of such guilty enterprises." Instead of answering this despatch in the high-spirited tone which Lord Malmesbury had taken in his conversation with the Emperor in 1853, a reply of a timid and indefinite character was privately sent through what was called the "usual official channels of personal communication." The substance of it was that the Government needed no inducement to amend the English law of conspiracy, and that the Attorney-General had the matter in hand already. The assumption that the English Government was deliberately aiding and abetting a gang of assassins was an insult which Lord Palmerston, as the exponent of a spirited foreign policy, was expected to resent. His failure to resent it gave his enemies an opportunity of recalling his *Civis Romanus Sum* doctrine, and holding him up to contempt. But at first it was not known that he had shown the white feather in his dealings with the French Emperor. Addresses from the Army, burning with rancorous insults to England, had been presented to the Emperor, and published in the *Moniteur*. The Emperor finding that these insults, which were only intended for home consumption, had been republished in England, where he feared they might inflame popular feeling, instructed an expression of regret to be sent to the British Government. In introducing the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, Lord Palmerston (18th of February), carried the first reading by leading the House of Commons to believe that this Imperial apology was adequate. He did not think it worth while to explain that it had not been inserted in the *Moniteur*, where the insults and menaces of the French Colonels had appeared, and that the French people were thus fully under the delusion that their vaporous threats had coerced England into restricting the liberty of her subjects at their bidding. Later on, this deception was discovered. Walewski's despatch, by an inconceivable blunder, was laid before the House, which also found out that it had never been answered with spirit and dignity. The anger of the Representatives of the people then rose to white heat; and when Mr. Milner Gibson moved a resolution of censure, which had been drafted by Sir J. Graham and Lord John Russell on the 19th of February, it was carried by a majority of 19, in a House of 459. Lord Palmerston and the Cabinet immediately resigned.

made. The Holy Places in the East was that of Russia, the refugees was ours, and it was useless to torment us about an impossibility, for no English Minister could alter the law at present."—Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. I., p. 392.

At first the Queen, knowing the difficulty of forming a new Government, was reluctant to accept their resignation. She contended—very properly—that it was a bad precedent for a Government to go out on the strength of a vote which was hardly constitutional. The treatment of a despatch was, in her Majesty's opinion, purely a question for the Executive to decide. The House of Commons had but a very dubious right to touch it at all; at any rate, no Ministry was bound by the Constitution to resign because of a Vote of Censure from either House of Parliament on such a question.

There can be no doubt that the Queen's view was the correct one, and it is now known that Lord Eversley, the ablest Speaker who has in her Majesty's reign presided over the House of Commons, actually advised Mr. Speaker Denison to rule Mr. Gibson's motion out of order, on the very grounds which seemed to the Queen to justify Lord Palmerston in ignoring the censure.* On the other hand, her Majesty had to admit the fact that Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarendon had been maladroit in their handling of the whole affair. They should have answered Walewski's despatch more formally than in a private letter from Clarendon to Cowley. They ought at the outset to have pleaded the constitutional privilege of the Executive, and refusing to produce the despatch in Parliament, have challenged the Opposition to a vote of censure. Moreover, the Queen knew only too well by this time that if Palmerston refused to resign on Mr. Gibson's motion, he would be turned out on one to abolish the office of Lord Privy Seal, Lord Clanricarde's appointment to which had given great offence.† Thus, though it was in some respects objectionable to sanction a Ministerial resignation because the House of Commons censured, not the policy of the Government, but an administrative act of the Executive,‡ the Queen bent to circumstances, and sent for Lord Derby to form a Cabinet. Lord Derby, though he took office, did not desire it, because he could only reign on sufferance. His party, strictly speaking, was in a minority of about two to one in the House of Commons, and his Government would be at the mercy of casual combinations among the factions of the Opposition. He had to fall back on his old Administration (minus Sir E. B. Lytton).§

A painful quarrel between Sir E. B. Lytton and his wife had enlisted

* Greville Memoirs, Third Part, entry under date 21st February.

† See Letter of Prince Consort to Stockmar, Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXXIII.

‡ Her Majesty's sanction strengthened the hands of the unconstitutional sections of the Radical and Tory Parties, who have of late years connived at the progressive usurpation of the functions of the Executive by the House of Commons, thereby laying the basis for "Home Rule" agitations in discontented Ireland, and in "neglected" Wales and Scotland. In the attempt to combine executive with legislative functions the House of Commons has virtually broken down.

§ The Cabinet consisted of Lord Derby, Premier; Lord Chelmsford, Lord Chancellor; Lord Salisbury, President of the Council; Lord Hardwicke, Lord Privy Seal; Lord Malmesbury, Foreign Secretary; Mr. Walpole, Home Secretary; Lord Stanley, Colonial Secretary; Sir John Pakington, First Lord of the Admiralty; General Peel, Secretary of State for War; Mr. Henley, President of the Board of Trade; Lord John Manners, First Commissioner of Works; Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control; and Mr. Disraeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Leader of the House of Commons.

considerable public sympathy on the side of the lady, so that his re-election for Hertford was a little doubtful. When offered the Colonial Secretaryship, Sir E. B. Lytton gave Lord Derby a hint on the subject, and Lord Derby, under the impression that Sir E. B. Lytton considered his re-election impossible, induced Lord Stanley to accept the Colonial Office.* Lord Grey would have joined Lord Derby had it not been for his distrust of Mr. Disraeli; and he told Lady Tankerville that Mr. Gladstone would have also joined the new Ministry, "had he been offered the leadership of the Commons."† If Lord Palmerston reckoned on the reluctance of the Queen to trust a Derby-Disraeli Ministry with the conduct of affairs, he fell into a grave error. Mr. Greville, who, like many politicians, held the Derby-Disraeli combination in contempt, admits that during this crisis the Queen's conduct "was certainly curious, and justifies them in saying that it was by her express desire that Derby undertook the formation of the Government. If Palmerston and his Cabinet were actuated by the motives and expectations which I ascribe to them, her Majesty certainly did not play into their hands in that game. When Derby set before her all the difficulties of his situation, and entreated her again to reflect upon it, a word from her would have induced him (without having anything to complain of) to throw it back into Palmerston's hands. But the word she did speak was decisive as to his going on, and there is no reason to believe that she was playing a deep game, and calculating on his favour. Nor do I believe that she would herself have liked to see Palmerston all-powerful. She can hardly have forgotten how inclined he has always been to abuse his power, and how much she has suffered from his exercise of it. Even when he was to a certain degree under control, and although she seemed to be quite reconciled to him, and to be anxious for the stability of his Government, it is difficult to know what her real feelings (or rather those of the Prince) were, and it is more than probable that her anxiety for the success of Palmerston's Government was more on account of the members of it, whom she personally liked, and whom she was very reluctant to lose, than out of any partiality for the Premier himself. To Clarendon she is really attached, and Granville she likes very much; most of the rest she regards with indifference."‡

When the new Ministry took office they soon announced that they would drop the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, and answer the Walewski despatch. The

* *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 98. Soon afterwards, however, arrangements were made which enabled Sir E. B. Lytton to take the Colonial Office, Lord Derby going to the India Office.

† *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 99.

‡ *Greville Memoirs*, Third Part, Vol. II., p. 214. The evidence of Mr. Greville in this instance is that of an unwilling witness. He still affected, like most independent political thinkers in 1858, to treat a Derby-Disraeli Cabinet as a burlesque Ministry. For example, he never condescended to attend as Clerk of the Privy Council after Lord Derby took office, but allowed his deputy to do duty. When this was pointed out to Lord Derby, he only laughed, and said "he had not observed his (Greville's) absence, as he never knew whether it was John or Thomas who answered the bell."—*Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 163

temper of the English people was such as to render it impossible, after what had been said on both sides, to proceed with Lord Palmerston's Bill. Moreover, Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone had put themselves at the head of 140 Members pledged to use all the forms of the House of Commons for



VIEW IN WINDSOR CASTLE: THE INNER CLOISTERS, LOOKING WEST.

the purpose of obstructing any measure of the sort, and the case was one where obstruction by keeping open a sore between two nations would soon render it an unhealable wound.* As for Walewski's despatch, Mr. Milner Gibson's

* Moreover, there was just a chance that Ministers might be beaten, which would necessarily have brought back Lord John Russell, a prospect to which Whigs like Lord Clarendon looked forward with horror, because he would come back with a Reform Bill. See a private letter from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Cowley in *The Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 100.

motion had censured Lord Palmerston's Government for not answering it, so Lord Palmerston's successors, who had supported that motion, were bound to reply to it. Their difficulties were complicated by the foolish behaviour of De Persigny, the French Ambassador. He was a strong partisan of Palmerston's, and he went about London drawing-rooms denouncing the Tory Government in the most violent terms. Nay, he made a practice of communicating to Lord Palmerston everything which passed between himself and Lord Malmesbury in their official conversations, and Lord Palmerston did not scruple to use information obtained by this dishonourable violation of diplomatic rules; nor did he shrink from making himself De Persigny's accomplice in these questionable transactions. Lord Malmesbury felt himself so completely embarrassed by such proceedings that he caused Lord Cowley to privately inform the French Emperor that he must in future decline to transact business through De Persigny. Lord Malmesbury said plainly, that he must communicate directly through Lord Cowley or Count Walewski in Paris, for De Persigny at this time not only carried his confidential conversation to Palmerston, but Palmerston actually instructed him how to embarrass the English Government in attempting to resist dictatorial pressure from France. Lord Malmesbury's spirited protest was well-timed and highly effective.* Acting through Lord Cowley, Lord Malmesbury arranged with Count Walewski a form of reply to the despatch which would adequately meet the demands of the English people, and yet give the French Government an opportunity of honourably repudiating any intention of wounding British susceptibilities. On hearing of this, Persigny, who had pledged himself to restore Palmerston to power by forcing the Tory Government to pass the Conspiracy Bill in a week, resigned. To his surprise and disgust his resignation was accepted, and Marshal Pélissier, Duke of Malakoff, was sent to England in his place. This was another triumph for the Tory Ministry, because Palmerston had reckoned on Walewski appointing Moustier, French Ambassador at Berlin, to the Court of St. James's when Persigny resigned, and as Moustier was, like Walewski, virtually a Russian agent, fresh troubles would soon have been manufactured for Lord Malmesbury. Napoleon III., however, insisted on sending a personal representative, who from his Crimean services would not be unacceptable to the Queen and the English people. He, therefore, selected Pélissier,† who, though ignorant of diplomacy, was not likely to fall into Persigny's indiscretions, and whose appointment was received by the Queen as a token of renewed goodwill on the part of France. This attempt of Palmerston's to drive

* See The Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., pp. 101, 106, 151, and 152, for evidence bearing on this grave charge against Palmerston and Persigny.

† The Peelites sneered at the appointment. Mr. Greville calls Pélissier "a military ruffian, as ignorant of diplomacy as of astronomy."—Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. II., p. 181. The Palmerstonians objected to him because his ignorance of diplomacy rendered it difficult for them to intrigue with him for the purpose of embarrassing the Government of their own country.

a Ministry from office by getting a Foreign Government to menace it with hostility,* having ended in ignominious defeat, he and his party soon showed how bitterly they resented the failure of their conspiracy with the French Emperor and his Ambassador against English liberty. When Mr. Disraeli announced the settlement of the quarrel with France in the House of Commons, on the 18th of March, the Opposition received it sullenly, and immediately raised a bitter attack on Lord Malmesbury for not procuring the release of the English engineers who were imprisoned in the *Cagliari*.† Their arrest was illegal, and Lord Malmesbury, as soon as he obtained the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, not only procured their release, but liberal compensation for the annoyance to which they had been put.

Where the Government broke down was in attempting to deal with the future administration of India; and it is a fact that had they but listened to the Queen's advice, who strongly opposed their policy, they would have avoided a defeat which served to convince the people that the evil reputation of the Derby-Disraeli group for legislative incapacity was only too well founded. The Tories had opposed Palmerston's India Bill, transferring the government of India to the Crown, so they were forced to bring in one of their own. Palmerston's Indian Council consisted of nominated officials of high rank and ripe experience. The Tory Bill, which was devised by Lord Ellenborough, introduced into the Council a fantastic elective element. Four out of the Council of eighteen were to be chosen by holders of Indian Stock, and by Indian military and civil servants of ten years' standing, and five were to be elected by the commercial constituencies of London, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, and Belfast. The Queen warned the Cabinet that these provisions were fatal to their Bill. The selection of the constituencies was arbitrary, and other cities would in time agitate for representation on the Council. The turmoil of democratic elections was not likely to influence for good Imperial policy in a country about which the electors could at best know little. But the Cabinet held that the electoral clauses would secure the Radical support necessary to carry the Bill, and the Queen, reluctant to bring about another Ministerial crisis, left the matter in the hands of her Ministers. But when Mr. Disraeli, on the 26th of March, introduced the Bill, to his surprise, the Radicals

* A few days after the formation of the Derby-Disraeli Ministry, De Persigny told Clarendon that the Tory Government "had prepared for themselves an *héritage de rupture* by the concurrence of their Party in the vote that had driven Lord Palmerston from power."—Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*, Chap. LXXXIV. "The first time I met him (Persigny) at the Foreign Office," writes Lord Malmesbury, "he literally raved, laying his hand on the hilt of his sword (he was in Court dress), and shouting '*C'est la guerre! c'est la guerre!*' during which scene I sat perfectly silent and unmoved, till he was blown, which is the best way of meeting such explosions from foreigners."—*Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 106.

† The *Cagliari* was a Sardinian ship fitted out to carry a revolutionary expedition to stir up Calabria. She was seized by the Neapolitan Government, and her two English engineers, Messrs. Watts and Park, were imprisoned.

objected as strongly as the Queen to the electoral clauses. Mr. Roebuck complained that they gave a sham colour of democracy to what was really a despotic Government. Mr. Bright said they "savoured of what was generally called claptrap." Anxious, however, to keep the Tories in power, lest Lord Palmerston and his followers might return to office, the Radicals refused to embarrass Mr. Disraeli* on this point, and urged the Government to reconsider it during the Easter recess. Most assiduously did Lady Palmerston endeavour to induce Lord John Russell to coalesce with Lord Palmerston during the recess for the purpose of defeating the Ministry on the India Bill; but her intrigues were in vain. On the contrary, Lord John determined to bring in a series of Resolutions on which the Ministry might base a Bill, and when Parliament re-assembled on the 12th of April he confidentially communicated them through Mr. Edward Horsman to Mr. Disraeli, who had himself resolved to adopt the same course. Mr. Disraeli was only too willing to be thus extricated from a difficulty by one of the leaders of the Opposition. But the House of Commons considered that as the India Bill was now removed from the arena of party strife, it would be wisest to let the Government prepare the Resolutions. This was done, and the debate on them began on the 30th of April, and went on favourably.

The Budget, though it showed a deficit of £4,000,000, which was met by a tax on bankers' cheques, and by equalising the Irish spirit duty, gave the Ministry no trouble. The acquittal of Dr. Bernard in April, who had been arrested by Lord Palmerston's Government on a charge of conspiring with Orsini to murder the French Emperor, embarrassed Lord Malmesbury, for the jury who tried Bernard refused to convict in the teeth of clear evidence of guilt. But Napoleon III., recognising that the action of the jury was simply the "retort courteous" to Walewski's maladroit demand that an English Government should alter English laws at the bidding of a foreign autocrat, wisely ignored the incident, and accepted Pélissier's view of it, which was that "one must be callous to this sort of thing, and let the water run under the bridge."† Then the tide of Ministerial success suddenly turned, and the Cabinet was nearly wrecked by the indiscretion of its most brilliant but erratic member, Lord Ellenborough, who had succeeded Mr. Vernon Smith at the Indian Board of Control.

In 1857 Lord Canning had incurred the odium of panic-stricken Englishmen at Calcutta, because in his repressive measures he mingled justice with severity. In June, 1857, when he gagged the Native press, he gagged the English press as well. In August, when disarming Calcutta, he compelled

* Mr. Greville hints that the Radicals were subsequently angry at Lord John Russell for helping Mr. Disraeli out of his difficulty with the India Bill. On this point he seems to have been misinformed. See Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*.

† The phrase was one used by Pélissier to the Prince Consort. See Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*, Chap. LXXXIV.

Europeans, as well as Natives, to take out licences to carry arms, and in July he issued orders to stop the indiscriminate slaughter of mutineers, distinguishing between the cases of those whose guilt was of varying degrees of intensity. A storm of abuse accordingly broke over his head, and the English in Calcutta petitioned for the recall of "Clemency Canning." The British army in India, with its reinforcements, was but a handful of men among millions. Indiscriminate proscription of the Natives, such as was clamoured for, would



THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO BIRMINGHAM : THE PROCESSION PASSING ALONG NEW STREET.

have driven the whole of India into mutiny ; in other words, it would have cost England her Indian Empire. The Queen and the Cabinet, however, supported Canning, and matters went well with him for a time. But in the spring of 1858, when Lucknow fell, another attack was made on him from a different point of view. He had drawn up a proclamation confiscating the lands of all landowners in Oudh save those who had been loyal to England, and those who would immediately return to their allegiance, and help to put down the rebellion. Lord Ellenborough, ignoring the saving clauses in the proclamation, sent Canning a "Secret Despatch," bitterly condemning the apostle of "clemency" as a heartless tyrant, and even casting doubts upon the title by which Oudh was held by England. He permitted the Secret Despatch to

be made public; and, what was still worse, Mr. Disraeli, with singular lack of patriotism, proclaimed in the House of Commons that the Government disapproved of Canning's policy. Such a declaration, made at such a moment, was almost as mischievous as if the Government had telegraphed out to India, that they desired the Natives to organise another revolt.

The Queen's indignation at the conduct of both Ministers was not diminished by the fact that neither of them had waited to receive Canning's despatch, explaining at length the reasons for his policy. Notices of resolution, censuring the Ministry, were given in both Houses, and one member of the Cabinet (Lord Malmesbury) wrote personally to Lord Canning, begging him, on behalf of his colleagues, not to quit his post. The defeat of the Government, in fact, was only averted by the sacrifice of Ellenborough, who, to "save his colleagues, volunteered to play the part of Jonah." * Mr. Gladstone was offered his place by Lord Derby, but on his refusing to join the Government, Lord Stanley became Ellenborough's successor, Sir E. B. Lytton going to the Colonial Office. Yet in view of Mr. Disraeli's denunciation of Canning's policy, even Ellenborough's resignation would not have saved the Ministry, had it not been that the Radicals and Peelites, along with Lord John Russell, refused to carry the matter farther, because, as they frankly said, they did not desire to let Palmerston and his faction return to power.†

On the 17th of June the India Bill, based on the resolutions of the Government, and vesting the sole dominion of India in the Crown, was introduced by Lord Stanley, and it passed into law on the 2nd of August.

Another measure was passed in July, though opposed rather venomously by the Tories in the House of Lords—namely, the Bill providing that either House might resolve that henceforth Jewish members of Parliament might omit from the Parliamentary Oath the words, "and I make this declaration on the true faith of a Christian." This ended a long and bitter controversy. On the 26th of July Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild came to the table of the House of Commons, and was sworn on the Old Testament, the House having agreed to resolutions in terms of the new Act. ‡

* Walpole's History of England, Vol. V., p. 428; Holmes' History of the Indian Mutiny, p. 454; Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 118.

† The Talookdars of Oudh were not freeholders, but Crown vassals—in some cases hereditary—who really farmed the Crown rents as middlemen between the cultivators and the State. As a matter of abstract right, Canning's proclamation, declaring the soil of Oudh to be the sole property of the British Government, could not be impugned. Nor could its policy as regards rebel Talookdars be disputed. Still, it is but fair to say that Outram thought the original draft too sweeping, and that it might prejudice many claims which it would be prudent to recognise. Canning allowed Outram to soften the Proclamation, and it was so discreetly acted on by Outram and his successor, Mr. Robert Montgomery, that the powerful local aristocracy of Oudh were speedily pacified. There was, therefore, just a grain of truth in Ellenborough's objections to the original draft.

‡ A Resolution of this sort, however, was valid only for the current Session. Hence it had to be renewed every Session a Jew came to be sworn. In 1860 a new Act substituted a standing order for a Resolution, so that Jews could be sworn without any preliminary proceedings. Even this last relic of

The exceptional heat of the summer soon exhausted the energies of legislators. Mephitic odours from the Thames even caused some to demand that the Houses of Parliament should be shifted to another site. "We have," writes Lord Malmesbury, on the 27th of June, "ordered large quantities of lime to be thrown into the Thames; for no works can be begun till the hot weather is over. The stench is perfectly intolerable, although Madame Ristori, coming back one night from a dinner at Greenwich, given by Lord Hardwicke, sniffed the air with delight, saying it reminded her of her 'dear Venice.'" Perhaps this nuisance induced the House of Commons to pass with unlooked for rapidity a Main Drainage Bill, which was to prevent sewage from being turned into the Thames as it passed through London. All intrigues set on foot to reconcile Lord Palmerston to Lord John Russell,* and the Radicals to both, failed, so the Tory Ministry successfully weathered the storms of faction, and closed the Session, on the whole, with credit, on the 30th of July.

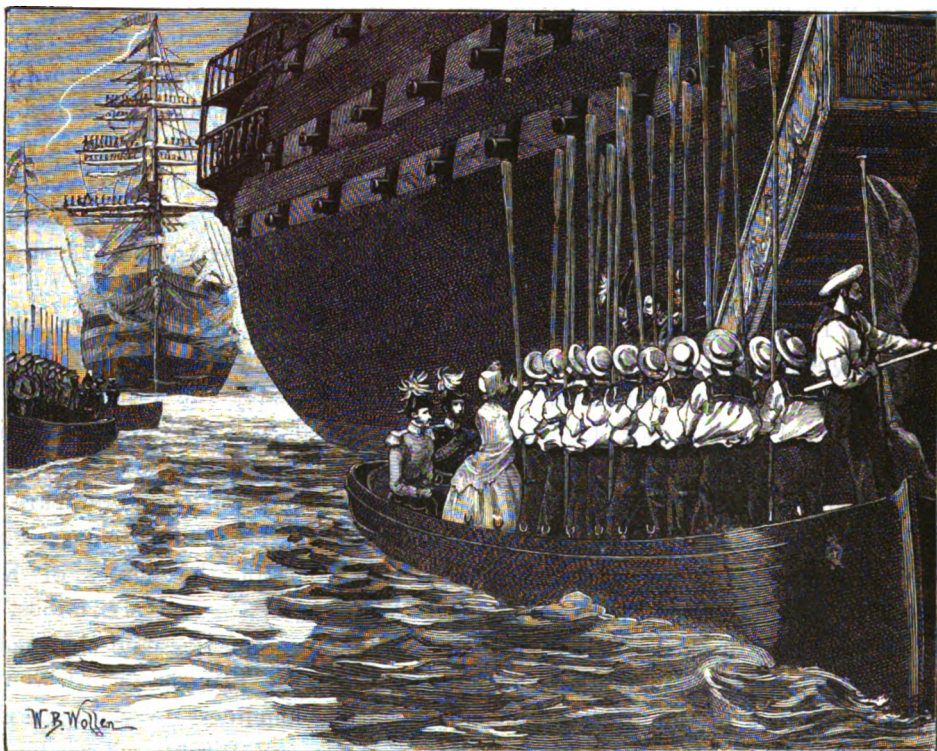
The family life of the Court had been brightened early in the year by the cordial welcome which the Queen's eldest daughter had received in her new home in Prussia. Projects for a visit to her and her husband were formed by the Queen and the Prince Consort, which public duty compelled them to abandon month after month. On Maundy Thursday the Prince of Wales was confirmed at Windsor, having acquitted himself well during his examination by the Archbishop. After a fortnight's tour in Ireland, it was arranged that he should live in the White Lodge, Richmond Park, and prepare for his military examination, his companions being Lord Valletort, eldest son of Lord Mount-Edgumbe, Major Teesdale, R.E., one of the heroes of Kars, Major R. Loyd-Lindsay (afterwards Lord Wantage), V.C., and Mr. Gibbs, the Prince's tutor. In May a visit from the beautiful Queen of Portugal charmed all hearts, and during the Whitsuntide holiday, when the Prince Consort went to pay a flying visit to Coburg, the Queen solaced her loneliness by visiting Prince Alfred at Alverbank, a cottage opposite the Isle of Wight, where he was pursuing his naval studies. Delightful letters came to the Queen from Babelsberg, describing the married happiness of her daughter, who received the Prince Consort there, and from whence he returned to London on the 8th of June.

On the 14th, her Majesty paid her promised visit to Birmingham, and to Lord Leigh at Stoneleigh Abbey. It was smiling summer weather when she drove from Coventry through Shakespeare's country to her host's house, where

bigotry was swept away by the Act 29 & 30 Vict., c. 19, which deleted the words "on the true faith of a Christian" from the Parliamentary Oath. See Sir Erskine May's *Parliamentary Practice*, Sixth Edition, pp. 189—192.

* In May they were induced to shake hands at Mr. Ellice's ("Bear" Ellice) house. But Lord Malmesbury says that when the incident was discussed at Lady Palmerston's, Lady William Russell observed, "They have shaken hands, and embraced, and hate each other more than ever."—*Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 120.

she was delighted with her reception. Next day she went by train to Birmingham, when, wonderful to relate, the sun shone through a smokeless though sultry atmosphere. As for the arrangements for her reception, she writes, "all was admirably done—handsomer even than Manchester. The cheering was tremendous." Loyal addresses were presented at the Town Hall, where, seated on an extemporised throne, her Majesty knighted the Mayor.

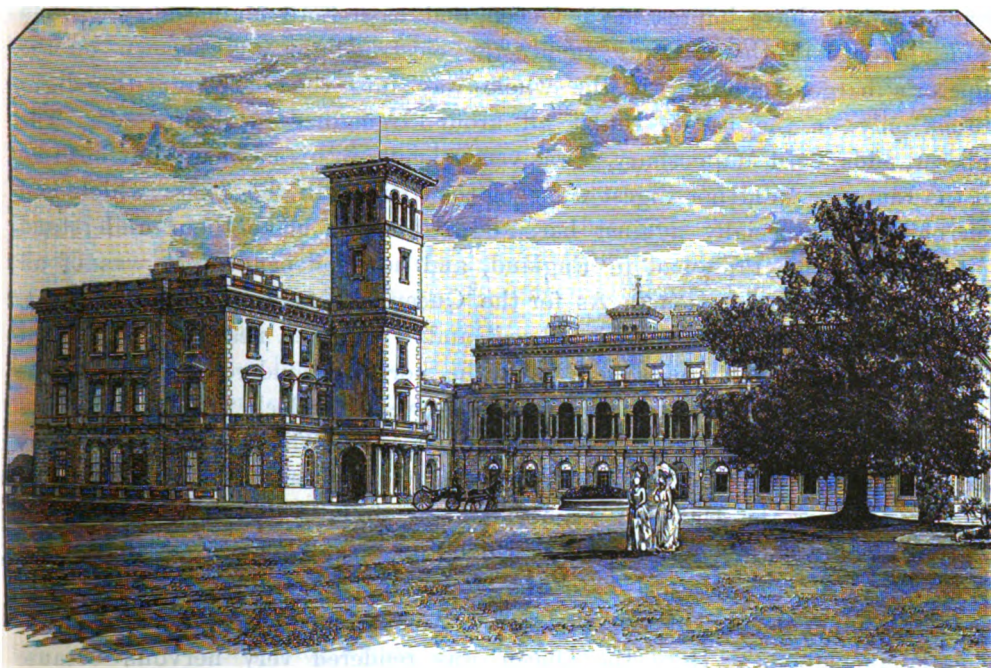


VISIT OF THE QUEEN TO THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS OF THE FRENCH AT CHERBOURG.

The Royal Party next proceeded to Aston Hall and Park, "now to be converted," writes the Queen, "into a People's Museum and Park, and to obtain which the working people had worked very hard, and subscribed very largely." Here six of the working men associated with the managers of the proceedings were presented to the Queen, who conversed with them affably, and then proclaimed the Park open. "Quite a pattern lady!" "What a darling!"—such were among the exclamations, writes the Queen, with which she was greeted by the crowd. After visiting many places of interest in the district, the Queen returned to Buckingham Palace on the 16th, greatly impressed with the welcome she had received from the most democratic and republican community in England. This visit had a marked political influence. It gave a great though unseen impetus to the movement for Reform, and many thoughtful

Conservatives now began to suspect that there was less danger in giving votes to the loyal artisans of Birmingham, than to the lower middle class whom the Whigs desired to enfranchise.

In May the Emperor of the French had sent the Queen an invitation to come and inspect the fortifications at Cherbourg. At this time the friction between France and England had been somewhat increased by a divergence of view between the two countries as to the settlement of the Danubian Princi-



OSBORNE HOUSE.

(From a Photograph by J. Valentine and Sons, Dundee.)

palities. England, by opposing their union, had irritated France. France, by refusing to admit that the engagements entered into by Napoleon III. at Osborne in 1857 bound her to support the English view, had annoyed England.* It was, however, thought that the Queen's personal popularity in France, and her influence with the Emperor, might bring about friendlier relations between the Governments, and the Ministry pressed her to accept the Imperial invitation. Writing on the 5th of August, the day after the Queen's arrival at Cherbourg, Lord Malmesbury, who was one of her party, says, "It blew hard in the night, but subsided towards morning. The Queen not ill. The approach to Cherbourg

* After much diplomatic squabbling, a Conference settled the point on the 10th of August, by establishing the same institutions in both Principalities, both with separate Ministries and Parliaments. The first thing the Provinces did was to vote their own union under Prince Couza—a mortification for England, against the probable occurrence of which her careless diplomatists had not stipulated.

very fine. Arrived there at 7 p.m. At 8 the Emperor and Empress came on board the Royal yacht without any suite. Nobody was admitted. Marshal Pélissier, who went in without any invitation, was immediately turned out by the Emperor." What passed at this interview, however, was an embarrassing inquiry about the feeling against France in England. "We smiled," writes the Queen of herself and her husband, "and said the feeling was much better, but that this very place caused alarm, and that those unhappy addresses of the Colonels had done incalculable mischief." The grand effect of the saluting cannon seems to have impressed the Queen, and, says Lord Malmesbury, "when the Emperor left the Queen's yacht, the electric light was thrown on the Emperor's barge, following it the whole way into the harbour; the light shining only on the barge, whilst all around remained in darkness." The Emperor, adds Lord Malmesbury, "was very friendly in his manner; but both he and the Empress could not digest some of the articles in the *Times* which had been offensive, especially against her, and I tried to make them understand what freedom the Press had in England, and how independent it was of all private and most public men." As for the Queen, she says in her Diary that, after this grave visit she "went below," and "read and nearly finished that most interesting book 'Jane Eyre.'" On the morrow thunderous salutes smote her ears as she was dressing, and when she went on deck the harbour was literally swarming with craft brave with gala array. "Next morning," writes Lord Malmesbury of this day's proceedings, "the Queen, Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cambridge, Sir John Pakington, and myself breakfasted at the Préfecture. After which the Royal Personages drove over the town. . . . Returned to the Royal yacht, and accompanied the Queen to dinner on board the *Bretagne*. Among the officers at dinner was General Macmahon." Here the Queen was rendered very nervous because Prince Albert had to make a complimentary speech in reply to the toast of her health, for at that moment every eye in Europe was on Cherbourg, and every ear straining for echoes of Royal and Imperial conversations on which might hang the dread issues of war. "I shook so," writes the Queen, "that I could not drink my cup of coffee." * All went off well, however, and the kindest words on both sides were spoken. The display of 25,000 francs' worth of fireworks ended a brilliant but fatiguing day. August 6th was devoted to leave-taking, amidst a complimentary cannonade, and the Queen got home in time to greet

* Her Majesty was not the only one of the guests who had been shaken. "An absurd occurrence," writes Lord Malmesbury, "took place when Sir John Pakington, as First Lord of the Admiralty, landed Lord Hardwicke and Admiral Dundas in his barge. As he steered her, he kept time with the men as he would if he had been rowing on the Thames, bending his body backwards and forwards, and as he approached the pier, not having given the order 'Way enough,' the boat with her whole force struck the mole, and the two admirals and the whole crew fell sprawling on their backs. The rage of the two former, after recovering themselves, was vented with uncontrolled expressions on the unfortunate First Lord, amidst the laughter of the spectators, who were standing on the pier."—*Memoir of an Ex-Minister*. Vol II., pp. 129, 130.

Prince Alfred on his birthday at Osborne. "The evening," she writes, "was very warm and calm. Dear Affie was on the pier, and we found all the other children, including Baby (Princess Beatrice), standing at the door." A visit of inspection to Prince Alfred's birthday presents, a little birthday fête and dance on the terrace, adds the Queen, formed "a delightful finale to our expedition."* But the visit was a mistake, though, as the Ministry insisted on it, the blame was theirs alone. It produced an abundant crop of alarms and attacks in the press on the menacing preparations for war which had been seen at Cherbourg. It caused the Queen to have a controversy with Lord Derby, who would pay no heed to her appeal to provide a counterpoise to the threatening stronghold which she had inspected.

A visit—long promised and long looked for—to the Prince and Princess Frederick William of Prussia followed. Her Majesty's suite arrived at Potsdam on the 14th of August, and on the same evening the Queen and Prince Albert arrived at Babelsberg, where they were received with a warmth of welcome by their Prussian relatives that made the Queen, as she herself says, feel as if she were at home. The meeting between her and her daughter brought a moment of supreme delight to both. Each day spent in the happy circle of the Prince and Princess of Prussia seems to have knit the heart of the Queen closer to the family of which her eldest daughter was so obviously a cherished member. Every day some fresh mark of attention was paid to the Queen and her husband by their hosts, who seemed to exhaust their ingenuity in devising expedients for making her visit pleasant to her. Though this visit was purely a private one, the people gave her as cordial a reception as the Court, until at last her Majesty began to feel sad at the approaching termination of such a charming holiday. But on the 28th of August the last day came, and, writes the Prince Consort, "the parting was very painful." The Queen and the Princess Royal wept in each other's arms, though her Majesty says, with a pathetic reference to the conflicting duties of sovereignty and womanhood, "all would be comparatively easy were it not for the one thought that I cannot be with her at that very critical moment when every mother goes to her child."† Dover was reached on the 31st, from whence the Queen went on to Portsmouth, and thence to Osborne, where they found Prince Alfred, who had passed his examination—especially the mathematical part of it—with great distinction, eager to tell them he had been appointed to the *Euryalus*. He was waiting for his mother, writes the Queen, "in his middie's jacket, cap, and dirk, half-blushing, and looking very happy. He is a little pulled down from these three days' hard examination, which only terminated to-day. . . . We felt very proud, for it is a particularly hard examination."‡

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXXVII.

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXXVIII.

‡ Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXXVIII.

Only one anxiety had intruded itself during the Prussian tour—the issue of the Queen's Proclamation to the Indian people on assuming the government of India. She objected strongly to the draft of it which was submitted to her, and begged Lord Derby to write one out for her in "his own excellent language," keeping in view "that it is a female Sovereign who speaks to more than a hundred millions of Eastern people on assuming the direct government over them after a bloody civil war, giving them pledges which

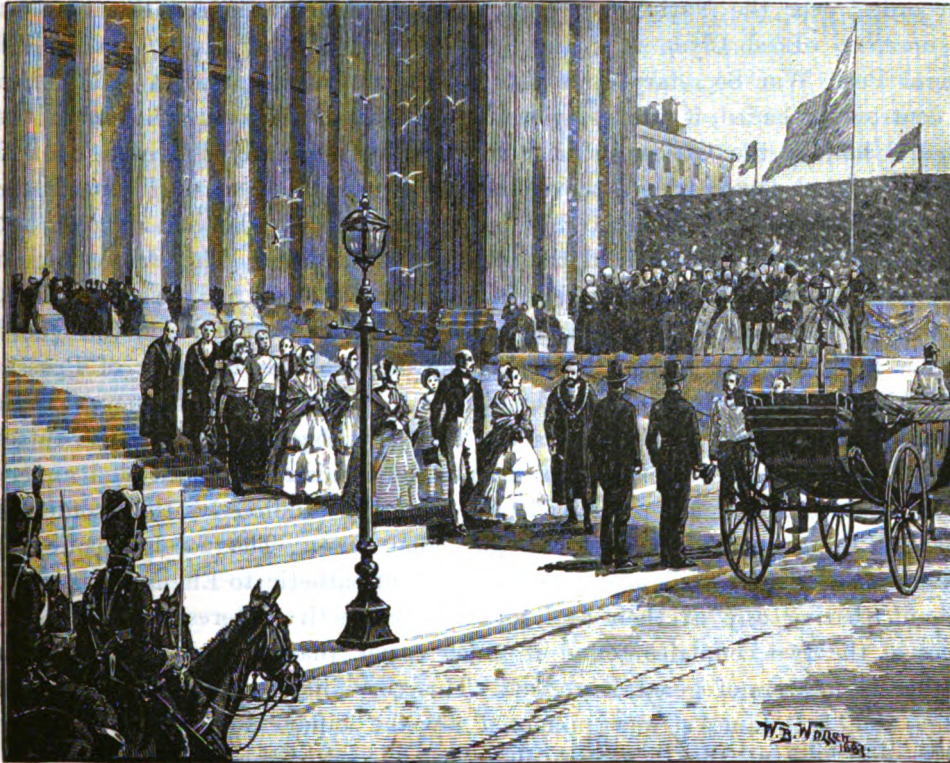


POTSDAM.

her future reign is to redeem." Such a Proclamation should, says her Majesty, emphasise the ideas of generosity, benevolence, religious toleration, liberty, and equality before the law. What offended her deeply in the draft was a menace reminding the Indian people that she had "the power of undermining" native religions and customs. Her Majesty, writes Lord Malmesbury by her directions, "would prefer that the subject should be introduced by a declaration in the sense that the deep attachment which her Majesty feels to her own religion, and the comfort and happiness which she derives from its consolations, will preclude her from any attempt to interfere with native religions." The name of the official personage who drew up this blundering and exasperating Proclamation, which the Queen had the good

sense and good taste to cancel, need not be mentioned. It is but just to Lord Derby to say that when the Queen's objections were telegraphed to him he examined the document, and so completely agreed with her Majesty that he re-wrote the Proclamation in a manner that anticipated her detailed instructions. A few additions were made to it by the Queen, and when it was issued it was hailed with delight by the Natives as the *Magna Charta* of India.

On the 6th of September the Queen and Prince Albert proceeded to Leeds



THE QUEEN LEAVING THE TOWN HALL, LEEDS.

to open the splendid Town Hall which the people of that borough had built, and where they were welcomed by the most picturesque Mayor in England, who in his robes and bearing, wrote the Queen, was "the personification of a Venetian Doge." Needless to say then that, after the Hall was opened, Mr. Mayor Fairbairn was knighted. The Royal Family next sped northwards to Balmoral, where Prince Albert brought down his first stag on the 14th, and where the whole household gazed nightly at Donati's comet, which blazed with peculiar brilliancy in the clear and "nimble air" of the Highlands. Among the superstitious mountaineers it was held to be a portent of war and pestilence. At Balmoral the Queen became involved in a discussion with her Ministers as to the future of the Indian Army. Who was to command it—

the Queen through the British Commander-in-Chief, or the Queen through the Secretary of State in Council, as successors to the old East India Company and Board of Control? Her Majesty stoutly contended that the union between the British and Indian Armies should be completed by their being placed under the same supreme authority—namely, the Commander-in-Chief in India. The Indian Council grasping at patronage, however, held that though the Commanders-in-Chief in the Presidencies should not be subordinate to the Commander-in-Chief in India, except in respect of the Queen's troops under their order, over the Native troops in their presidencies their authority must be supreme. Lord Clyde took the Queen's view of the matter, and so did General Peel, War Secretary, and also the Prince Consort, and in 1860, when the controversy ended, it was her view that prevailed. Towards the end of the Balmoral holiday the Queen and her husband were greatly delighted to find that their much-loved friend, the Prince of Prussia, had finally been chosen Prince Regent in succession to his brother, the king, who had become too infirm in mind and body to hold the reins of Government. The Prince Regent (afterwards German Emperor) and Prince Albert were not only warm friends, but were in close confidential correspondence on public affairs, and the Queen and her husband alike looked to him as the only possible deliverer of Prussia from Absolutist Administrations dominated by Russian ascendancy. Their counsels had a powerful influence on the Prussian Regent's policy at the outset of his career, when he dismissed the Manteuffel Ministry, and initiated an era of moderate constitutional progress in his country. Indirectly, they conferred a marked benefit on this country at the same time. The foreign policy of Prussia, which had up till now seemed to be antipathetic to England, changed. Without abating any of their zeal for their respective interests, the Foreign Offices of the two countries found it much easier than it had been to work together in matters of general interest. This cordiality between the Courts of Berlin and St. James's was promoted by the kindness which the Prince Regent bestowed on the Prince of Wales when, in November, he proceeded to Berlin to visit his sister. He returned, not only bearing with him a confidential letter from the Prince Regent to his father, but with it the Order of the Black Eagle, which had been, greatly to his delight, bestowed upon him. He had just completed his eighteenth year, and had been promoted to a colonelcy in the army. Colonel Bruce was now his governor—his tutor, Mr. Gibbs, having retired. The Prince had, in fact, become emancipated from pupilage, and Mr. Greville referring to this event says in his "Memoirs," "I hear the Queen has written a letter to the Prince of Wales announcing to him his emancipation from parental authority and control, and that it is one of the most admirable letters ever penned. She tells him that he may have thought the rule they adopted for his education a severe one, but that his welfare was their only object; and well knowing to what seductions of flattery he would eventually be exposed, they wished to prepare and strengthen his mind

against them, that he was now to consider himself his own master, and that they should never intrude any advice upon him, although always ready to give it him whenever he thought fit to seek it. It was a very long letter all in that line, and it seems to have made a profound impression on the Prince, and to have touched his feelings to the quick. He brought it to Gerald Wellesley in floods of tears, and the effect it produced is a proof of the wisdom which dictated its composition."*

A fresh cause of disagreement had, however, now arisen with France. The seizure of a French slaver, called the *Charles-et-Georges*, by the Portuguese authorities at Mozambique, tempted the French Government to demand its surrender, and an indemnity whilst her status was *sub judice*. Coercion was threatened by the appearance of a French squadron in the Tagus, and an offer on the part of Portugal to submit to arbitration was refused. Englishmen in these circumstances gave vent to much indignation against a revival of the old brutal methods of Bonapartism in dealing with a small Power, and this indignation was shared by the Queen, though it was prudently veiled, her personal relations with the Portuguese Court being of an unusually cordial character. Lord Malmesbury was also well known not only to be a partisan of the French alliance, but a personal friend of the French Emperor. This led many to suspect that the British Government had played into the hands of France; and Lord Malmesbury's policy was, in truth, so spiritless in defence of Portugal, that the Portuguese, fearing to waste time in appealing for the good offices of England, yielded to the overbearing menaces of France. At the same time, it is quite clear, from a sentence in one of the Prince Consort's letters to Baron Stockmar, that the Court, on the whole, approved of the Foreign Secretary's policy, which, at all events, kept the country clear of war. The loyal reception of the Queen's Proclamation in India on the 17th of October, and the end of the rebellion in Oudh, gladdened the closing months of 1858. Over these, however, the first symptoms of the Prince Consort's failing health projected the slowly-advancing shadow, that was so soon to shroud the remainder of the Queen's career in widowed sorrow.

* Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. II., p. 213.

CHAPTER II.

THE ITALIAN REVOLUTION.

Napoleon's New Year's Reception—The Secret *pacte de famille*—Victor Emmanuel and the *Grido di Dolore*—The Queen's Views on the Italian Movement—The Queen's Letter to Napoleon—Meeting of Parliament—Cavour Threatens Napoleon—Appeal of Prussia to the Queen for Advice—Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill—Lord John Russell's Amendment—Defeat of the Government—An Appeal to the Country—The Queen Criticises Austria's Blunders—War at Last—The General Election—Reconciliation of Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell—Fall of the Derby-Disraeli Administration—The Palmerston-Russell Ministry—Austrian Defeats and French Victories—The Peace of Villafranca—Palmerston Duped—Illness of the Duchess of Kent—The Budget—The Queen and Palmerston—Triumph of the Queen's Policy—The Holiday at Balmoral—Dancing in the New Year.

Nor easily will the world forget the New Year's Day of 1859. "I regret," said the French Emperor to Baron Hubner, the Austrian Ambassador, at the reception at the Tuileries, "that the relations between our two countries are not more satisfactory; but I beg you to assure the Emperor (of Austria) that they in no respect alter my feelings of friendship to himself." Taken in connection with the rumoured results of Continental intrigues, but one interpretation could be put on these words. The restlessness of France was to be appeased by a war for the deliverance of Italy from the Hapsburgs, and the bombs of Orsini had forced the Emperor to be faithful to his forgotten engagements to his old comrades among the Carbonari. The Emperor's own story was that he felt convinced there could be no peace in Europe unless the Territorial Settlement of 1815 was revised. He professed to have aimed at effecting that object by the regeneration of Poland. The Crimean War having, however, proved this scheme to be futile, his policy was thenceforth directed to the deliverance of Italy from Austrian servitude. In either case the waters of diplomacy would be troubled, and it would be easy to fish out of them something that might partially compensate France for what she lost in 1815. But the truth was that, at his secret interview with Count Cavour, at Plombières, in the autumn of 1858, the Emperor had entered into an engagement to defend Piedmont, if attacked by Austria, and to establish under the Sardinian Crown a Kingdom of Northern Italy, the price for this aid being the cession of Savoy and Nice to France. At this meeting the marriage of Prince Napoleon to the Princess Clothilde, daughter of the King of Italy, was discussed, but not definitely arranged. The announcement of the coming marriage was, however, made to the Queen by the French Emperor on the 31st of December, 1858. On the 23rd of January, 1859, the formal request for the Princess Clothilde's hand was made. On the 30th the wedding was celebrated, and on the 3rd of February the Prince and Princess Napoleon returned to Paris. On the evening before the marriage, Napoleon III. was said to have signed a *pacte de famille*,

promising aid offensive and defensive to Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel pledging himself to cede to France Savoy and Nice, in return for territorial acquisitions in Lombardy.* Thus the French Emperor was bound to Sardinia as with "hoops of steel," when the European crisis in 1859 became acute, and Lord Malmesbury imagined that he could compose it by diplomacy.



VICTOR EMMANUEL.

After the Imperial declarations to Baron Hubner, Victor Emmanuel, on the 10th of January, in his Address to his Parliament, had said, "While we respect treaties, we are not insensible to the cry of suffering (*Grido di dolore*) which comes

* This important secret pact was not unknown to the British Government. It came into Mr. Kinglake's possession, and at Lord Palmerston's request he gave a copy of it privately to Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, who represented the Foreign Office in the House of Commons. The text was revealed by Lord Malmesbury. The Princess Clothilde made a grim joke upon her loveless and ill-fated marriage—"Quand on a vendu l'enfant, on peut bien vendre le berceau."—*Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., pp. 220, 221, 223.

to us from so many parts of Italy." Austrian troops forthwith began to swarm into the passes of the Tyrol, and to form on the line of the Ticino. Russia encouraged France to the utmost, and from conversations with Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarendon during their visit in autumn to Compiègne, the French Emperor felt convinced that the powerful party in England, led by Palmerston, would give him that moral support which the Queen and her Ministers denied him.* The Courts of St. James's and Berlin were cold friends to the cause of Italian freedom. To them any war which upset the Settlement of 1815 was like the letting out of waters. The victory of either party could bode no good for Prussia, under whose leadership the Queen was even then hopeful that Germany would yet form a united Empire. The triumph of the Hapsburgs would strengthen their position in Germany, and as Herr von Bismarck said, this must mean that "our Kings will again become Electors and vassals of Austria."† The victory of France, on the other hand, would tempt Napoleon III. to seize Belgium and the Rhine Provinces.

In Germany public opinion was, on the whole, pro-Austrian. In England, popular feeling, stimulated by the Liberal Party, was decidedly Anti-Austrian. The view of the Tory Ministry was that of Lord Malmesbury, who thought that it was as wicked to dispute the right of Austria to her Italian provinces, as to question that of England to Ireland. Frenchmen, again, were as little inclined to go to war for "an idea" in Lombardy as in the Crimea.

It would be tedious to follow the tangled skein of intrigue that finally ended in war. At the outset the advantage lay with Austria, because if she had struck quickly and sharply she might have crushed Sardinia, ere France could have come to her rescue. Protracted negotiation deprived Austria of this advantage, so Napoleon III. welcomed the proposal of England to find a diplomatic solution of the Italian Question—all the more readily that his failure to obtain pledges of absolute neutrality from England and Prussia, caused him to waver from his purpose. It was in the hope that he might be induced, when in this state of mind, to insert a pacific clause in his address to the Chambers, that the Queen, on the 4th of February, wrote to him suggesting this course,‡ in a letter thanking him for his congratulations on the birth of the Princess Royal's son. Napoleon's reply was friendly but evasive. He professed great friendship for England, and respect for treaties, but virtually reserved to himself the right to interpret them in his own interests. So matters stood at the beginning of the Session of 1859.

Parliament had been called together on the 5th of February. Ministers were undoubtedly discredited by a popular suspicion that they were using the influence of England to buttress up Austrian tyranny in Italy. The impartial

* The intrigue between Lord Palmerston and Napoleon III. at Compiègne, in November, gave great and justifiable offence to the Tory Ministry, and was regarded with disapproval by the country

† Lowe's *Life of Bismarck*, Vol. I., p. 236.

‡ Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*, Chap. XC.

impotence of Lord Malmesbury's policy, as subsequently revealed in his despatches, however, showed that these suspicions were unfounded. The question of Reform had been stirred during the autumnal recess by Mr. Bright. But his violent attacks on the propertied classes had roused the fiercest antagonism, and probably did more to retard than advance the cause he had at heart. Yet the Government could not afford to dispense with the support of the Party of Parliamentary Reform, and so Mr. Disraeli's determination to deal with the question was intimated in the Queen's Speech. Lord Granville, Lord Palmerston, and Lord John Russell, though speaking less hopefully than Mr. Disraeli of the efforts of the Government to preserve peace, alike deprecated a war for the expulsion of Austria from North Italy, where her position was secured to her by the Treaty of 1815. But they argued that she had no right to go beyond that Treaty, and that the presence of Austrian and French armies in Central Italy, on which they imposed a government that was hateful to the people, was most dangerous to the peace of the world. The Emperor's speech to the French Chambers, as the Prince Consort said, was "meant to look peaceful"—but that was all. "Not a word," wrote Lord Malmesbury "is said about Treaties, but a good deal about the interests and honour of France."* Indeed, Victor Emmanuel and Cavour fancied they detected in it signs of wavering. The former threatened to abdicate, and the latter to resign, after disclosing to the world the secret compact of Plombières and the *pacte de famille*, signed on the eve of the Princess Clothilde's marriage. This threat, together with Cavour's Mephistophelean allusions to the vengeance of the Carbonari, invariably brought the Emperor back to his original resolve, and defeated the efforts of British diplomacy to avert war. Meanwhile, the Prince Regent William had been pressed by the French Emperor to hold aloof from Austria. Rival parties in Prussia were trying to drag him in contrary directions, and at last he appealed confidentially to his friends, the Queen and the Prince Consort, for advice, saying, "I anxiously await your answer, for it will be decisive for us."† It is important to study this correspondence, because at the time the Queen and Prince Consort were denounced in many quarters, where French influence was at work, for intriguing through the Courts of Berlin and Brussels to get up a great German League against the liberties of Italy. England, replied the Prince Consort, would not now go with France, no matter how far Austria put herself in the wrong. Prussia would be well advised, thought the Prince, to take the same line. In the meantime, let German public opinion, of which Napoleon stood much in awe, on the question, be elicited by encouraging the freest discussion in Germany, and when the crisis came, let that opinion guide Prussia. Prussia and the German States, the Prince Consort thought, should adopt an attitude of armed neutrality—ready to strike a blow for the protection of the Rhine provinces before a victorious France could quite clear her hands of

* *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 155.

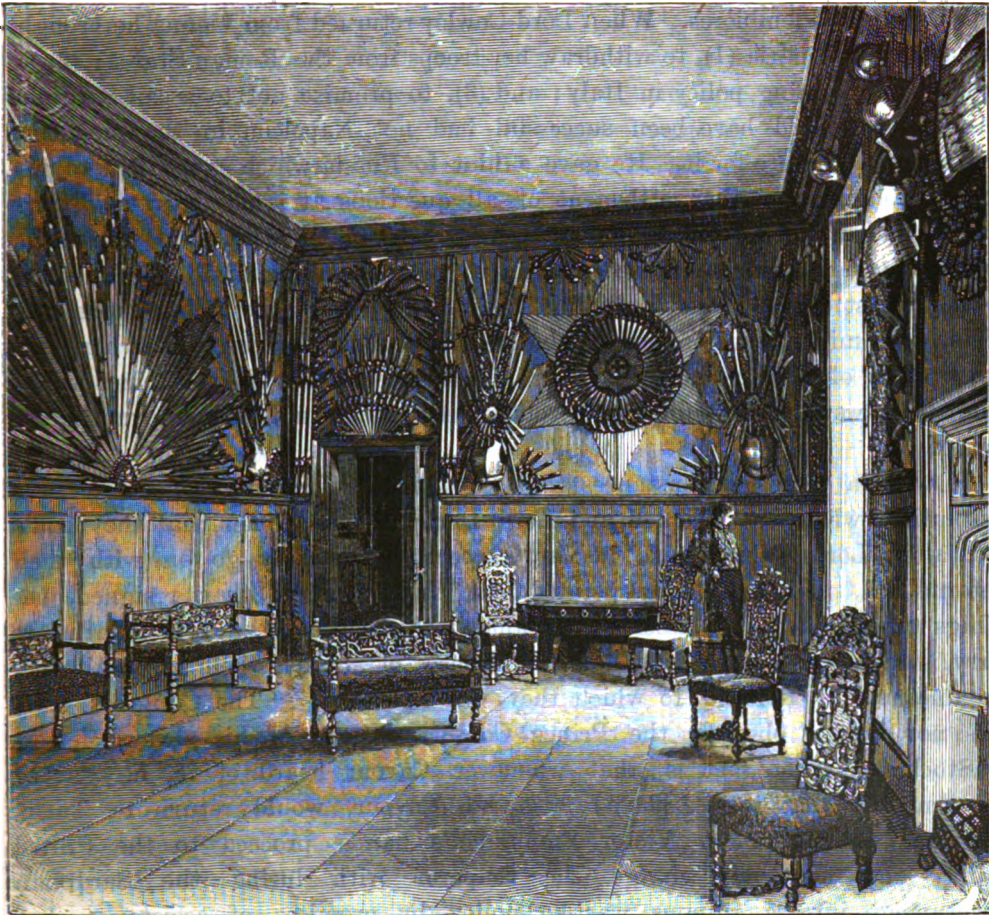
† See Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*, Chap. XC.

a defeated Austria. Prussia and Germany, argues the Prince in another letter, owe no duty to Austria in respect of Italy. But Austria owes them a duty as a German State bound to assist in the defence of Germany from French aggression. Ere Prussia sided with Austria, an Austrian army must be ready to advance on the Rhine, and Germany must be permitted to exercise a distinct influence on Austrian policy in Italy. The Prince Regent of Prussia treated the Prince Consort's views as "decisive," and, as will be subsequently seen, by acting on them he not only increased the influence of Prussia in Germany, but virtually brought the war between France and Austria to a sudden close. In the meantime, Parliament, with great generosity and patriotic spirit, refused to embarrass Ministers by debating the Italian Question, and at the request of the French Emperor, Lord Cowley was sent to Vienna to mediate between France and Austria.

On the 28th of February Mr. Disraeli expounded his Reform Bill, the adoption of which compelled Mr. Walpole and Mr. Henley to retire from the Cabinet. The great blunder of the Whig Reform Bill of 1832 was that it excluded the working classes—without whose support the Bill could never have been forced on the Crown—from political power. The object of a practical Reform Bill was therefore simple. It was to lower the franchise, so as to give votes to the working classes, and then readjust the distribution of power in the constituencies in terms of this reduced franchise. Mr. Disraeli, however, produced a fantastic scheme, in which every concession given with the right hand was taken back with the left. The county franchise was reduced to £10, but then as a set-off the freeholders in towns were no longer to vote for the counties. The franchise in towns was not reduced, but a series of what Mr. Bright called "fancy franchises" was created, with a view to render the representation of "interests" predominant.* Certain constituencies were to have additional members, and some small boroughs with two members were to lose one. Nobody was satisfied with the measure, so Lord John Russell on the 10th of March gave notice that he would move an amendment to the motion for the Second Reading, condemning the disturbance of the freehold franchise, and demanding a greater extension of the suffrage than Mr. Disraeli contemplated. All sections of the Opposition were able to vote for the resolution. Lord John Russell, who imagined he enjoyed a monopoly of the question of Reform, and that nobody should deal with it but himself, wanted to carry the Resolution and reject the Bill. Lord Palmerston was willing to vote for the Resolution and go on with the Bill. "I do not," he said, "want them [the Ministry] to resign. I say to them, as I think Voltaire said of a Minister who had incurred his displeasure, 'I won't punish him; I won't send him to prison; I condemn him to keep his place.'" Mr. Gladstone refused

* Votes were given to persons who had £10 a year in Bank Stock or the Funds, or a deposit of £60 in a Savings Bank, or a pension from the State of £20 a year, and to University graduates, members of the learned professions, and certain schoolmasters.

to support the Resolution, because he said he wanted the question of Reform settled, and it would be quite possible to re-model the Bill in Committee, and Mr. Roebuck took the same view. Mr. Bright, however, thinking that any settlement arrived at in 1859 would be too favourable to the territorial interest, supported the Resolution in order to quash the Bill. Sir James Graham, who



THE GUARD-ROOM, ST. JAMES'S PALACE. (From a Photograph by H. N. King.)

had drafted the Resolution, made by far the most statesmanlike speech in the debate. He argued that it was of no use to lower the borough franchise unless it were reduced so that no further reduction could be demanded, and suggested that the municipal rating franchise would be the best to adopt. On the 1st of April the Government by this coalition of factions was defeated by a vote of 330 to 291, and, undeterred by Lord Palmerston's threat to stop supplies, Mr. Disraeli on the 4th of the month intimated that the Ministry would appeal to the country.

Partisans of the Government had attempted to make capital out of the disturbed state of the Continent, and had spoken as if it were wicked to oppose a bad Reform Bill at a time when Lord Malmesbury was mediating between armed nations. As a matter of fact, Lord Malmesbury was only permitted to amuse himself with futile mediation, which was to be protracted till France was ready to attack Austria, and Austria was lured into an attack on Piedmont, that would give France an excuse for fulfilling the secret compact with Cavour at Plombières. When Lord Cowley returned from Vienna he brought the assent of Austria (1), to withdraw her troops from the Roman States; (2), to support a reforming policy in Italy; and (3), to promise not to assail Sardinia. His mission would have been successful had not Napoleon in the meantime manufactured failure for it. He gave a hint to Russia which caused her to propose a Congress for the settlement of all questions at issue between France and Austria, and Lord Cowley's plans were put out of the field. A Congress, by protracting negotiations, exposed Austria to the exhausting drain of her armaments, whilst France was perfecting her arrangements for falling upon her. Time, too, might bring about a change of Ministry in England, where the substitution of a warm ally like Lord Palmerston for a Tory Cabinet whose sympathies were, if anything, in favour of Austria, would be an advantage to France.

It was in these circumstances that the Queen reluctantly consented to a dissolution, when Mr. Disraeli and Lord Derby convinced her that they could not, after Lord Palmerston's insolent speech, honourably go on with their Reform Bill. In fact, they pointed out that, even if they resigned, the Whigs would have to dissolve Parliament themselves in a few months to carry, against the opposition of the House of Lords, their own alternative measure of Reform, to which they were pledged. "The Congress truly does not dance," observes the Prince Consort, in one of his shrewd letters to Stockmar. The fact is, that whenever Cavour heard of it, he warned the Emperor that if he played false, he (Cavour) would return to Turin, place his resignation in Victor Emmanuel's hands, proceed to the United States, and not only charge the Emperor with luring the Sardinian Government into a ruinous warlike policy by promises of assistance, but that he would publish documentary proofs of his charges to the whole world. As Prince Albert said, Napoleon had "sold himself to the devil," and "Cavour can do with his honour what he pleases."* Hence, France would no longer support a proposal that Sardinia should disarm, and when Austria proposed simultaneous disarmament all round, the Emperor's reply was, that the forces of France were not yet on a war footing. At last, Napoleon assented to this project, on condition that Sardinia and the other Italian States were heard in the Congress, which left the issue in the hands

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XCII.

of Austria. The tension of the situation was now extreme, and telegrams came pouring in every hour to the Queen, whose nerves were sorely strained by the excitement of the crisis. Just before the dissolution, explanations of a somewhat unsatisfactory nature were given in both Houses of Parliament on the 18th of April, and next day (the 19th), Austria took the fatal and aggressive step which, as the Queen predicted, would turn public opinion against her. Instead of accepting the Congress, as France and Sardinia had accepted it, she called on Sardinia to disarm within three days, otherwise an Austrian army would march on Turin. Had Austria attacked at once she might have crushed her enemy before France could come to her aid. She hesitated and was lost. The effect of Count Buol's ultimatum on England was electric. The Ministry, despite its pro-Austrian sympathies, hastened to protest against the invasion of Sardinia, and the Queen, in a letter to King Leopold, reflected the opinion of the people, when she said "though it was originally the wicked folly of Russia and France that brought about this fearful crisis, it is the madness and blindness of Austria that has brought on the war now."* But this "madness and blindness" would not have deterred Austria from allowing the small Italian States to have a consultative representation at the Congress, had she been sure that a friendly Ministry would be in power in England. She, however, was afraid to weaken her position on the eve of Lord Palmerston's possible return to office.† On the 29th Austrian troops crossed the Ticino. "All Italy is up," writes Lord Malmesbury in his Diary: a feeble effort on his part to patch up negotiations for a Congress was rejected by France, though accepted by Austria, and the game of war began in earnest. In England, Ministers were blamed for having encouraged by their sympathy the obstinacy of Austria, which led her to break the peace. As a matter of fact, Lord Malmesbury's efforts had been directed to pacify the combatants, to localise the war, and to prevent the German States, whose people were clamouring to be led to the conquest of Alsace, from joining in the fray.‡

The General Election resulted in a gain of twenty-nine seats to the Tory Party, but this still left them in a minority whenever all sections of the Opposition chose to combine against them. The Liberal Party, tired of dissension, put pressure upon the two leaders by whose long rivalry it had been

* Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*, Chap. XCIII.

† Lord Palmerston's organs in the Press were, during this controversy, virtually official organs of the French Emperor, and were embarrassing ministers with factious opposition. Lord Malmesbury, writing in his Diary on the 21st of February, observes, "Lady Tankerville says that Lady Palmerston told her that the attack upon the Foreign Policy of our Government, for which her husband had given notice to-morrow, was made in compliance with the Emperor's wish!"—*Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 158.

‡ Lord Malmesbury warned Prussia that England could not approve of her going to war with France, and would give her no assistance in protecting the German coast against an attack by a French or a Franco-Russian fleet.—See *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, pp. 204, 205.

caused, for the purpose of reconciling them, and accordingly Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell—after being urged by his brother, the Duke of Bedford—agreed that either would serve under the other. At a meeting in Willis's Rooms, on the 5th of June, the union of all sections of the Party was consummated, and an Amendment to the Address, declaring their want of confidence in the Ministry, was drafted and agreed to. Parliament met on the 6th of June. Next night Lord Hartington in the House of Commons moved



TURIN.

this Amendment, which, after a debate lasting over three nights, was carried on the 10th of June by a majority of thirteen in a house of 648. The Government resigned, and the Queen, who was not particularly anxious to entrust either Lord John Russell or Lord Palmerston with the Premiership, invited Lord Granville to form a Ministry. Lord Palmerston very generously consented to serve under Lord Granville, but Lord John Russell refused. He had agreed to serve under Palmerston if he were appointed to the Foreign Office, but under Lord Granville he must at least be Leader of the House of Commons. As Lord Palmerston would not accept a peerage, and as it was impossible to ask him to abandon the Leadership of the Liberal Party in the

Lower House which he had held so long, Lord Granville retired from the field. The Queen then sent for Lord Palmerston, who formed a Ministry consisting of Lord John Russell, Lord Campbell, Sir G. C. Lewis, Sir George Grey, Sir Charles Wood, the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Elgin, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Mr. Cardwell, the Duke of Somerset, and Mr.



LORD GRANVILLE.

Milner Gibson. A place—the Presidency of the Board of Trade—was offered to Mr. Cobden, which he declined. The first five represented the Whigs; the next six represented the Peelites; Messrs. Gibson and Cobden were selected to conciliate the Radicals; and there could be no doubt that, tested by individual capacity, the combination was one of the strongest ever formed. The Queen deeply regretted the exclusion of Lord Clarendon from the Cabinet, and Mr. Greville says that Lord John Russell's selfish determination to take the Foreign Office kept Clarendon out. This is hardly just. Lord Clarendon's

pro-Austrian sympathies, and his opposition to Palmerston's foreign policy, rendered him ineligible for office at the time. The change was attended by one unpleasant incident. The substance of the Queen's conversations with Lord Granville found their way into the press, and her Majesty's indignation at this betrayal of her confidence was not concealed. It was clear that some of those with whom Lord Granville had been in negotiation had not kept faith with him, and in the House of Lords (17th of June) he expressed his regret, without, however, divulging the name of the culprit who had betrayed him.

The war in the North of Italy had in the meantime been raging furiously. An uninterrupted series of defeats led Austria to the crowning disaster of Solferino (June 24th), and forced her to take refuge in the Quadrilateral. The losses of the French army had been heavy, and a weary struggle before the famous Four Fortresses was not inviting. The victory of Magenta had forced Prussia to mobilise her forces, and Solferino decided her to adopt a policy of "armed mediation"—the object of which was to concert with England and Russia terms of peace reconciling Austrian rights with Italian liberties, and forcing these terms on the combatants. In the end of May the Queen, depressed by the reverses of Austria, had been anxious that England should take her side, but had fortunately been dissuaded from pressing her views on the Government by Lord Malmesbury, who told her plainly that "the country would not go to war even in support of Italian independence, and there would not be ten men in the House of Commons who would do so on behalf of Austria."* For the German States intervention was, however, hardly avoidable, and so the French Emperor prudently began to negotiate for peace.

On the 6th of July Persigny submitted to Lord John Russell a proposal that England should ask for an armistice on terms which the Emperor was willing to grant, but which the Austrian Ambassador, Count Apponyi, rejected. England also declined to sanction them because, in Lord Palmerston's opinion, they ignored the wishes of Italy.† The Emperor then signed an armistice with the Austrians for seven days on the 8th of July, and arranged for a meeting with the Austrian Emperor on the 11th. On the 10th Persigny insidiously renewed his negotiations for the "moral support" of England in the new turn of affairs. Lord Malmesbury, who had the story from Persigny, says he "went to Lord Palmerston and said that the time was come for mediation, and suggested conditions, namely, Venice and its territories to be taken from Austria, not annexed to Sardinia, but made into a separate and independent State. There were other conditions, but this was the principal one.‡ That Lord Palmerston agreed to this, and rode down to Richmond to tell Lord John Russell, who was equally delighted; and that the proposal was adopted by

* *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 184.

† *Ashley's Life of Lord Palmerston*, Vol. II., p. 160.

‡ The surrender of Lombardy and the Duchies to Sardinia was one.

them and sent to the Queen, who was at Aldershot, which occasioned some delay. That her Majesty refused her consent, saying the time was not yet come to make these proposals, as the fortresses were not yet taken. That, however, in the meantime, Persigny had telegraphed the consent of the English Government to his master, who immediately asked for an interview with the Emperor of Austria, showed him Persigny's despatch, saying, 'Here are the conditions proposed by England, and agreed to also by Prussia. Now listen to mine, which, though those of an enemy, are much more favourable. So let us settle everything together without reference to the neutral Powers, whose conditions are not nearly so advantageous to you as those I am ready to grant.' The Emperor of Austria, not suspecting any reservation, and not knowing that the Queen had refused her consent to these proposals, which, though agreed to by her Government, were suggested by Persigny, evidently to give his master the opportunity of outbidding us, and making Francis Joseph think that he was thrown over by England and Prussia, accepted the offer, and peace was instantly concluded." * There cannot be any doubt that the Queen, though unaware that Persigny was merely intending to use Palmerston as a dupe, was right in refusing her consent to these sham proposals. The Emperor of Austria, it is known, would not have accepted them. But in that case "moral support" of them, recklessly promised by Palmerston, might have laid us open to the charge of having abandoned our strict and scrupulous neutrality. By the Peace of Villafranca, which was arranged at the meeting of the Emperors, Venice was left as an Austrian State, but was to enter an Italian Confederation, presided over by the Pope; Lombardy was ceded to France, who might cede it to Sardinia, and the Dukes of Tuscany and Modena were to be restored. The verdict of the Parisian *flâneurs* was that "France had made a superb war, and Austria a superb peace." Victor Emmanuel ground his teeth with rage when he found he had to accept this arrangement, adding, after his signature, the significant words, "I ratify this convention in all that concerns myself." Cavour placed his resignation in the King's hands, and left the camp for Turin, after a stormy interview with the French Emperor. "Arrêtez-moi, et vous serez forcé de retourner en France par le Tyrol," he said, when Napoleon threatened to put him under arrest for his insolent language. Palmerston, in a letter to Persigny, protested against the arrangement with impotent rage.† The Prince Consort, however, cynically observed that the Italian Question was not quite settled yet, and that a Confederation with the Pope at the head of it was only "a bad joke." The Queen soothed Lord Palmerston, in his bitter disappointment, by pointing out to him that his ally had now legalised in Italy that very Austrian influence which it was the object of the Palmerstonian policy to expel, but, she added, as Lord Palmerston had not protested against the war, he could not protest against the peace, unless it were considered wise to "make it appear as if to persecute Austria were

* *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., pp. 200, 201.

† *Ashley's Life of Lord Palmerston*, Vol. II.

a personal object with the First Minister of the Crown." To Lord John Russell she wrote in terms that must have been as gall and bitterness to Palmerston, who had, in defiance of her objections, consented to give "moral support" to Persigny's sham proposals for peace. The Emperor Napoleon, she observed, by his prudence and victories, had created for himself a formidable position. "It is remarkable," she adds, "that he has acted towards Austria now just as he did towards Russia after the fall of Sebastopol. But if it was our lot then to be left alone to act the part of the extortioner, while he acted that of the generous victor, the Queen is doubly glad that we should not now have fallen into the trap to ask from Austria, as friends and neutrals, concessions which he was ready to waive." *

Still, her Majesty did not regard the anxious events of the year with unmixed regret. It was a gratifying fact that the Indian Mutiny had been suppressed, and on the 14th of April the thanks of Parliament were voted to those who had saved our Indian Empire. The Queen, in conveying her personal thanks to Lord Canning, laid before him her project for founding the Order of the Star of India. A visit from her eldest daughter had brightened her birthday festivities—saddened though these were by the illness of the Duchess of Kent, who had been attacked by erysipelas. The Government had begun to strengthen the defences of the country, and the spontaneous uprising of the people, which originated the Volunteer Movement, placed at her disposal the nucleus of a superb defensive army, to the organisation of which the Prince Consort now began to direct his attention. Mr. Gladstone's Budget, too, though it necessitated a ninepenny income-tax† to meet exceptional naval and military expenditure, was passed ungrudgingly by Parliament, though, of course, it increased the popular antipathy to the French Emperor which the Peace of Villafranca had excited.

In vain did Napoleon III. endeavour to induce England to propose a Congress or a Conference for the purpose of settling the Italian Question in a manner that would allay Italian discontent. Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell would have fallen into this trap also, but for the tenacity with which the Queen urged her objections to their policy. Walewski fortunately admitted to Lord Cowley that the French and Austrian Emperors had agreed not to submit the Peace they had made to a Congress. "Two emperors," wrote the Queen to Lord John Russell (20th July), "who were at war with each other have suddenly concluded personally a peace, and we have before us merely the account of one of them through his Minister. This Minister's account admits that his master pledged his word on

* The Queen apparently did not know that, owing to the use which Napoleon had made of Palmerston's indiscreet approval of Persigny's proposals, the Emperor of Austria was under the impression that we had been willing to act as extortioners. On the 12th of July, a day before the Queen wrote her letter to Lord John Russell, the Austrian Emperor wrote to Napoleon III., thanking him for informing him that England supported Persigny's terms. Lord John Russell, in a despatch (July 27), found it necessary to undeceive the Austrian Government on this point.

† It was raised from 5d. to 9d.

certain points, but thinks it not binding if England will propose its being broken. This is a duty which honour forbids us to undertake." The Cabinet then so far yielded to the Queen's reasoning that they agreed to hold aloof from the whole business, till the arrangement between the two Emperors was embodied in the Treaty of Zurich. A debate in the House of Commons (8th August) showed that Parliament, on the whole, approved of this course. On



ST. GEORGE'S HALL, WINDSOR CASTLE.

the 13th came the prorogation of the Legislature, which enabled the Queen and her husband to make a short excursion to the Channel Islands.

A grave conflict of opinion now arose between the Queen and Lord John Russell. Lord John, like Lord Palmerston, was desirous of re-arranging the affairs of Italy in terms of an understanding with France. In other words, he was desirous of neutralising the Treaty of Zurich by getting one of its signatories to join him in breaking those of its conditions which were favourable to the other signatory. No doubt it was difficult to persuade the Central Italian States to abide by a treaty that handed them back to the oppressors whom they had got rid of. But the problem of reconciling the people to their petty despots was one which the Queen argued should be solved, not by England, who did not create it, but by France and Austria, who did.

Again, after some controversy, she succeeded in overruling fresh plans for intervention which Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell had mooted,* and thus matters were left when the Court reached Balmoral on the 31st of August. Hardly had the first week of her holiday passed by when the Queen discovered that Palmerston had broached his project for annexing the Italian Duchies to Sardinia in a private letter to Walewski, who, however, frankly said such a proposal would prevent Austria from signing any treaty, and thus lead to a renewal of the war. She wrote to Lord John Russell condemning Palmerston's indiscretion, and pointing out that Walewski himself suggested that annexation of Savoy to France would be the natural compensation for annexing the Duchies to Sardinia,—a compensation which would be odious to England, but which would be justified on the ground, that Palmerston's policy rendered it necessary. But Tuscany and Romagna desired annexation to Sardinia, and Napoleon accordingly suggested that a Congress should be summoned to consider the matter. Lord Palmerston agreed to this project, and though the Queen did not oppose Palmerston, she did not conceal her opinion that the object of the Congress was to induce England to do for the Italians what Napoleon had promised but had failed to do. She, however, induced the Cabinet to warn Napoleon that England would not take on herself his self-imposed duty to his clients in the revolted States. They, in the meanwhile, calmly carried on their government in the name of the Sardinian king, and in open defiance of the compact of Villafranca.

Save for these anxious diplomatic perplexities, the Balmoral holiday was a highly enjoyable one, notable for long mountain excursions, of which the Queen's ascent of Ben Macdhui was one of the most striking. The Prince Consort's address to the British Association at Aberdeen was well received, and it was followed by a Highland gathering of philosophers at Balmoral, whose *fête* was, however, marred by tempestuous weather. On the journey south the Queen opened, on the 14th of October, the great waterworks at Loch Katrine for the supply of Glasgow—works on a scale of magnificence not unworthy of the Roman Empire. After a pleasant, but brief sojourn in Wales, the Queen and her husband reached Windsor on the 17th, pleased to find that the Prince and Princess Frederick William proposed soon to visit them. They came on the 9th of November—when the birthday of the Prince of Wales was celebrated—and stayed till the 3rd of December. The last month of the year was spent at Osborne, till Christmastide came round, when the Royal Family removed to Windsor, where, writes the Prince Consort in his Diary, "we danced in the New Year."

* Palmerston contended in the end of August that these plans came within the decision of the Cabinet not to meddle with the Italian question till after the Treaty of Zurich had been signed. The Queen held that they did not, and on a Cabinet meeting being hastily summoned to settle the point, the decision went for the view of the Queen.

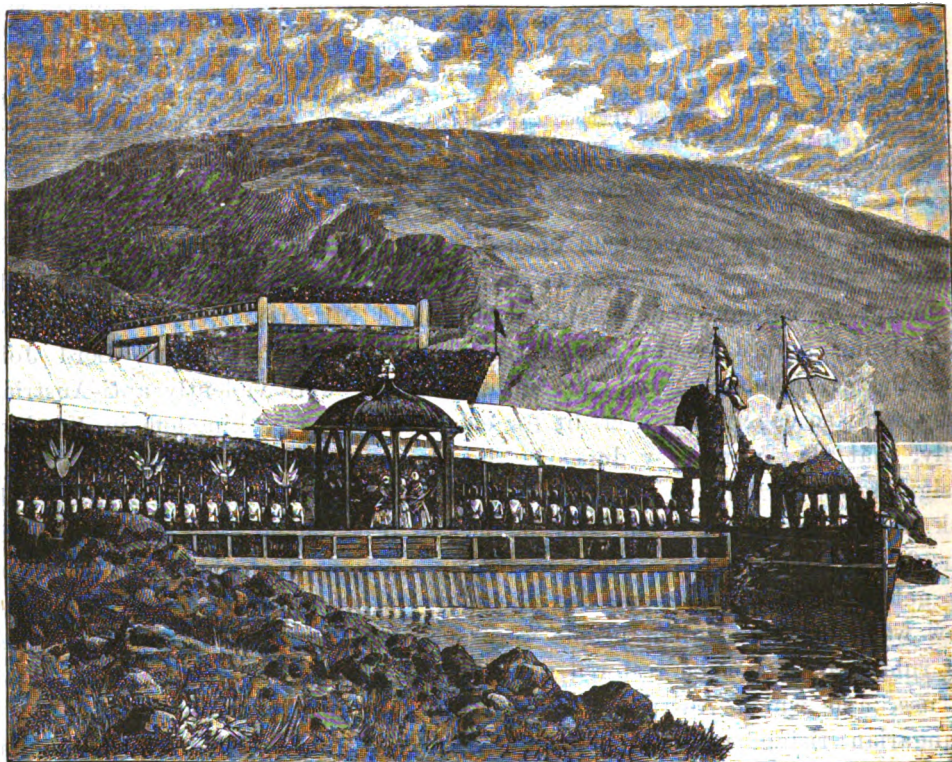
CHAPTER III.

THE COURT AND THE CABINET.

The Queen's Distrust of French Policy—Her Conferences with Lord Clarendon—The French Pamphlet on "The Pope and the Congress"—Palmerston's Proposal of an Alliance Offensive and Defensive with France—Intriguing between Palmerston and Persigny—Recall of Cavour—Affairs in China—Mr. Cobden's Commercial Treaty with France—Cession of Nice and Savoy to France—The Anglo-French Alliance at an End—Lord John Russell's Reform Bill—Threatened Rupture with France—Russia Attempts to Re-open the Eastern Question—Garibaldi's Invasion of the Two Sicilies—Collapse of the Neapolitan Monarchy—The Piedmontese Invade the Papal States—Annexation of the Sicilies to Sardinia—Meeting between Napoleon III. and the German Sovereigns at Baden—A New Holy Alliance—The Mahometan Atrocities in Syria—The Macdonald Scandal—Palmerston's Fortification Scheme—The Lords Reject the Bill Abolishing the Paper Duty—The Volunteer Movement—Reviews in Hyde Park and Edinburgh—The Queen at Wimbledon—The Prince of Wales's Tour in Canada and the United States—Betrothal of the Princess Alice—The Queen and her Grandchild—Serious Accident to the Prince Consort—Illness of the Queen.

ALTHOUGH the new year (1860) opened brightly for commercial England, the political outlook was far from cheerful. The Cabinet and the Queen were by no means in harmony on Foreign affairs, and Ministers were themselves far from being agreed as to a Reform policy. Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Milner Gibson were violently anti-Austrian. They were so eager to win credit for establishing a free kingdom in Northern Italy, that they were easy dupes in the hands of the French Emperor, whose design it was to achieve this end, so that whilst the credit should be his, the risk should be theirs. The Queen, on the other hand, was profoundly distrustful of French policy. She persisted in seeing in it nothing save a scheme for getting England to "pull the chestnuts out of the fire" for France. Her view was that the Italian people were now masters of the situation. Their old rulers could not be restored save by force, which Napoleon did not dare to use, and which Austria, weakened in her finances, and menaced by a Hungarian rising, was also afraid to apply. The solution of the Italian question in the opinion of the Queen might be safely left to the natural course of events, and the duty of England was done when she frankly expressed her sympathy with the Italian struggle for constitutional freedom. Napoleon, however, after promising to make Italy "free from the Alps to the Adriatic," could hardly leave her to free herself as she was doing. His engagements to Austria on the other hand rendered it difficult for him to interfere actively. But it would have suited his convenience admirably if he were able to interfere with an ally, and on the basis of a proposal which originated with England, for then he might be able to offer a plausible excuse for not abiding by the pact of Villafranca. The game of diplomacy during this period was played, by France insinuating projects of interference to Lord Palmerston, so that they might seem to have originated with him, and by Lord Palmerston putting them into Lord John Russell's mind, so that Lord John, who was at

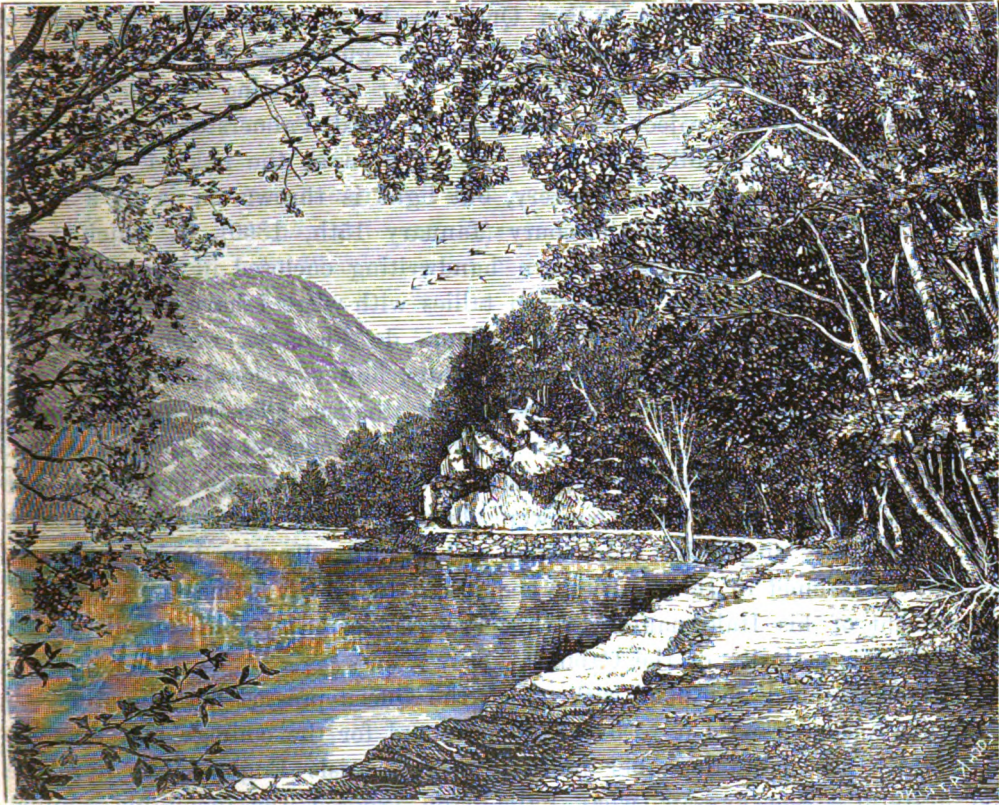
the Foreign Office, might seem to the Queen to be the originator of them. There is reason to believe that the Queen quite understood her Prime Minister's tactics. Mr. Greville gives a graphic sketch of her relations to her Ministers during this period of controversy, in his record of a conversation which he had with Lord Clarendon about a confidential visit he paid to Osborne in the previous summer. "The Queen," writes Mr. Greville, "was delighted to have him (Clarendon) with her again, and to have a good long



THE QUEEN OPENING GLASGOW WATERWORKS AT LOCH KATRINE.

confidential talk with him, for it seems she finds less satisfaction in her intercourse with either Palmerston or Lord John. The relations of these two are now most intimate and complete. Palmerston, taking advantage of Russell's ignorance of Foreign Affairs, used to suggest a project to him. Russell would bring this before the Cabinet as his own, and Palmerston would support it as if the case was quite new to him." At Osborne Clarendon "was unfortunately attacked by gout, and confined to his room. He was sitting there with Lady Clarendon, when Lady Gainsborough came in and told him that she was desired by the Queen to beg he would, if possible, move into the next room [the lady-in-waiting's room] and establish himself there; that the Queen would come in, when all the ladies present were to go away and leave

her *tête-à-tête* with him. All this was done, and she remained there an hour and a half talking over everything, pouring all her confidences into his ears, and asking for his advice about everything. He said he had endeavoured to do as much good as he could, by smoothing down her irritation about things she did not like. As an example, he mentioned that while the Prince was with him a box was brought in with a despatch from Lord John which the Prince was to read. He did so with strong marks of displeasure, and then



VIEW ON LOCH KATRINE: THE WALK BY THE SHORE.

read it to Clarendon, saying they could not approve of it, and must return it to Lord John. Clarendon begged him not to do this; that it was not the way to deal with him, and it would be better to see what it contained that was really good and proper, and to suggest emendations as to the rest. He persuaded the Prince to do this, advised him what to say, and in the end Lord John adopted all the suggestions they made to him. On another occasion the Queen had received a very touching letter from the Duchess of Parma, imploring her protection and good offices, which she had sent to Lord John, desiring he would write an answer for her to make to it. He sent a very short, cold answer, which the Queen would not send. She asked Clarendon

to write a suitable one for her, which he did, but insisted that she should send it to Lord John as her own. She did so, Lord John approved, and so this matter was settled." *

An "inspired" pamphlet on the "Pope and the Congress" had appeared in Paris, pointing to a re-arrangement of the Italian Provinces, that not only alarmed Austria, but caused her to decline to enter the Congress altogether, unless France would disavow her complicity with such schemes. The moment, therefore, was opportune for a fresh combination, and the Emperor's new plan was one to settle the Italian Question by a triple alliance between England, France, and Sardinia, which would guarantee the latter Power against all foreign intervention in Italy. At a meeting of the Liberal Cabinet this insidious project was broached by Lord Palmerston† on the 3rd of January, who was willing to enter into it even at the risk of war. The compact was long an affair of mystery, but light is thrown on it by a letter from Lord Derby to Lord Malmesbury (January 15th, 1860), in which Lord Derby says, "I return the well-known handwriting enclosed in your letter of the 13th. The information there given tallies with what I have received from other quarters, among others from Madame de Flahault, whom I met at Bretby. The offer of a *commercial treaty* was, however, coupled, though she did not tell me so, with the proposal of an alliance, *offensive and defensive*, with France, and a joint guarantee of the independence of Central Italy! Cowley came here specially to urge the adoption of these two measures; but my latest intelligence is that they were debated in the Cabinet on Tuesday last, strenuously urged by Palmerston and J. Russell, who had confidently assured the Cabinet of their success, acquiesced in by Gladstone, by the double inducement of his Italo-mania and his Free Trade policy, but on discussion rejected by a majority of the Cabinet." ‡

The enlightened obstinacy with which the Queen pressed her objections to this wild scheme caused it to be abandoned, and for the courage and tenacity with which she maintained her position at that crisis England can never be too grateful. She foresaw, what Palmerston ignored, the inevitable conflict between Prussia and France, which she hoped and believed would lead to the unification of Germany, and one almost shudders to think of the position Great Britain would have occupied in 1870, had this offensive and defensive alliance with France been consummated in 1860. Her Majesty had permitted herself to be dragged by Palmerston into a war with Russia "for an idea," with France as an ally. She could not forget the harsh lesson which that blunder had impressed on her. She could not forget, as easily as did Palmerston, how that alliance left England with little control over her action in war, and still less control over the settlement of the peace which was forced on her by the

* Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. II., p. 270.

† Ashley's Life of Palmerston, Vol. II., p. 174.

‡ Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 213.

sudden desertion of her ally. Thwarted at this point, Napoleon and Palmerston renewed the attack at another. Persigny came to Lord John Russell with a suggestion that Austria and France should both pledge themselves not to interfere in Italy unless under a European mandate in case of anarchy, and he proposed that this arrangement might be made "the basis of an agreement between France and England." The Queen's answer was crushing. "If," she wrote, "France and Austria will both abstain from interfering in the affairs of Italy, it will be much the wisest course; but the Queen cannot see why this should require an agreement to be entered into between France and us, who ought not to interfere at all."*

As a matter of fact, Austria formally intimated she had no intention of interfering, and French troops in Rome and Lombardy were the only foreign troops at the time on Italian territory. But the recklessness of Palmerston's intrigues with France cannot be justly appreciated, unless it is kept in view that Napoleon was now entering into another arrangement for settling the Italian Question. At Plombières he had promised Cavour to free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic on condition that Sardinia would cede Savoy and Nice to France. This bargain Cavour repudiated when the Emperor failed to make his word good at Villafranca. On the 16th of January Victor Emmanuel recalled Cavour to the head of affairs, and a new compact was made by which Sardinia would cede Nice and Savoy, as the price of Napoleon's consent to her annexation of the revolted Duchies. It is hardly necessary to say that had Lord Palmerston, who was in ignorance of this compact, contrived to entangle England in alliance with France, the storm of indignation which swept over England when the cession of Nice and Savoy was intimated would have brought about the fall of his Ministry. But when Parliament opened on the 24th of January, and when Mr. Disraeli, in speaking to the Address, elicited very plainly the strong feeling of the House against compromising engagements with France, Lord Palmerston was fortunate in being able to say that his Government "was totally free from any engagement whatever with any Foreign Power upon the affairs of Italy." He did not deem it necessary to add that for this stroke of luck the Cabinet owed him no thanks.

The points in the Queen's Speech which attracted attention after the Italian Question were the hostilities with China and the Commercial Treaty with France, which Mr. Cobden had negotiated during the fall of the preceding year. The Treaty with China was to have been ratified at Peking. But when our Ambassador attempted to proceed thither he found the Peiho river blocked, and the Chinese forts not only opened fire, but repulsed our squadron. A joint expedition was fitted out in conjunction with France to avenge this defeat, and compel the Chinese Government to ratify the Treaty at Peking, and complaints were made that Parliament had not been consulted before the

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XCVII.

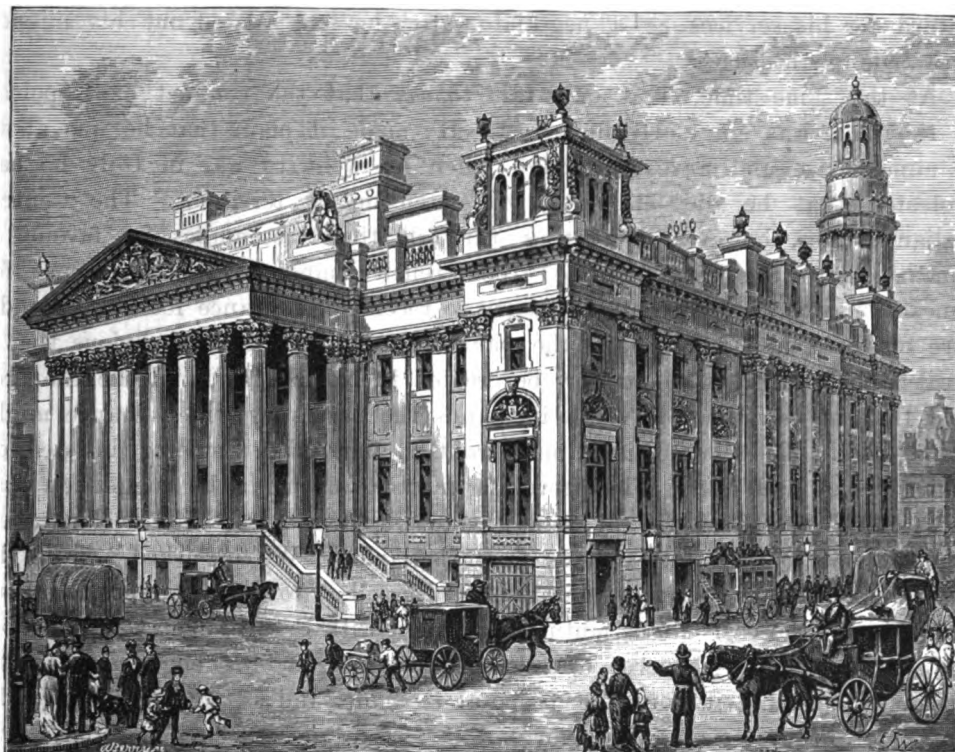
joint expedition had been decided on. The history of Mr. Cobden's Commercial Treaty has been told at great length elsewhere,* so that we need do no more than say it was signed on the 29th of January. Manchester immediately hailed Napoleon III. with the same effusive admiration that it bestowed on Peel in 1846. The English press, foreseeing an era of extended trade and permanent peace, ceased its attacks on the French Emperor, and complimented him so violently, that M. Baroche told Mr. Cobden its flattery would make the Treaty unpopular in France. The Treaty was at this stage merely the skeleton of a reciprocal fiscal arrangement. England gave France coal and iron duty free. England further agreed to reduce import duties on French wines and various articles of French manufacture. France, on the other hand, engaged not only to limit her customs duty to thirty per cent. on the value of English goods, but by the 13th Article she agreed to convert *ad valorem* duties into specific duties by a supplementary convention. The extent to which, under this Article, duties were reduced would of course measure the usefulness of the Treaty.

The Treaty, along with the changes in taxation which it would involve, was explained by Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons on the 10th of February. His Budget estimates showed a deficit of over £9,000,000, to meet which he not only continued the tea and sugar duties, but levied an Income Tax of 10d. in the pound on incomes over £150 a year, and 7d. on incomes under that amount. One part of his scheme was to abolish the Paper duty, but in this he was thwarted by the House of Lords. The French Treaty compelled him to lower the duty on French spirits and wines, and to abolish duties on manufactures not subject to excise in England. He struck 370 articles out of the Tariff list, and reduced and readjusted those that he retained, which were forty-eight. "The whole of our recent fiscal history," according to a high authority on financial questions, "is a complete vindication of the policy of remitting and reducing duties, so that nothing should remain on the tariff which did not contribute a substantial sum to the revenue, and in order that it might do so, should bear no duty high enough to preclude its passing into general consumption. By the remissions of 1860 that ideal was nearly attained. As an example of how the remissions worked, I may mention that the imports of French wines increased at once by 127 per cent. on the reduction of the duty. On the whole of the articles on which the customs duties were repealed in 1860 the immediate increase on the import duty was 40½ per cent., although the year 1861 was in some respects a highly unfavourable one in which to judge of the purchasing capacity of the nation."† This brilliant and successful policy, however, was opposed bitterly by the Tories and a few Peelites, like Sir James Graham; and some Whigs, like Lord Clarendon,

* Morley's Life of Cobden, Chap. XXVI.

† The National Budget, by Alexander Johnstone Wilson. London: Macmillan: 1882, p. 90.

even condemned the policy of the Treaty as unsound.* The Queen was not sanguine about the matter, and the Prince Consort saw in the Treaty only a device for giving France the supply of coal and iron which she needed to compete with England in the markets of the world, whereas England surrendered valuable sources of revenue, without any adequate compensation. The strongest point against the Treaty was made by Lord Derby. He complained in the House of Lords that though the arrangement was based on



THE ROYAL EXCHANGE, MANCHESTER.

the assumption that there would be peace between France and England, the general policy of the Cabinet, as tested by Mr. Gladstone's estimates, assumed that war between the two nations was imminent. On a motion in the House of Commons asserting that it was not expedient to diminish sources of revenue or add a penny to the Income Tax, the whole policy of the Treaty and the Budget was challenged, and the opposition to both defeated by a majority of 116. The theoretical objections to commercial treaties generally were overcome by Mr. Gladstone's argument that by making a small sacrifice of revenue England gained a vast extension of her export trade. But the real difficulty, of course, lay in fixing the limits of the duties under the 13th

* *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 216. *Morley's Life of Cobden*, Chap. XXIX.

Article of the Treaty. A Commission was sent to Paris, on which Mr. Cobden agreed to serve, for the purpose of beating down the duties from the thirty per cent. maximum to a minimum of as nearly as possible ten per cent., and it was while this Commission was haggling with the French Commissioners that Cobden found himself thwarted by the secret hostility of the Foreign Office, and embarrassed by the bellicose policy of the Cabinet, which naturally produced ill feeling in France. He resented this action so bitterly, that he could not bring himself to accept from the Government the slightest reward for his services as a negotiator after he had carried out his mission with triumphant success.*

At the same time, it is only fair to say that the conduct of Napoleon at the time was singularly indiscreet. He made it plain that he was about to annex Nice and Savoy, although when he went to war in Italy he had protested that he did not seek for extension of territory. The Central Italian States, however, by voting through their assemblies in favour of annexation to Sardinia, furnished the French Emperor with an excuse for annexations, which were only necessary to recompense France for her expenditure of blood and treasure in the war with Austria. It was obvious that a great Italian kingdom would now be created in North Italy, and the Emperor held that he could not leave in its hands the passes by which France might be invaded. To secure his Alpine frontier, then, the Emperor insisted on taking Savoy and Nice. The provoking matter was this: the suggestion that the Central States should by a new vote in their Assemblies declare their intentions as to their future came from England. "We are asked," wrote the Queen, in a sharp letter to Lord John Russell, "to make proposals about Italy, 'to lay the basis for a mutual agreement with France, upon that question, and to enable the Emperor to release himself from his engagements with Austria.' In an evil hour the proposal is made, and is now pleaded as the reason for France seizing on Savoy. . . . Sardinia is being aggrandised at the expense of Austria and the House of Lorraine, and France is to be compensated. If the passes of the Alps are dangerous to a neighbour, the

* In a letter to Mr. Bright he says, "To form a fair judgment of this reckless levity and utter want of dignity and decency on the part of the Prime Minister, just turn to the volumes of the life of the first Lord Auckland, who was sent by Pitt to negotiate the Commercial Treaty with France in 1786. I have not seen the book, but I can tell you what you will not find in its pages. You will not read that in the midst of those negotiations Pitt rose in the House, and declared that he apprehended danger of a sudden and unprovoked attack on our shores by the French king; that (whilst history told us we had 84,000 men voted for our Navy to the 31,000 in France, and whilst we had 150,000 riflemen assembled for drill) he, Mr. Pitt, pursued the eccentric course of proposing that the nation should spend £10,000,000 on fortifications, and that he accompanied this with speeches in the House in which he imputed treacherous and unprovoked designs upon us on the part of the monarch with whom his own Plenipotentiary was then negotiating a Treaty of Commerce in Paris. On the contrary, you will find Pitt consistently defending, in all its breadth and moral bearings, his peaceful policy, and it is the most enduring title to fame that he left in all his public career."—*Morley's Life of Cobden*, Chap. XXIX.

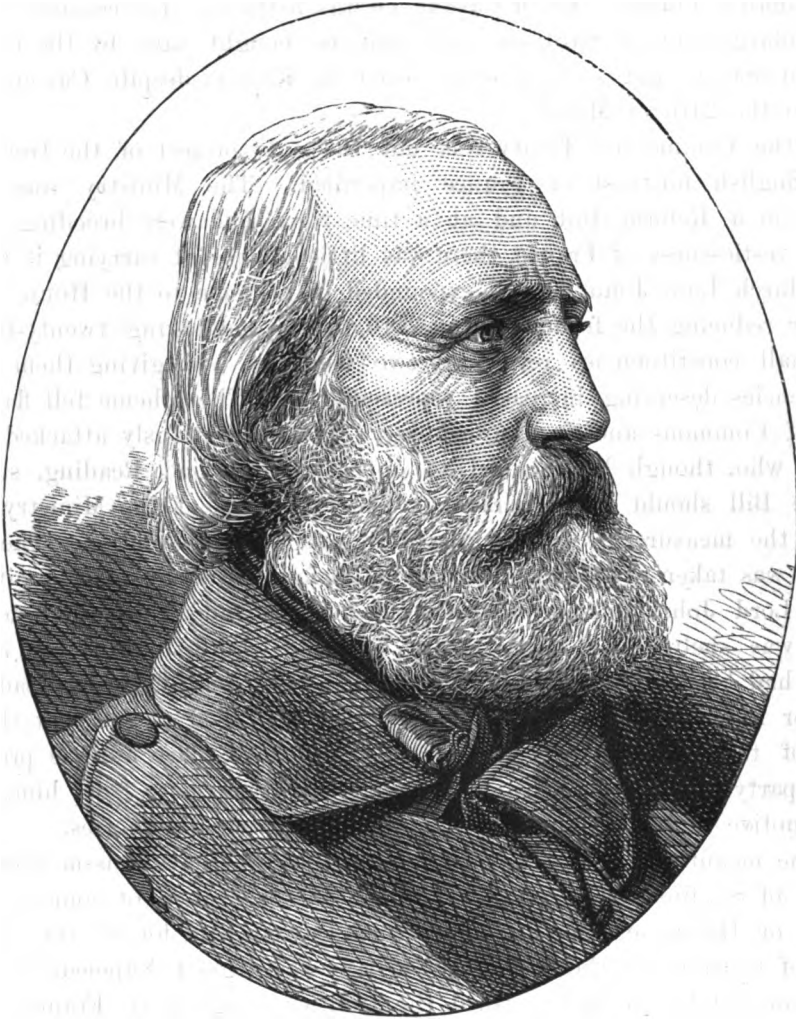
weaker power must give them up to the stronger!"* The Queen, in fact, feared that on the same pretext the French Emperor might be led to demand a rectification of his Rhenish frontier, a demand which she knew must lead straight to a disastrous European war. A discussion raised by Lord Normanby in the House of Lords on the 7th of February stirred up the forces of public opinion against France. As for Cavour, he was helpless. The consent of France to the enlargement of Sardinia could not be bought save by the cession of Nice and Savoy, and so they were ceded to France, despite Cavour's reluctance, on the 24th of March.

But the Commercial Treaty was not the only project of the Government which English mistrust of France imperilled. The Ministry was pledged to bring in a Reform Bill, and at a time when folk were brooding over the growing restlessness of France, there was little chance of carrying it. On the 1st of March Lord John Russell expounded his scheme to the House of Commons for reducing the franchise from £10 to £6, and taking twenty-five seats from small constituencies returning two members, and giving them to large constituencies deserving increased representation. The scheme fell flat in the House of Commons and in the country. It was cautiously attacked by Mr. Disraeli, who, though he declined to oppose the Second Reading, suggested that the Bill should be withdrawn. The supporters of the Ministry had no love for the measure, because if passed it involved a dissolution. The Second Reading was taken without a division, but before the stage of Committee was reached Lord John Russell withdrew the measure, and thus the question of Reform was shelved for several years to come. Lord John at last admitted that he had been mistaken in supposing that there was any widespread enthusiasm for Reform in the country. He, however, failed to see that the withdrawal of the Bill rendered Palmerston's tenure of office a little precarious, for the party of Reform, knowing it could expect no more from him, had no strong motive for supporting him any further against the Tories.

In the meantime France was beginning to hint that Prussia should play the part of Sardinia in Germany. The consent of France, of course, could be obtained on the same terms as those which Cavour paid for it—the cession to France of territory on the Rhine. Clearly, it was argued, Napoleon would give Europe no rest till he had rectified the frontier assigned to France in 1815, after the fall of the First Empire. Very soon it became necessary to proclaim that England had no part in these schemes, and when, on the 26th of March, Lord John Russell declared in the House of Commons that there was no longer an exclusive alliance with France, the Queen congratulated him on what was really the triumph of her own policy. According to her view, a belief that this alliance existed made the European Powers at all times chary of co-operating with England. Unfortunately, Lord John Russell's speech irritated

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XXVIII.

public opinion in France, and the recriminations of the Press in both countries caused Persigny to warn Palmerston that war between them would soon be inevitable. Count Flahault and Lord Palmerston held a conversation on the subject, in which they discussed the chances of war in the frankest manner—

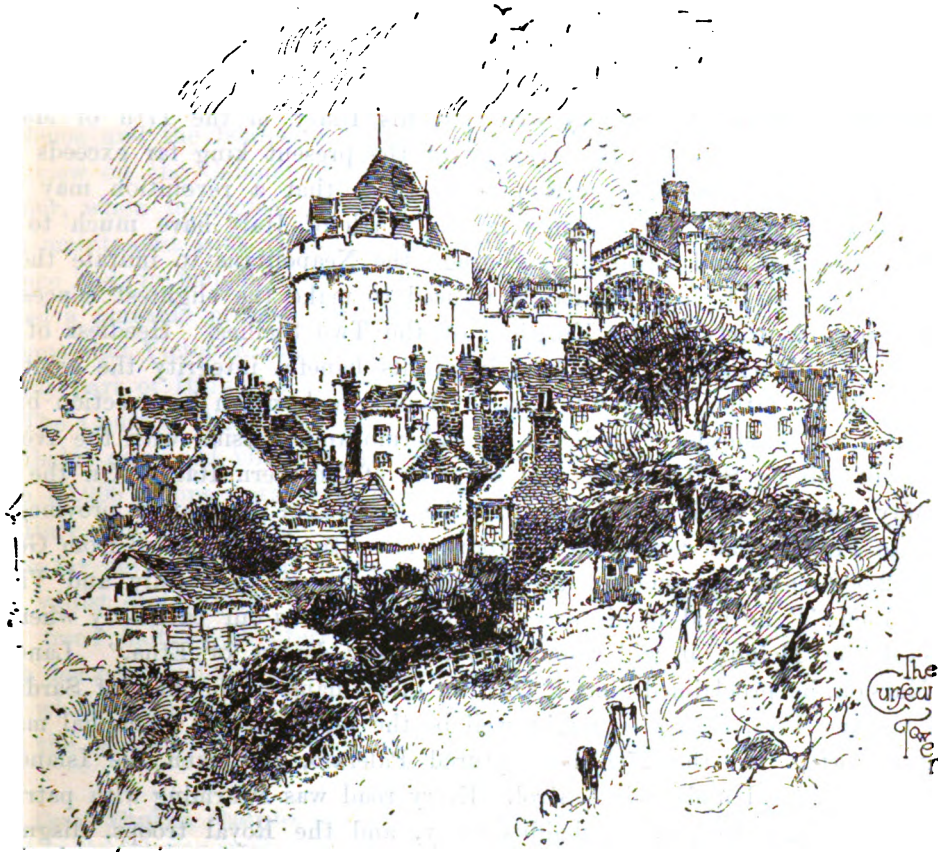


GENERAL GARIBALDI.

each vaunting the undeniable superiority of his country in battle.* Count Flahault is supposed to have been impressed with Palmerston's demonstration that victory in such a struggle must rest on English banners, and to have succeeded in soothing down the angry feeling against England, which then raged at the French Court. The real reason why all danger of a rupture passed away was that Persigny's favourite argument—namely, that war with England meant the

* Ashley's Life of Lord Palmerston, Vol. II., p. 190.

destruction of the dynasty—prevailed. Moreover, Napoleon saw plainly that as every European Power was afraid of France, and as no European Power had anything to dread from England, Europe in a war between England and France would not be on the side of the latter Power. But no sooner did France suggest that the Treaty arrangements of 1815 might be rectified, than Russia



THE CURFEW TOWER, WINDSOR CASTLE.

hinted that the same process might be applied with advantage to the Treaty of 1856. The old pretext for opening up the Eastern Question—namely, the oppressiveness of the Turkish Government—lay ready to Russia's hands. The English Cabinet, in reply to Russia's communications on the subject, insisted that the plots of foreign intriguers in Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Servia were really at the root of the miseries of the people. Russia, in raising this question, had assumed that France would help her. But Napoleon's eyes were fixed not on the Danube but on the Rhine; so Russian hopes of aid from France were doomed to disappointment. The next move on the European chess-board justified the anticipations which the Queen held out after Lord

John Russell's speech of the 24th of March. Finding that England no longer leaned solely on France, Austria and Prussia suggested that they should come to an understanding with England, by which they bound each other to oppose every future disturbance of frontiers in Europe—a step, however, which her Majesty shrank from taking. At her suggestion, the Cabinet agreed to a compact that each of the Powers should give the others warning of any projected disturbances of territory as soon as they were heard of, and frankly discuss their bearings; and of these disturbances one was already imminent in Southern Italy.

"Naples," Lord Malmesbury writes in his Diary on the 17th of March, "is in a dreadful state. The tyranny of the present king far exceeds that of his father, and the exasperation is so great that a revolution may take place at any moment. But events in the north of Italy have much to say to these feelings, and naturally encourage the Neapolitans to imitate them." In fact, Francis II. had obstinately refused to make the slightest concession to the popular party in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Heedless of the revolution in North Italy he upheld in all its baneful integrity the arbitrary system of his father, King "Bomba." Hence in April an insurrection broke out, as Lord Malmesbury predicted, in Palermo and Messina with the avowed object of joining Sicily to the new kingdom of Northern Italy. On the 5th of May General Garibaldi, who, after the cession of his native province of Nice to France, had renounced all connection with Cavour, sailed from Genoa with 2,000 men to succour the Sicilian insurgents. "'Italy and Victor Emmanuel!'" he said in his proclamation, "that was our battle-cry when we crossed the Ticino; it will resound to the very depths of Etna." Landing at Marsala, he proclaimed himself Dictator in the name of the King of Sardinia, and Cæsar's *Veni, vidi, vici*, might well be the record of his triumphal march to the north. On the 27th he captured Palermo, and then the Island of Sicily soon passed under his control. Every road was swarming with patriotic volunteers eager to join Garibaldi's army, and the Royal troops, disgusted with the cowardice and incapacity of their leaders, were wavering in their allegiance to the King. They made a final stand at Melazzo, after which they took refuge in the citadel of Messina, where they remained undisturbed at the end of the year. "If we succeed," wrote Garibaldi to Victor Emmanuel, "I shall be proud to adorn your Majesty's crown with a new and perhaps more brilliant jewel, but always on the condition that your Majesty will resist your advisers should they wish to cede this province to the stranger, as they have ceded my native city, Nice." The bitter allusion to Cavour's policy, which had converted Garibaldi into a Frenchman against his will, is a sufficient answer to those who have alleged that Cavour was acting at this time in concert with Garibaldi. The most that can be said is that he knew privately that a revolutionary attack on the Sicilian monarchy was contemplated, and finding it to his account to preoccupy Francis II., then threatening interference

in the revolted Roman States, he did not consider it necessary to prevent Garibaldi's departure from Genoa.* But all the European Governments believed that Cavour was secretly in league with Garibaldi, and they pretended to see in the revolution of the Sicilies an attempt at piratical self-aggrandisement by Sardinia. Sardinian ambition must be curbed, said the diplomatists; and so Cavour soon found himself surrounded by embarrassments. Russia hinted at armed intervention for the protection of the Neapolitan Bourbons. France, in a paroxysm of virtue, deprecated any extension of Sardinian territory. England implored Sardinia to take no hand in, and lend no countenance to, the revolution in the Sicilies, lest France should demand more compensations in Genoa and the Island of Sardinia itself. When Lord John Russell pressed this view on the Cabinet of Turin he was probably ignorant of the fact that Cavour, when he signed the compact ceding Savoy to France, said, bitterly, "*Et maintenant vous voilà nos complices!*" ("Now you are an accomplice"). France had, in fact, been paid in full for her neutrality; and though Cavour issued a platonic protest against the conquest of the Sicilies in May, it was obvious that Victor Emmanuel would never risk his Crown by actively impeding in any part of Italy the movement for national independence.

The Court of Naples at this crisis seemed paralysed with panic. In August Garibaldi advanced virtually unopposed, and captured the capital, the King, with 50,000 troops, retreating to Capua and Gaëta.†

Italy, said Mr. Disraeli, in one of the debates in Parliament, "was in a state far beyond the management of, and settlement of Courts and Cabinets," and whilst diplomatists were debating how she could be kept in bondage, she had freed half of her territory by one daring but decisive stroke. Flushed with his easy victory, Garibaldi now declared he would hold South Italy till the whole peninsula was free—till Austria was expelled from the north-east, and the eagles of France were chased from the pinnacles of the capital. This

* Count Vitzthum illustrates the relations between the Republican conspirators and the Italian Court by the following anecdote:—One day an English gentleman visited Cavour, who was surprised to find he knew a great deal about the intrigues of Victor Emmanuel's Government. He exclaimed, "How is it that you, a stranger, are acquainted with secrets which I thought were only known to one man besides the King and myself—namely, the Republican exile, Mazzini?"—St. Petersburg and London in the years 1852—1864. *Reminiscences of Count Charles Frederick Vitzthum von Eckstaedt, late Saxon Minister at the Court of St. James's*: Longmans and Co. (1887).

† Count Vitzthum hints that the mysterious collapse of the Royalist armies in the Sicilies was due to foul play. He says of Garibaldi, "His jugglery, thanks to the inaction of Europe and the melancholy condition of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, met with unexpected success. One example will suffice. A few weeks after Garibaldi's entry into Naples, a former Neapolitan General was arrested at Paris. He had, without knowing it, paid out some forged banknotes. The examination showed he had received them from Garibaldi as a bribe. People knew after this how the latter bought his victories." Vitzthum seems to have disliked Garibaldi, and his opinion on the matter is not conclusive. One would like to have better evidence than the confession of an utterer of forged notes that he got them from Garibaldi. Even if the story be true, it only points to what was one justification for the Sicilian insurrection—the complete demoralisation of the servants of the State.

declaration forced the hands of France and Sardinia. Cavour and Napoleon agreed that intervention in the Papal States and in Naples could not be postponed.* Victor Emmanuel, therefore, summoned the Pope to dismiss the foreign levies he had organised for the purpose of forcing his revolted subjects to return to their allegiance. His Holiness refused, and then Cialdini and Fanti overran Umbria and the Marches, crushed the Papal army, and forced Lamoriciere to surrender the fortress of Ancona. Carefully avoiding a collision with Austria and with the French army of occupation in Rome—a condition attached to the neutrality of Napoleon III.—the Piedmontese troops marched on to complete the conquest of the Sicilies, where the King still held out at Gaëta and Capua. When this had been effected the kingdoms, by a popular vote, decided on annexation to Sardinia, and Europe acquiesced in the interests of law, order, and monarchical institutions. Garibaldi, on handing over the Sicilies to Victor Emmanuel, retired to Caprera, refusing all reward or recompense for his splendid services to his country, and appealing to Italy to be ready to renew the struggle for freedom in Venetia next year. But the prevailing feeling was that a final settlement of the Italian Question had not yet been arrived at, and would never be arrived at whilst Austria held Venetia and the French occupied Rome. Knowing well that the hold of Austria on Venetia was weakened by disaffection in Hungary, the Emperor of Austria promulgated a general constitution for the Empire, with separate charters for the various provinces. The scheme, however, broke down, because it failed to satisfy the popular demand for the restoration of the rights of Hungary as they existed in 1848.

* Cavour's invasion of the Papal States was inevitable, though the pretext was flimsy. His subtle justification will be found in his masterly despatch of the 12th of October, reviewing the affairs of Italy, in which he dwelt on the advantage of substituting for the discredited dynasties, an Italian Kingdom that would "rob revolutionary passions of a theatre where previously most insane enterprises had chances, if not of success, at least of exciting the sympathies of all generously-minded men." In a word, his case was that Sardinian intervention could alone prevent the national movement from degenerating into sheer anarchy. Fear, lest Garibaldi might be induced by Mazzini's partisans, who had surrounded him, to set up a Republic, led the European Courts to condone by passive acquiescence a despatch which postulated the inherent right of a people to depose an hereditary monarch. France withdrew her Minister from Turin by way of formally discountenancing the invasion, which, however, had been secretly arranged at an interview between Napoleon and Cavour at Chambéry. England alone avowed her approval of Cavour's policy, in a despatch which Lord John Russell sent to Sir J. Hudson on the 27th of October, but of which he kept the Queen and his colleagues in ignorance. The feeling of the country being with Lord John, the Queen and Lord Palmerston did not find it expedient to resent the affront. The truth is, that Lord John had previously written a despatch (31st August) menacing Sardinia if she attacked Austria in Venetia, and admitting the right of Austria to hold Venetia, which had enraged the Radicals. So by way of conciliating them he wrote the despatch of the 17th of October, recanting the absolutist doctrines he had promulgated in August. But personally, Lord John was notoriously a partisan of the national movement in Italy. "Sir J. Hudson," writes Lord Malmesbury, "told me that Lord John virtually encouraged the King (Victor Emmanuel) to invade Naples, by asking his *aide-de-camp* at Richmond whether the King was not *afraid*. This was quite enough to send Victor Emmanuel *anywhere*."—*Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 237.

Early in the summer a remarkable incident in European politics happened that profoundly agitated the Queen. The French press had suggested that, provided France was compensated by an extension of frontier on the Rhine, Prussia might, with her consent, play in Germany the rôle assumed by Sardinia in Italy. When Lord John Russell publicly abandoned the French alliance, the



POPE PIUS IX.

Queen suggested the substitution for it of an arrangement between England, Prussia, and Austria, to the effect "that each should make known to the other two any overture or proposition, direct, or indirect, which either of the three may receive from France tending to any change of the existing state of territorial possessions in Europe, and that no answer should be given to such overture or proposal until the Government to which it may have been made shall have had an answer from the other two to the communication so made."*

* See the Queen's letter to Lord Palmerston (3rd June) quoted in Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*, Chap. CII.

This arrangement subsisted when the French Emperor suggested to the Prince Regent of Prussia that they should meet in friendly conference together at Baden on the 16th of June. The Prince Regent of Prussia met the French Emperor, not alone, but in company with the Kings of Wurtemberg, Bavaria, Saxony, and Hanover; the Grand Dukes of Baden, Saxe-Weimar, and Hesse Darmstadt; and the Dukes of Nassau and Saxe-Coburg Gotha, and the Prince of Hohenzollern. This, says the biographer of Prince Bismarck, was a "demonstration for the integrity of German soil,"* and it compelled the French Emperor to suddenly change his plan, which had been to suggest that Prussia should seize Savoy and Hanover, and let France rectify her frontier on the Rhine. This design could not be avowed at such a meeting, so Napoleon contented himself with assuring the Prince Regent of Prussia that he had no intention of dismembering any territory from Germany—and giving for the first time his reasons for violating the pledges of Milan and annexing Nice and Savoy. The Prince accepted Napoleon's assurances, saying that he could immediately restore confidence to Germany by communicating them to the German sovereigns then in Baden. He also transmitted to the Prince Consort a private account of the interview, which quite relieved the anxiety which the conference had caused the Queen.†

Following closely on this conference came a letter from the French Emperor to Persigny for Palmerston's perusal, in which he strove hard to reconstruct his English alliance, but to which no other reply was given than that England gave France credit for good intentions, and would remain her friend so long as she did not disturb the peace of Europe.‡ Garibaldi's invasion of the Sicilies had alarmed Austria. French conspirators, it was said, were already busy in Hungary and Russian Poland, and Venetia might be attacked at any

* Lowe's Life of Bismarck, Vol. I., p. 263.

† Another part of Napoleon's scheme at Baden was to suggest the partition of Turkey by way of compensating Austria for the loss of Venetia, an old idea of Talleyrand's. Russia, however, objected to the Danubian provinces of Turkey being given to Austria, so the proposal was not made. The whole scheme would have thus been—the annexation of Rhenish territory to France, of the northern German States to Prussia, of the Danubian provinces to Austria, and of Venetia to Italy.

‡ This letter (which was published) was written without the knowledge of the French Ministry. It was prompted by certain suspicions which had been expressed as to the Emperor's good faith in interfering again in the Eastern Question. In June Europe was shocked to learn that the Druses, who were Moslems, had massacred thousands of the Christian Maronites in the Lebanon. The Turks had abetted these atrocities, their defence being that the Maronites were meditating a rebellion. On the 9th of July Moslem fanatics, aided by Turkish troops, also butchered the people in the Christian quarter of Damascus—3,500 males being slaughtered. The Consulates of France, Austria, Russia, Holland, Belgium, and Greece were sacked, their inmates finding a refuge in the house of Abd-el-Kader. Fuad Pasha, the Imperial Ottoman Commissioner, punished the guilty parties, but the French Emperor also insisted on sending out troops to keep order in the country. This proposal was jealously regarded by England, but it was agreed to after much negotiation—France furnishing 6,000 men, and the other Powers as many more up to 6,000 as might be necessary, six months being fixed as the term of the occupation. The Emperor resented our suspicions as to his motives in occupying Syria, and in his celebrated letter to Persigny defends their disinterestedness.

moment. In these circumstances the attitude of Prussia was a matter of supreme concern to Austria. The unrest of Poland rendered it inconvenient for Russia to help Austria. Could she hope to induce Prussia to assist her in coercing her mutinous subjects? The meeting of the Emperor of Austria and the Prince Regent of Prussia at Töplitz was watched with intense interest by the Queen, who knew how fatal it would be for Germany if Prussia suffered herself to be entangled in the non-German affairs of Austria. The Austrian Emperor, however, did not ask for Prussian aid in the event of Venetia being attacked by France or Italy, unless, as he hoped, Prussia "after negotiations," saw in such an attack a common danger. The real danger to Prussia was that Austria, after getting a promise of assistance, might provoke France to attack Italy; but as a matter of fact, the Prince Regent kept clear of all engagements with Austria at this interview, about which so much mystery was raised at the time. According to the private account of it given by the Prince of Prussia to the Prince Consort, it only led to an exchange of ideas, and to certain vague promises on the part of the Emperor Francis Joseph, that he would grant reforms to his provinces.* After the fall of the Neapolitan dynasty had been brought about, the French Emperor let it be known that whilst he approved of the creation of a strong Italian kingdom, he would not defend Italy if she attacked Austria. It was, indeed, the knowledge of this fact which enabled Cavour to hold the Italian Revolution in hand, for even Garibaldi was not so reckless as to rush into war against Austria without allies. Still, the Austrians put little faith in Napoleon's assurances, and on the 25th of October a meeting between the rulers of Austria, Russia, and Prussia was held at Warsaw to discuss the situation.

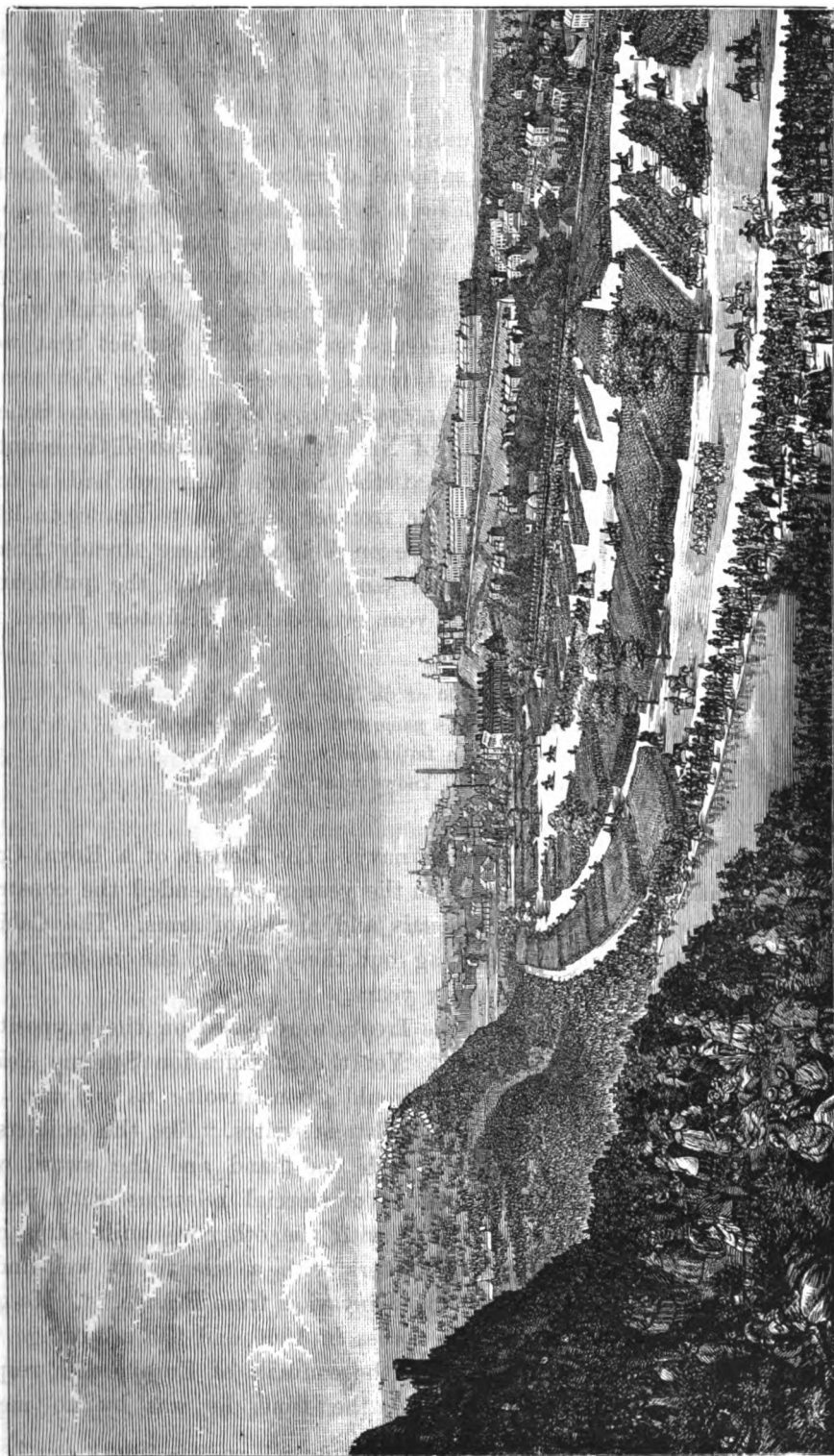
The rumour which immediately flew round was that the Holy Alliance was to be revived, that the three Powers were to combine for the revision of the Treaty of 1856, and, having isolated England, to coerce all struggling nationalities, and defend Austria in Venetia and Hungary. This rumour was quite unfounded. The Powers did agree, however, that if Austria, attacked in Venetia, proved victorious and re-conquered Lombardy, she could not be asked beforehand to give back Lombardy to Italy, though the fate of that province might properly be determined by a Peace Congress. The Prince Regent of Prussia insisted that England must be kept informed of all their

* "It is high time," wrote the Prince Consort to the Prince Regent of Prussia. "It seems to me one of his chief difficulties consists in the fundamental difference between his and the people's way of looking at things. He proposes to make concessions as acts of grace; they, on the other hand, ask to have a legal *status*, and institutions not dependent on the good- or ill-will of the Sovereign. They had most of them Documentary Rights, as they were called, in the Middle Ages, and as the Revolution of 1848 had overthrown everything, the Emperor was wrong, when it had been put down, not to return to a state of things based on law and right, instead of, as it were, legitimising the Revolution by proclaiming himself as its heir."—Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*, Chap. CIV. Lowe's *Life of Bismarck*, Vol. I., p. 264, contains a curious letter of Prince Bismarck's on this interview, showing how utterly misinformed he was as to its purport.

transactions in such a Congress. But at this meeting there was a decided tendency to isolate England because of Lord John Russell's despatch of the 27th of October, and the Russian Czar pressed forward Prince Gortschakoff's idea, which was that by conciliating France, a quadruple alliance might be formed against the progress of revolution, which Lord John Russell was supposed to have stimulated. The objection of the Prince Regent of Prussia—who, like the Austrian Emperor, thought that France ought to give new guarantees against raising revolutionary disturbances in Europe—to act save in concert with England, was, however, fatal to Prince Gortschakoff's schemes. Prussia, in fact, held obstinately to the opinion that the friendship of England was of vital importance to the defence of Germany against French encroachments. These facts are worth noting, for they explain the just indignation of the Queen against a series of attacks on Prussia which at this inopportune moment began to appear in the *Times*. They preyed on the mind of the Prince Consort to such an extent that the Queen asserts his health gave way, which but served to add to her sorrows and anxieties.

Yet it is but just to say that the *Times* was not entirely to blame. The conduct of the Prussian Government in a matter of painful dispute between the administrations of the two countries was far from satisfactory. In September a certain Captain Macdonald quarrelled with the railway authorities at Bonn about a seat in a railway carriage. He was violently dragged from his place and cast into prison with arbitrary brutality. The Public Prosecutor, in dealing with his case, had publicly accused English residents and travellers in Germany of being notorious for "rudeness, impudence, and boorish arrogance;" and as the Queen and her husband were, a few days after that speech was delivered, themselves tourists in Germany, the Public Prosecutor's insolence was felt to be peculiarly obnoxious. The Queen herself, in an entry in her Journal made during her German tour, says, "Saw Lord John on the subject of a vexatious circumstance which took place about three weeks ago—namely, a dispute on the railway at Bonn, and the ejection and imprisonment (unfairly, it seems) of a Captain Macdonald, and the subsequent offensive behaviour of the authorities. It has led to ill blood and much correspondence; but Lord John is very reasonable about it, and not inclined to do anything rash. These foreign Governments are very arbitrary and violent, and people are apt to give offence and to pay no regard to the laws of the country."* Baron Schlenitz, says the Prince Consort in a letter to Stockmar, "took it [the dispute] very lightly;" whereas, on the other hand, Lord Palmerston demanded that the judge who sentenced Captain Macdonald to imprisonment should be dismissed, and reparation made to the Captain, otherwise diplomatic relations would be broken off with Prussia. But the Prussian Government kept this irritating business open for several

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CVI.



VOLUNTEER REVIEW IN THE QUEEN'S PARK, EDINBURGH.

(From the Print published by Messrs. McFarlane and Erskine, Edinburgh.)

months; in fact, they did not settle the affair till May, 1861, and thus the English Press could not be altogether blamed if its criticisms of Prussian diplomacy were somewhat caustic.

Springing from the unrest of Europe we find in 1860 a great popular movement in England in favour of national defence. This found expression in two forms—in Palmerston's Fortification Scheme and the rapid increase of the Volunteer Force. Both schemes were watched by the Queen with the closest attention, and both were furthered by her to the utmost of her power, though one of them very nearly shattered the Ministry. In an article on the History of 1852-60, Mr. Gladstone comments on the silent conflict that went on during 1860 between the policy that found expression in the Commercial Treaty with France, and that which was typified by the Fortification Scheme of Lord Palmerston.* The annexation of Nice and Savoy alarmed the country, and convinced even Lord Palmerston that the French Emperor had a fixed idea that it was his mission to rectify the frontier assigned to France in 1815. This might lead him to cast a hungry eye on Belgium, where already French intriguers were busy. As Mr. Tennyson sang, in the poem the publication of which in the *Times* of the previous year evoked the Volunteer Force, the word went round:—

“Form! be ready to do or die!

Form! in Freedom's name and the Queen's!

True, that we have a faithful ally,

But only the Devil knows what he means.”

France was increasing her army and her navy. The Report of a Royal Commission on National Defences had early in the year recommended the construction of fortifications to protect our arsenals and places of arms. The Cabinet resolved to spend £9,000,000 in carrying out these works, the money to be raised by a loan to be repaid in twenty years.

The vast fiscal changes involved by the Treaty were based on the supposition that France would be at peace with us. Yet the Fortification Scheme clearly rested on the assumption that France would soon involve us in war. In defence of this contradictory policy Mr. Gladstone writes, “like the builders of the Second Temple, grasping their tool with one hand and the sword with the other, we with one hand established commercial relations with France of unexampled amity and closeness, while with the other we built ships, constructed fortifications, and founded volunteers with a silent but well-understood and exclusive view to an apprehended invasion from France.”† He goes on to say that the augmentation of our forces in 1860 had the advantage “of strengthening the position of England in the councils of Europe with respect to the reconstitution of Italy.” But, at the time, he was by no means

* *The English Historical Review*, No. 6, April, 1887, pp. 296—298.

† *The English Historical Review*, No. 6, April 1887, p. 297.

favourably disposed to this military expenditure. Lord Palmerston told the Queen that Mr. Gladstone was threatening to resign if it were sanctioned; adding that, however much that was to be regretted, "it would be better to lose Mr. Gladstone than to run the risk of losing Portsmouth or Plymouth." He was not satisfied in fact that the danger was so great as Palmerston and the Party of Panic imagined. He did not like the mode of raising the money which was proposed. "The struggle in the forum of his conscience," writes Mr. Morley, "was long and severe;"* but finally he decided he could do more for the taxpayers' interest by remaining in the Cabinet and influencing it than by resigning office; and trivial concessions were made to him which allayed his scruples. The Prince Consort, writing on the 31st of July to Baron Stockmar, says, "Gladstone continues in the Ministry, but on the condition that he shall be free next year to attack and denounce the fortifications, to the construction of which he this year gives his assent and the money. Palmerston laughingly yielded this condition to him." Accordingly, on the 23rd of July, a resolution was carried in the House of Commons authorising £2,000,000 to be raised on annuities terminable in thirty years—this sum being enough to cover the expenditure possible within the year. Lord Palmerston, in speaking to the resolution, attacked France with great spirit, though it is unlikely that if France had really evil designs at the time on England, she would have given the Government even a year's grace in which to begin their costly coast-fortification. One reason why Mr. Gladstone was hostile to a Fortification Scheme was that it upset all his financial arrangements. It created a feeling against sacrificing revenue, of which so much had already been surrendered to carry out the French Treaty.

It was soon evident that the proposal to abolish the Paper Duty was unpopular in Parliament, and when it passed the third reading by a majority of nine only, Lord Palmerston warned the Queen, who was on the side of the minority on this occasion, that the House of Lords would probably reject it. The Cabinet was not united on the subject, for Lord Malmesbury states that he was deputed to tell Lady Palmerston that the Opposition meant to reject it, "for which she thanked us." Nay, he was deputed to go further, and promise her their support in the event of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Milner Gibson and Lord John Russell resigning either over the failure of the Paper Duty scheme, or over the withdrawal of the Reform Bill. When both events became inevitable, the Cabinet was severely shaken, and all through the early days of June it was expected that it would be broken up. When the Lords rejected the Paper Duty Bill, Mr. Gladstone threatened to resign unless the Government and the House of Commons censured them for meddling with a Bill relating to taxation. The Peers, however, though they have not the right to initiate Bills dealing with taxation, have always claimed the right

* Mr. John Morley's *Life of Cobden*, Chap. XXIX.

of rejecting them, and the Commons' Privilege Committee in their Report of the 29th of June admitted this right. However, to pacify Mr. Gladstone and the Radicals, Lord Palmerston introduced a series of Resolutions on the 6th of July in a speech which Lord Derby said was "the best tight-rope dancing he ever saw."* These Resolutions affirmed once more the exclusive right of the House of Commons to impose and remit taxes, and to frame Bills of Supply, but did not challenge the claim of the Peers to reject them—and they were carried by a vote of 177 to 138.

The feeling of mistrust against France had given a strong impetus to the

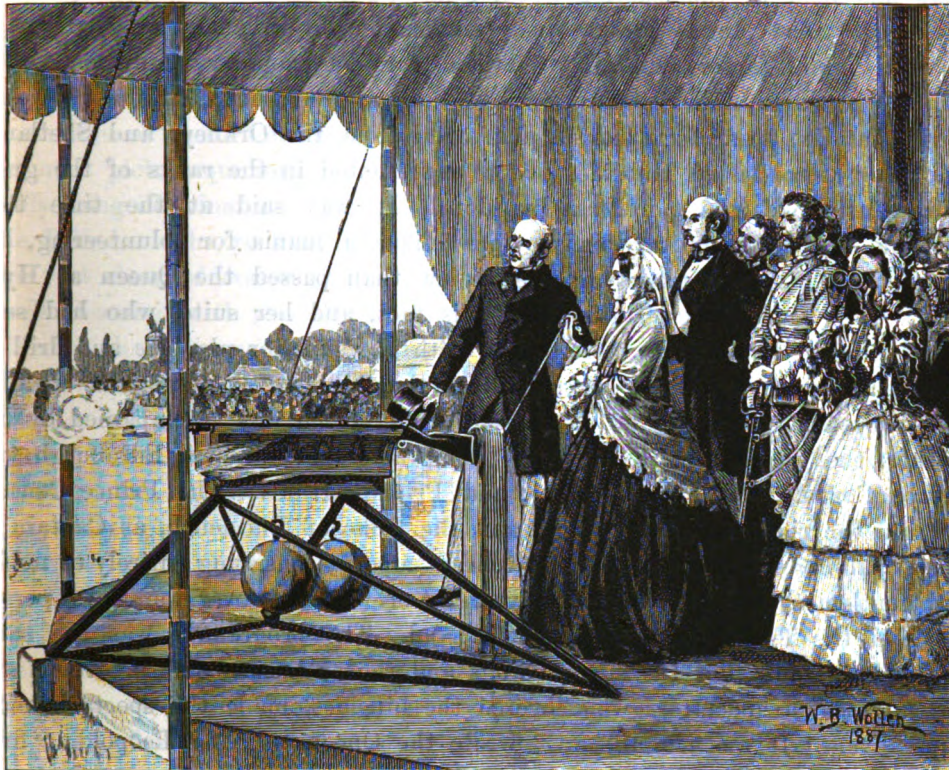


THE VOLUNTEER CAMP, WIMBLEDON.

Volunteer movement in the country, and in 1860 this found vent in the great review of the citizen army in Hyde Park, and the formation of the National Rifle Association at Wimbledon. The review was held on the 23rd of June, and 20,000 men from all parts of the country attended. The Queen appeared on the ground at four o'clock in the afternoon with the King of the Belgians, the Princess Alice, and Prince Arthur, the Prince Consort riding beside her carriage. In two hours it was over—belying the Duke of Wellington's historic doubt whether we had a general who could get so many men into Hyde Park and out again without "clubbing" and confusion. Lord Malmesbury says, "I went to Mr. Disraeli's house in Grosvenor Gate to see the sight, which was very fine. The enthusiasm of the men and spectators exceeded all description. There were 20,000 Volunteers, all young men between eighteen and thirty.

* *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., pp. 230—231.

They went through their evolutions with the greatest steadiness and precision, and at the final advance in line, when they halted within a short distance of the Queen, and the bands had ceased playing 'God Save the Queen,' they raised a cheer that might be heard for miles. This was taken up by the spectators, and the scene was so exciting that the Queen was quite overcome, and I saw many people the same."* On the 7th of July her Majesty opened



THE QUEEN AT WIMBLEDON.

the first meeting of the National Rifle Association on Wimbledon Common, under the first sunny summer sky of a peculiarly bleak season. Mr. Whitworth† had adjusted one of his rifles so neatly that when her Majesty pulled the trigger and fired the first shot at 400 yards she scored a bull's-eye.‡ Her own

* *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 230.

† This great inventor and armourer had been offered £10,000 a year for life by Napoleon III. if he would go to France and manufacture his new cannon exclusively for the French. The offer was refused from patriotic motives, which was perhaps the reason why the British Government never could be got to behave as fairly to Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Whitworth's guns as to those produced by the engineers in the employment of Mr. (afterwards Sir W.) Armstrong at Elswick.

‡ The growth of the Volunteer Force was striking. The army sneered at it, and in December, 1859, it was in a sickly condition. In March, 1860, to the surprise and delight of the Queen it had

prize, conferring the Champion Marksmanship of England on the winner, was carried off by Mr. Edward Ross, of the 7th North York Rifles, with a score of twenty-four points—the greatest possible score being sixty. The public interest in the meeting, which was, in a sense, a great volunteer picnic, was indicated by the fact that the admission money (1s. a head) taken in six days from visitors amounted to £2,000.

Later in the season (7th of August) a grand review of the Scottish Volunteers was held in the Queen's Park, Edinburgh, where the smooth plain on which Holyrood stands picturesquely surrounded by hills and crags, forms a natural amphitheatre admirably adapted for the popular enjoyment of a military pageant. All Scotland, so to speak, swarmed into Edinburgh, to be present at the scene, and contingents even from the Orkneys and Shetlands and the "storm-tossed Hebrides" were represented in the ranks of the great citizen army of the northern kingdom. It was said at the time that Scotland—always a military nation—must have a mania for volunteering, because she sent more troops to the review than passed the Queen at Hyde Park. The Queen herself remarked this fact, and her suite, who had seen the display in Hyde Park, were struck with the superior *physique* and drill of the men, though somewhat surprised that the Highland costume was worn by so few even of the Highland Regiments. The Queen was accompanied by her mother, the Duchess of Kent, then living at Cramond, near Edinburgh, the Prince Consort, the Princess Alice, and Prince Arthur. The Prince Consort rode on the right of her carriage, and the Duke of Buccleuch, as Captain of the Royal Body-Guard of Scottish Archers—a corps consisting entirely of nobles and gentlemen, who have the exclusive right of watching over the Royal person north of the Tweed—rode on the left hand. The programme was the same as at Hyde Park, but the surroundings and the enthusiasm of the troops and the myriads of spectators who covered the hillsides, made the spectacle more impressive. "It was magnificent," wrote the Queen to King Leopold; "finer decidedly than in London."

Many interesting family events rendered the year 1860 memorable to the Queen. Of these, one of the most important was the tour of the Prince of Wales in Canada—a visit which had been promised during the Crimean War, in answer to a deputation which had invited the Queen to go to the Colony,* and, without avail, begged her to appoint one of her sons Governor-General.† In spring it was decided that the Prince should proceed to the Far West

grown to be 70,000 strong, and at a levee she held for volunteer officers, 2,500 were presented to her. Before the end of the summer the force had increased to 180,000 men, and at the close of the year it had grown to be 200,000, and this, too, in spite of the fact that the recruits had to make their first acquaintance with military duties in a spring and summer notable for stormy and inclement weather.

* Canada had fitted out a regiment of infantry for the war.

† William IV. was pressed hard by his illegitimate son, the Earl of Munster, to make him Governor-General of Australasia. He always refused, for dynastic reasons—alleging that it was not prudent to create princely viceroys.

under the care of the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and when the news reached America, Mr. Buchanan, President of the United States, invited the Prince to visit the Republic, promising him such a warm welcome as would be most pleasing to the Queen. The invitation was accepted, but it was intimated that on his tour the Prince would drop all Royal state and travel under one of his Scottish titles—Baron Renfrew. On the 2nd of August his Royal Highness received a hearty greeting from the people of St. John's, Newfoundland, the rough fishermen and their wives being especially enthusiastic in their loyalty. On the 7th, at Halifax, he was pelted with flowers by cheering crowds till, the Duke of Newcastle said, their carriage was rapidly filled up with bouquets; in fact, all through Canada the welcome given to the Queen's son for the Queen's sake was cordial in the extreme. One of the most picturesque incidents of the tour was the visit to Niagara by night, the Falls being illuminated by Bengal lights. These were first of all placed between the Falls and the rock over which they tumble, and turned as if by magic the vast sheet of water into a mass of incandescent silver, the boiling river itself gleaming with phosphorescent tints, and the spray rising high in the air as a thick luminous cloud. Then when the white lights were changed to crimson, the Falls and rapids were transformed into a seething lurid river of blood, and the spectators were awed into silence by the terrific grandeur of the scene. When the Prince crossed to the United States the people there strove to outdo the Canadian welcome. It was laughingly said that he would be lucky if he got out of the country without being asked to "run for President" next year, and the accounts which the Queen received of the splendid reception at Chicago deeply moved her. At Cincinnati and St. Louis the crowds were still greater and more enthusiastic, though quieter and more staid in demeanour than those in Canada. On the 3rd of October the Prince visited President Buchanan at Washington, and in company with him stood uncovered before the tomb of Washington—who had wrested the independence of the continent from his great-grandfather. In New York no monarch of ancient or modern times could have received a warmer ovation from his own people, and the reception at Boston, if less effusive, was not less cordial. The Duke of Newcastle, in reporting on the results of the tour, attributed its success first, to the growing feeling of goodwill that was springing up between Americans and Englishmen—a feeling, alas! to be soon rudely disturbed by the ungenerous support which the aristocratic classes gave to the secession of the Southern Slave States, and secondly, added the Duke, to the "very remarkable love for your Majesty personally, which pervaded all classes in this country, and which has acted like a spell upon them when they found your Majesty's son actually among them." The Prince of Wales, in fact, embodied for the American people the romance of their ancestral past—and their hearts warmed to him from the moment he set foot on their territory. The President also wrote to the Queen, telling her how the Prince had passed through the ordeal of the

visit—always dignified, always frank, always affable, so that he “conciliated, wherever he has been, the kindness and respect of a sensitive and discriminating people.”* The Queen in her reply said that her son could not sufficiently extol the great cordiality with which he had been received, and



PRESIDENT BUCHANAN.

she went on to say, “Whilst as a mother I am most grateful for the kindness shown him, I feel impelled to express, at the same time, how deeply I have been touched by the many demonstrations of affection towards myself personally which his presence has called forth.”† The Duke of Newcastle had taken grave responsibilities on him in connection with the visit, and, as Dr. Acland told Mr. Charles Sumner, it was therefore for him a personal triumph. The Queen

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CVIII.

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, *ibid.*

was evidently of the same opinion, because, on his return, she testified her appreciation of the tact with which the Duke had managed the tour by conferring on him the Order of the Garter. A similar visit paid by Prince Alfred to Cape Town evoked similar expressions of goodwill from the colonists. Writing to Stockmar the Prince Consort speaks of the curious coincidence which, in almost the same week, caused one brother to open the great bridge across



FROGMORE HOUSE.

(From a Photograph by J. Valentine and Sons, Dundee.)

the St. Lawrence, and the other to lay the foundation stone of the breakwater in Cape Town harbour at the other end of the world. "What a cheering picture," he writes, "is here of the progress and expansion of the British race, and of the useful co-operation of the Royal Family in the civilisation which England has developed and advanced." *

Early in May the Royal Family were visited by Prince Louis of Hesse-Darmstadt, between whom and the Princess Alice "a natural liking" had grown up, which was destined to ripen into a warmer feeling. "The Queen and myself," observes the Prince Consort in a letter to Baron Stockmar, "look on as passive spectators, which is undoubtedly our best course as matters at

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CI.

present stand." It was, however, an open secret that they favoured the alliance. In the following November, Prince Louis came to Windsor as a formal suitor for the hand of the Princess. In her "Leaves from a Journal" the Queen herself tells the story of the wooing on the 30th of November. "After dinner," she says, "while talking to the gentlemen, I perceived Alice and Louis talking before the fireplace more earnestly than usual, and when I passed to go to the other room, both came up to me, and Alice in much agitation said he had proposed to her, and he begged for my blessing. I could only squeeze his hand and say 'Certainly,' and that we would see him in our room later. . . . Alice came to our room—agitated but quiet. . . . Albert sent for Louis to his room—went first to him, and then called Alice and me in. . . . Louis has a warm, noble heart. After talking a little we parted, a most touching, and, to me, sacred moment."

The autumnal sojourn at Balmoral was shortened by the Queen's decision to visit Germany, where she had now a little grand-daughter added to the Royal circle. On the 22nd of September the Queen, Prince Consort, and Princess Alice left Buckingham Palace for Gravesend, Lord John Russell being Minister in attendance. The flat scenery of the Scheldt, which was speedily reached, struck her Majesty as being in ugly contrast to the romantic grandeur of the Aberdeenshire mountains. At Verviers the tour was saddened by the news of the death of the Dowager Duchess of Coburg, the Prince Consort's stepmother. At Aix-la-Chapelle the Prince's valued friend, the Prince Regent of Prussia, and his brother, Prince Frederick Charles, met them; and at Frankfort they were joined by the Princess of Prussia and Prince Frederick William. As they neared Coburg the Queen says she felt quite agitated when her husband began to identify each scene and spot with his life in his old home, now darkly shadowed by mourning. The Princess Frederick William was here, however, and brought "the darling little grandchild" for the Queen's inspection—"such a darling little love," writes her Majesty—"a fine, fat child, with a beautiful white, soft skin, very fine shoulders and limbs, and a very dear face, like Vicky and Fritz, and also Louise of Baden. He has Fritz's eyes and Vicky's mouth, and very fair, curly hair." A meeting with Stockmar, then old and feeble, but fresh in heart and spirits, also enhanced the enjoyment of the visit. After a fortnight's residence, the Queen writes, "Our English people are enchanted with everything, with the beauty of the country, and of the palaces, the quiet simplicity of the people, &c." On the 1st of October the Prince Consort narrowly escaped being killed. The horses of his carriage ran away with him, and to save his life he had to jump out when he saw that a collision with a barrier across the road was inevitable. He was bruised badly, though not seriously injured. The Queen nowever, was much alarmed. "Oh! God," she writes, "what did I not feel! I could only, and do only, allow the feelings of gratitude, not those of horror, at what might have happened, to fill my mind;" and in testimony of her



THE QUEEN AND HER LITTLE GRANDSON, PRINCE WILHELM OF PRUSSIA.

gratitude she established a foundation, called the "Victoria-Stift," in Coburg. The "Victoria-Stift" consisted of the investment of 12,000 florins (£1,000) in the names of the Burgomaster and chief clergyman of Coburg. Every year, on the 1st of October—the anniversary of the Prince's escape—the interest from this sum is divided among certain young men and women to help them in their occupations and assist them to earn a livelihood. Old family friends and all picturesque places in the neighbourhood were visited; and the Queen's grandchild, the little Prince Wilhelm of Prussia, seems to have been a source of never-failing delight to her Majesty. But on the 9th of October the enjoyment of these quiet days came to an end, and the Queen and her husband left a spot endeared to them by many sweet remembrances. This fortnight, writes the Queen, "with its joys and sorrows, and the fearful episode of my dearest Albert's accident, will be for ever deeply engraven on my heart." On the return journey they were joined by the Prince Regent of Prussia, who travelled with them to Mayence. Rain spoiled the beauties of the Rhine; but when Coblenz was reached the Princess of Prussia was waiting to solace the Royal Party, who arrived, wet, chilled, and uncomfortable. The Queen, in fact, had caught a cold, and illness and depression of spirits due to the parting from her daughter and her beloved grandchild, Prince Wilhelm, robbed the rest of her holiday of all enjoyment. When she reached Brussels she could hardly walk, and had to keep to her room and comfort herself with the "Mill on the Floss" for a day, whilst Dr. Bayly was treating her for a feverish sore throat. After a dismally rainy voyage the Royal travellers reached Windsor on the 17th of October. "Already a week since we left Coburg," writes the Queen, "and the dear happy days there belong to the treasured recollections of the past!"*

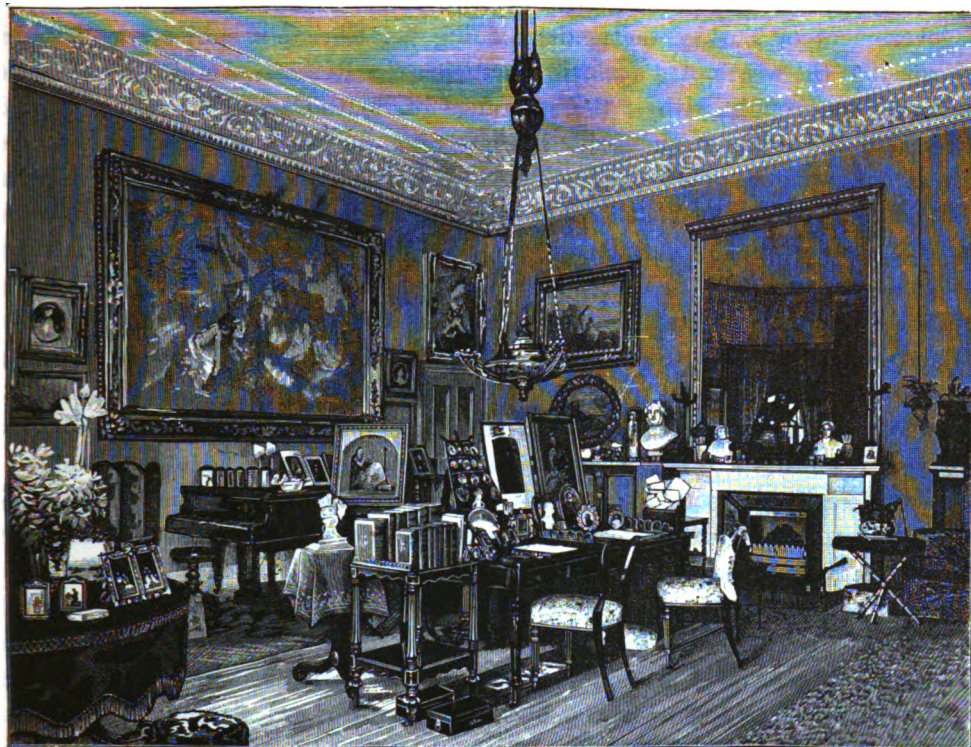
Politically, though the year had been eventful, it was not without its compensations. The dying embers of the Indian Mutiny had been extinguished. The war with China had ended with the capture of Peking, the destruction of the Summer Palace, and the ratification of the Convention of Tchung-Kow and the Treaty of Tien-tsin† (24th of October). "At home with ourselves and with our colonies," Prince Albert says in a letter to Stockmar (28th December), "we have every reason to be satisfied." One event, indeed, brought grief to

* Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*, Chap. CVI.

† The war arose out of an attempt on the part of China to evade the ratification of the Treaty. The Taku forts were captured by the French and English allied forces, on the 21st of August, 1860. On the 21st of September, Consul Parkes, Captains Anderson and Brabazon, Messrs. De Norman, *attaché* of the Hon. F. Bruce, Mr. Loch, Lord Elgin's secretary, and Mr. Bowly, *Times* correspondent, were sent to the Chinese camp, on the invitation of the Chinese, under a flag of truce, to arrange for Lord Elgin's journey to Peking, where peace was to be made. Anderson, Brabazon, De Norman, Bowly, and ten troopers were treacherously murdered. Parkes and Loch were cast into prison, and treated with odious brutality. That very day General Sir Hope Grant crushed the forces of the Chinese General, Sang-Ko-lin-sin. On the 6th of October the French looted the Summer Palace at Peking, and on the 18th the English burnt it. The city itself surrendered on the 12th. Heavy indemnities, besides the ratification of the Treaty, were extorted from the Chinese.

the Queen and her family. This was the death of the venerable Earl of Aberdeen, on the 14th of December. Lord Aberdeen was not only the trusted Minister, but the valued personal friend of the Queen and her husband. His experience of public affairs extended from the close of the war with Napoleon to the beginning of the war with Russia, and no English Minister in modern times enjoyed in a higher degree the respect and confidence of foreign Governments and Sovereigns. His stainless integrity and scrupulous honesty won the confidence of the Prince Consort. The high moral courage which led him to speak the truth in public, however unpalatable and unpopular it might be, so endeared him to the Queen that she expressed her admiration for it on the only occasion when she rebuked him for an impolitic indulgence in this virtue. Though a Peelite, he differed from his leader in having greater foresight, and a firmer grip of principle. Aberdeen did not, like Peel, work aimlessly from sheer expediency. He had a theory, a guiding idea, which, rightly or wrongly, always pushed him far in advance of his Party. This theory was that the less people were meddled with by governments, the happier and more prosperous would they become. He carried his principle of non-intervention from foreign to home policy, and acted on the conviction that more good was to be done by repealing old laws, than by enacting new ones. For the salvation of the people, he trusted to independence rather than patronage—to liberty rather than protection. He was blamed for buttressing the petty despotisms of the Continent, but he was blamed unjustly. He shrank from shedding English blood, and wasting English treasure in helping revolutionary movements, and he did so for two reasons. Nations worthy of freedom, he thought, must free themselves; the patronage of revolutionary movements must sooner or later involve England in war with all the Great Powers of Europe. His failure to avert the Crimean War need not here be dwelt on. It was the great blot on his career. Yet it is but due to his memory to say, as even Mr. Disraeli admitted, that if Lord Aberdeen had been head of a Cabinet the members of which all shared his views, and were all loyal in supporting his policy, the Crimean War would probably never have broken out. If Aberdeen had been master in his Cabinet, if he had been served at Constantinople by a loyal Ambassador, and at St. Petersburg by an Envoy who could have opposed with his own tact, patience, and cool common sense the monomaniacal ideas and arguments of the Czar, the conflict between Russia and England could have been averted.*

* It is a curious fact that Dr. A. B. Granville had diagnosed the symptoms of the Czar's hereditary malady—congestion of the brain—in 1853, and he warned Lord Palmerston that his Majesty would die in two years—a prophecy which came true. Had Nicholas therefore been handled gently, but firmly, by an accomplished diplomatist loyally carrying out Aberdeen's temporising and cautious policy, and had steps been taken to prevent the Turks and Napoleon from irritating the autocrat at every turn in events, peace could have been maintained. See on this subject Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. I., pp. 30. 40.



THE QUEEN'S PRIVATE SITTING-ROOM, OSBOENE.

(From a Photograph by Hughes and Mullins, Ryde.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE DEATH OF THE PRINCE CONSORT.

England in 1861—The Jumble of Parties—Secret Alliance Between Palmerston and the Tories—Opening of Parliament—The Prince Consort and the "Two Old Italian Masters"—Lady William Russell's *Salon*—The Proposed Sale of Venice—The Fall of Gaeta—Prussia and Italy—Death of Cavour—A *casus belli* Against France—Napoleon in the East—Denmark and the Duchies—The Queen's Private Sorrows—Last Illness and Death of the Duchess of Kent—Renewed Attacks in the Press on Prince Albert—Palmerston Accused of Tampering with Despatches—Anecdote of Lord Derby and Lord Granville—The Budget—Repeal of the Paper Duty—Palmerston's "Grudge" Against Prince Albert—The Marriage of the Princess Alice announced—The Queen and Her Social Duties—Two Drawing-Rooms and Two Investitures—A Season of Mourning—Death of Lord Herbert of Lea—Lord John Russell's Peerage—Reform and the Working Classes—Ministerial Changes—The Queen's Tour in Ireland—The Queen and German Unity—Coronation of the King of Prussia—Death of the King of Portugal—Fatigue of the Prince Consort—Signs of His Last Illness—The Queen at Her Husband's Sick Bed—A Mournful Vigil—The Prince Consort's Last Words—Scene at the Death-Bed—The Sorrow of the Country—The Queen's Despair—Her Removal from Windsor—Prince Albert's Character and Career—His Funeral—The Scene at the Grave—The Queen and the Princess Alice.

From her own tranquil island the Queen, at the beginning of 1861, looked abroad upon a world that was strangely disturbed. It was a world in which men cried peace when there was no peace. In Europe, French agents were intriguing with the revolutionary parties in Poland, Hungary, and the Danubian Principalities. Italian conspirators were busy as usual in Venetia. The

misgovernment of Turkey was again goading her Christian subjects to despair, and rousing the wrath of Panslavic fanaticism in Russia. Across the Atlantic the New Year brought with it the severance of South Carolina from the United States, and the pulse of the British aristocracy and their social parasites rose high as their golden youth congratulated each other on the "bursting of the bubble Republic." * It is true that the harvest had been bad, and that the winter had been the coldest that had been experienced for half a century. But Free Trade made food cheap and wages high, so that there was no popular discontent to trouble the Government. The prospect of a cotton famine in Lancashire, as the result of a civil war in America, was not thought to be within the range of practical contingencies. As for political parties, they were, as Mr. Ashley says, "in a singular jumble at the period which we have now reached." † The Tories were alarmed by Mr. Gladstone's Budgets. These were supposed to be dangerously democratic, not only because his attack on the Paper Duty seemed designed to strengthen the power and position of a cheap press, but because in his financial speeches he seemed to justify the repeal of taxes solely by his desire to benefit the poor, and his imposition of new burdens by his desire to punish the rich for being wealthy. Absurd as this suspicion was, it is necessary to take it seriously, because it had much to do with creating the unexpected dictatorship of Lord Palmerston.

It was well known that Palmerston's hostility to reform had well-nigh driven the Radicals into factious opposition. They had no more to expect from him, and at any moment they were ready to act against him. They even offered to combine with the Tories, turn out the Government, and keep Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli in power for two years, during which period they thought the Reform problem would ripen for solution. This offer was not accepted. In fact, through Lord Malmesbury and Lady Palmerston, a secret alliance was organised, in terms of which the Tories agreed to maintain Lord Palmerston in office "if only he would resist 'Democratic' Budgets, and keep his hands from any violent action against Austria." ‡ This compact was ratified by the people, who, despite the triumph of the Anglo-French alliance in China, were growing every day more distrustful of Napoleon's war-like preparations, which it was part of Palmerston's policy to counteract. Mr. Ashley asserts that Lord Palmerston was "too loyal to enter into any such secret understanding." As a matter of fact, the alliance was, on behalf of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, first tendered by Lord Malmesbury at Lady Palmerston's party, on the 12th of May, 1860, when, says Lord Malmesbury, "Lady Palmerston expressed herself as being very grateful for the offer." §

* The phrase, which was a catchword in club-land, and which gave great offence to our American kinsfolk, was attributed, it is to be hoped erroneously, to the Marquis of Hartington.

† Evelyn Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*, Vol. II., p. 205.

‡ Evelyn Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*, *ibid.*

§ *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 227.

Count Vitzthum, however, puts the matter beyond doubt. Writing in 1861, he says:—"The secret agreement between the Conservatives and Palmerston, which had checked the barren Party contest of the previous year, was renewed before the Session began, and even received the secret sanction of the Court. After Lord Palmerston, in January, had submitted to the Queen and Prince Albert his programme for the current year, and had promised in particular his vigorous prosecution of the works for national defence, Disraeli was invited to Windsor. The Prince, to his no small satisfaction, received the assurance from the leader of the Opposition that the Tories, though three hundred strong, had no thoughts of undertaking the Government, so long as Palmerston continued to safeguard the Conservative interests of the State. Disraeli added that it rested only with the present Prime Minister to exercise a power such as none of his predecessors had wielded since Pitt."* Finally, conclusive proof of the existence of the alliance is given by the highest living authority on such a matter—namely, Sir Theodore Martin—who discloses details of the whole transaction. Sixty members of the House of Commons had apparently pledged themselves to follow Mr. Cobden's policy of "democratic finance," which was to lessen expenditure by reducing armaments. Palmerston's Government was therefore doomed unless an alliance could be struck up with the Tories. According to the Prince Consort, Mr. Disraeli said that "the Conservative party was ready not only to give general support to a steady and patriotic policy, but even to help the Minister out of scrapes if he got into any." But, in return, they must, to use Sir Theodore Martin's words, "state explicitly the principles of their policy, and not enter into a line of what he (Mr. Disraeli) termed democratic finance."† When Mr. Ashley stated that Lord Palmerston was "too loyal to enter into any such secret understanding," he must have neglected to read the letter dated 24th of January, 1861, which the Prince Consort sent to Lord Palmerston, embodying the terms of the understanding in question. It is also possible that he did not anticipate the publication of Lord Malmesbury's diary, in which, under date the 14th of March, 1861, there is the following entry:—"The House of Commons threw out Mr. Locke-King's Bill for reducing the county franchise to £10, by a majority of 28. We had agreed with the Government that, if they helped us to throw out this Bill, we would help them to pass Lord Palmerston's Resolution, reversing their former vote on the payment of the Navy."‡

On the 4th of February the Queen came to town for the opening of Parliament, which took place on the 5th. The Royal Speech, says Count Vitzthum, "ratified the private agreement (between Palmerston and the Tories) by making no mention of reform. The skirmishes that took place during the

* St. Petersburg and London: Reminiscences of Count Vitzthum, late Saxon Minister at the Court of St. James's, Vol. II., p. 113 (Longmans), 1887.

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CIX.

‡ Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 249.



ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR,
FROM THE RIVER.

Session had therefore no practical importance, and only served to conceal from the public and the parties themselves the understanding already effected between the leaders.”* Very few points for debate were raised by the Queen’s Speech. Peace in Europe, it was suggested, could be preserved by the

moderation of the Powers. Syria would soon be pacified, and thankfulness was expressed at the success of British arms in China. A sympathetic allusion to the Civil War in America, was prettily pointed by a reference to the kindly welcome which the Prince of Wales had received in the United

* *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 113.

States, and the loyalty of the Canadians was frankly recognised. Crime, bankruptcy, land transfer, and rating were the subjects suggested for legislation. The debate on the Address in both Houses was insincere. Lord Derby made fun of the Government for coquetting with revolution in Italy, and he ridiculed Lord John Russell's inconsistent despatches to Sir James Hudson. "Mr. Disraeli," writes Count Vitzthum, "handled the same theme in an academic fashion in the House of Commons," but nobody dreamt of seriously assaulting the Ministerial position. "In Italy strange things are taking place. It is still the idol of the two 'old Italian masters,'" wrote the Prince Consort to Stockmar on the eve of the opening of Parliament.* And yet, when Ministers heard that Cavour had allowed arms to be shipped from the arsenal at Genoa for the conspirators who were organising an insurrection in Turkey, they became a little uneasy. No harm, however, came of this, because the Turkish authorities at Constantinople being forewarned, seized the arms when they arrived. But the problem of problems was, what did Napoleon mean to do in Italy? He had opened the French Chambers with a speech which, describing the annexation of Savoy as an act done in maintenance of the natural rights of France, created a panic among the Palmerstonians and their Tory allies. If Savoy—why not Belgium? was the question which this doctrine of natural rights suggested to men's minds. And yet at this time Napoleon's power was vastly exaggerated. The priests, who had not forgiven him for enriching Italy at the expense of the Pope, condemned his policy from their pulpits. The vulgar luxury and swindling speculations in which the Imperial *entourage* indulged, disgusted the educated classes. It was at this time that those who had hailed the Emperor as the "saviour of Society" began to call him "Badinguet"—after the bricklayer whose disguise he had borrowed when escaping from Ham. At one time Palmerston and Russell imagined they had discovered the solution of the most pressing of the Italian problems. They thought—or rather the Emperor of the French persuaded them to think—that Austria might sell Venetia to Sardinia, and whilst retaining half the purchase price to relieve her strained finances, with the other half buy Bosnia and the Herzegovina from the Sultan, who was also in lack of money. The Queen thwarted this cunning scheme, when Lord John Russell broached it in the end of December, by pointing out

* A passage in Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences* explains the Prince Consort's allusion. "Among the elder ladies who in those days exercised some influence over Government circles," writes Count Vitzthum, "was the widow of the former British Ambassador in Berlin, Lady William Russell. She was a clever, experienced lady, an admirable mother to her sons, the present Duke of Bedford, and Lord Ampthill, who died lately as Ambassador at Berlin. Her house was the constant resort of visitors, who liked to chat with her, even if they did not come, like her brother-in-law, Lord John Russell, to consult her on politics. As a Roman Catholic she was no admirer of Cavour or Garibaldi, and used to laugh at the Italian sympathies of her brother-in-law and Lord Palmerston, whom she called the 'old Italian masters.'"—*St. Petersburg and London: 1852—1864: Reminiscences of Count Vitzthum*, Vol. II., p. 214.

that to suggest the sale of Venetia to Sardinia, was to record an official opinion that Venetia ought to be in some way freed from Austrian rule. In the event of Austria refusing to sell the province this would be used as a justification for wresting Venetia from her, or for compelling England to press her to give it up. Palmerston himself came round to this view, and so the Venetian question was for a time eliminated. But in Italy it soon became clear that France meant to give Victor Emmanuel freedom to act. Gaeta surrendered in February when the French fleet was withdrawn—the King and Queen of Naples being conveyed to Rome. They sought refuge there under the protection of French bayonets, in the cheerless shelter of the empty Farnese Palace. Five days after the fall of Gaeta Victor Emmanuel summoned the first Italian Parliament to Turin, where it met in a large wooden hall improvised for the occasion. In his speech from the throne he regretted the recall of the French Minister, but did not pretend to be downcast by the platonic rebuke of France. As to the protest of Prussia against his policy, Victor Emmanuel said an ambassador had been sent to King William “in token of respect for him personally, and of sympathy with the noble German nation,” which he hoped would become convinced that Italian unity could not prejudice the rights of other states. The meaning of this reference in the speech was pointed out by De la Marmora. He cynically told the Prussian Government at Berlin, that Italy consoled herself with the thought that she had set an example which Prussia, in spite of her protests, would find useful “in conquering the hegemony of Germany.” On the 17th of March the Turin Parliament proclaimed Victor Emmanuel King of Italy, and two days afterwards England recognised his position. France delayed her recognition till June, Napoleon’s chief difficulty being the disposal of Rome. Opportunity, said Italian statesmen, will open the way to Venice; and as for Rome, though it must be the capital of free Italy, we only desire to go there, not at the head of a revolutionary army, but hand in hand with France. Personally, Napoleon would have wished to evacuate Rome. Its occupation was a heavy burden on his finances—which had become seriously embarrassed. To uphold the temporal power of the Pope, which he had disavowed, against the will of the Italian people, which in other quarters he had enforced by the sword, put him in a false position. On the other hand, the priests in France had to be conciliated, and there was a strong party among Frenchmen who thought that France should be compensated, by the occupation of Rome, for the rise of a new naval Power in the Mediterranean.* Early in the summer Cavour, who like Themistocles lived to convert a small state into a great one,

* Others, like the Prince Napoleon, promulgated the theory that in pursuance of the Imperial policy of tearing up the treaties of 1815 it would be desirable to conciliate Italy. She would be a second-rate naval power, and the second-rate naval powers would naturally consolidate round France, who could thus overmaster even England on the seas. Such views, though officially disavowed by the Emperor, increased the distrust between England and France.

died—his policy being cherished as a sacred legacy by his successor, Riccasoli. Cavour, however, lived long enough to see the failure of an intrigue to procure the evacuation of Rome by the cession of Sardinia to France. Mr. Kinglake in July tried to convince the House of Commons that this cession was practically agreed on, and he pointed out that Nelson had declared Malta would be useless to England whenever the Bay of Cagliari passed into the hands of a great naval power. But Lord John Russell—in the last speech he ever made in the Lower House—assured the country that he could find no evidence pointing to the existence of such a scheme. At the same time he made it plain, though he did not say so in as many words, that England would regard the cession of Sardinia to France as a *casus belli*.*

Another project was on foot which gave the Queen great uneasiness. Napoleon—whose brain, said Lord Palmerston once, was as full of schemes as a warren was full of rabbits—was said to be in favour of creating a new Eastern State or kingdom, with Constantinople as its capital, and King Leopold, the Queen's uncle, as its Sovereign. In that case France would naturally take Belgium by way of compensation; but the idea, if ever seriously entertained, was soon consigned to the limbo of vanished Imperial dreams. The condition of Austria was now rather serious. All her proposals for reforming the political system of Hungary, relegated that ancient kingdom to the position of an Austrian province. The Hungarian people, however, refused to accept this position, and demanded the restoration of their rights as an independent State under the Sovereign of Austria, reigning over them as crowned King of Hungary. Their demand might at any moment take the form of a revolutionary movement, which would probably re-open the Eastern question, and involve England in war. Luckily this calamity was averted by the preoccupation of Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel, who alone had either the power or the will to raise a revolution in Hungary.

But affairs in the North were much more disquieting. Early in March the dispute between Denmark and the Duchies of Sleswig-Holstein, which the Queen and her husband had watched with jealous eyes from its origin, became acute. The Danish Government was willing to submit the budget for the Duchies to their local legislatures, on condition that it was not altered. The German Diet or Bund declared that this was equivalent to an assertion that territory which was really subject to the authority of the Bund, was under the exclusive Sovereign authority of Denmark. The three non-German Great Powers declared that Denmark ought to yield to the Duchies their

* Mr. Gladstone disapproved of this threat. It is, indeed, very hard to say how much truth there was in the rumours then afloat as to the cession of Sardinia. Vitzthum writes, "hitherto he (Napoleon) had only talked of giving that island to the Pope as an equivalent for the States of the Church. It was with this view that Pietri, the well known *entrepreneur du suffrage universel* in Savoy, had been busy in that island, and had sent private reports to Napoleon during his visit to the baths at Vichy."—Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 157.

constitutional rights, and laid it down that if this were not done, the German Bund might justly force concessions from Denmark, by Federal execution in Sleswig-Holstein. Denmark ignored the award and threats of the Powers, and Prussia took up the cause of the Sleswigers. In England the Prussian Government was sneered at for menacing Denmark because she denied the Duchies the right to control their Budgets, whilst it raised money for its own military purposes without the consent of its own subjects.

Other than political anxieties made the spring of 1861 dismal to the Queen. On the 12th of March she had visited her mother, the Duchess of Kent, at Frogmore, and found her suffering great pain from the effects of a surgical operation which had been performed to relieve an abscess in her arm. On the 15th Her Majesty and her husband were inspecting the Horticultural Society's gardens at South Kensington, when they were summoned by Sir James Clark to the bedside of the Duchess of Kent, who began to develop feverish symptoms. When they arrived they found her dying. "I knelt before her," writes the Queen, "kissed her dear hand and placed it next my cheek; but though she opened her eyes, she did not, I think, know me . . . I went out to sob," adds Her Majesty, stricken to the heart at finding, for the first time in her life, her mother had not received her with a loving smile of recognition. All through the night the Queen watched by the bedside of the dying Princess, weeping as she thought of her childhood and its sacred memories, and of the dreadful blank her mother's death must make in her life. At eight in the morning of the next day (the 16th) Prince Albert persuaded the Queen to leave her mother's room for a little, and rest. But she could not rest. She insisted on returning to the sick-room, and when she went back she saw that her mother was passing away. The heart-beats grew fainter; the eyes slowly closed, and as the clock struck half-past nine, Prince Albert took the Queen out of the room, and she knew all was over. For forty-one years she had not been parted from her mother save for a few brief weeks at a time. Now they were parted for ever on this side of the grave. "I seemed," she writes, "to have lived through a life, to have become old." The death of the Duchess of Kent plunged the Royal household in grief. She died leaving not one dry eye behind her among those who had known and served and loved her. The Princess Frederick William of Prussia hurried to her mother's side, arriving at Windsor on the 18th; and then from every quarter, letters and messages of condolence came pouring in. Addresses of sympathy were carried in both Houses of Parliament, and every effort was made by Ministers to lighten the anxieties of the Queen at a time when sorrow lay heavily on her heart. The funeral took place on the 25th, in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, where the body was laid till a mausoleum at Frogmore could be built. "I and my girls," wrote the Queen to King Leopold on that day, "prayed at home together, and dwelt on her happiness and peace." On the 2nd of April the Princess Frederick William

returned to Berlin, and the Queen and her husband retired to Osborne. The Easter recess had produced a lull in politics, and it might have been expected that the Queen would have been permitted to mourn her bereavement in peace. It was not so. On the 12th of April she was deeply pained to find



MR. (AFTERWARDS VISCOUNT) CARDWELL.

(From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.)

the *Times* renewing its old attacks on Prince Albert, and again accusing him of thwarting Lord Palmerston's Italian policy in the interests of his German relatives. For this cruel imputation there was no warrant, save the fact that Austria persisted in holding Venetia, which had been guaranteed to her by the pact of Villafranca, in spite of Lord Palmerston's recommendation that she should cede the province to Italy.

On the 15th of April the Prince Consort, writing to Stockmar, says, "Home

politics have gone asleep." Before the recess the position of the Ministry had been easily maintained, simply because Mr. Disraeli was of opinion that premature Tory attacks on it might heal the schism between Palmerston and the Radicals. But the weakness of the Cabinet in the House of Commons was illustrated in March, when Palmerston had—as we have seen—to help the Tories to throw out Mr. Locke-King's Bill for reducing the county franchise to £10, in return for their support of his resolution reversing an adverse vote on the payment of the Navy. It was also illustrated by Mr. Dunlop's motion for an inquiry into the mutilation of the Afghan Blue Book in 1839. Lord Palmerston (who had been Foreign Secretary) was accused of having created the disastrous Afghan War, simply because he would not believe the reports of his own agents in Afghanistan. To excuse the disasters of the campaign he had hacked and garbled the despatches in the most unscrupulous manner, so as to make it appear that these agents reported the very opposite of what they actually told him. Mr. Dunlop had unearthed evidence to prove this charge, and he proved it up to the hilt. Palmerston's only defence was that the mutilations complained of were quite regular, and were made in the public interest. "The Commons," writes Count Vitzthum, "were extremely indignant, and nothing but Disraeli's intervention saved the Ministry. Lord Derby," Count Vitzthum goes on to say, "is on the most friendly footing with his political opponent, Lord Granville. The latter added to a business letter a postscript, with the question, 'When will you turn us out?' The Tory chief answered, 'I am thinking day and night how I can manage to keep you in, but it will be devilish difficult.'"^{*} Mr. Disraeli had set his face against taking office till he had a trustworthy majority in the House of Commons that would enable him to carry out a foreign policy even in the teeth of Lord Palmerston's opposition. The aim of the Opposition was, therefore, to keep Palmerston in power till this majority was obtained. It was feared, however, that the Government might fall on their Budget, and its production was awaited with intense interest on the 15th of April, when Mr. Gladstone made his financial statement. Dismal predictions of a large deficit had been promulgated. On the contrary, though the revenue had fallen off considerably, there had been an equivalent saving in expenditure, and on the year's work the deficit was only £855,000 when the accounts were balanced. Mr. Gladstone's estimates for the current year, however, after providing for this deficit, showed a surplus on the basis of existing taxation of about £2,000,000; so he was able to take a penny off the income-tax, and at last to repeal the Paper Duty, without incurring the reproach of rashly sacrificing revenue. But to do this he had to leave the duties on tea and sugar unaltered. To prevent the Peers from rejecting the repeal of the Paper Duty, he tacked his scheme on to the Bill containing all his financial proposals. The House of Lords

^{*} Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 140.

shrank from rejecting the whole Budget: they passed it grudgingly, after a feeble and futile threat of opposition from the Duke of Rutland. In the Commons a majority of 15 in a House of 577 members carried the Budget of 1861, which is memorable as the one that abolished what was popularly called "the taxes on knowledge." The financial debates in the House did not end till Mr. Gladstone had shown pretty clearly that he thought too much money was being spent on the Army and Navy. On the other hand, Lord John Russell took occasion, in a debate on Italian affairs, to declare that the state of Europe rendered this expenditure necessary. The assumption here was that events abroad might falsify Mr. Gladstone's estimates, which showed a surplus. In that case, as the Paper Duty could not be re-imposed, any deficit must be met by an increased income-tax, and it was this fear that rendered the Whigs and the Tories alike anxious to retain the Paper Duty. But the Cabinet was too weak to dispense with Mr. Gladstone's services. As the price of his allegiance to Palmerston was the repeal of the Paper Duty, and the consequent humiliation of the House of Lords, who had threatened to oppose its abolition, Palmerston had to submit to the Paper Duty being repealed. Still, the Premier was not without his consolations. The dispute with the Prussian Government over Captain Macdonald's grievances had not terminated, and on the 26th of April Lord Palmerston seized the opportunity it afforded him of making a coarse and undignified attack on Prussia because her laws, which in Macdonald's case he admitted had not been overstepped, were "harsh, unjust, arbitrary, and violent." This provoked recriminations in the Berlin Chamber, where Baron Schleinitz foolishly mixed up Captain Macdonald's arrest with high policy. To these recriminations the *Times* delivered an insulting reply, and, greatly to the annoyance of the grief-stricken Queen, a rancorous quarrel was thus developed about a trivial affair between the two Governments, which, said the Prince Consort, made the "outlook most melancholy." Mr. Disraeli told Count Vitzthum that Palmerston's outburst against Prussia was delivered in order to annoy the Prince Consort rather than the Berlin Cabinet, and if that were the fact it must be allowed that his malignity was eminently successful. It was, in truth, so ill-concealed at this time that Mr. Disraeli himself said he was puzzled to account for the Prime Minister's "grudge" against Prince Albert.*

On the 27th of April the Queen announced the approaching marriage of the Princess Alice and Prince Louis of Hesse-Darmstadt, which was approved by Parliament on the 4th of May. On the 6th the Princess was voted a dowry of £30,000 and an annuity of £6,000 a year. During Whitsuntide the Queen's birthday was celebrated at Osborne quietly and without the usual festivities, her holiday being marred not only by the nervous prostration which affected her after her mother's death, but by the illness of Prince Leopold,

* Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 145.

who was smitten by a severe attack of measles which he caught from Prince Louis of Hesse.

The death of Cavour on the 6th of June was followed by the recognition of the kingdom of Italy by France on the 25th in response to an appeal from Riccasoli. He knew that till this recognition was given, it would be difficult for the Italian Government to raise the loans necessary to construct those railways and other public works which were urgently needed to develop the resources of the new kingdom. This recognition, however, implied that



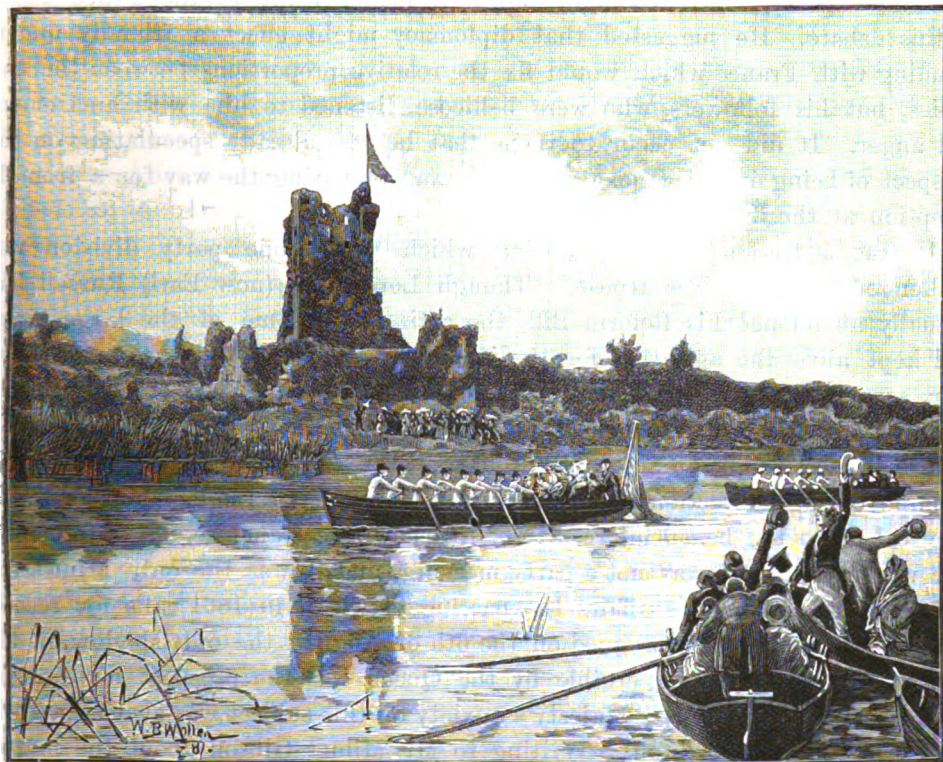
BALMORAL CASTLE, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co., Aberdeen.)

for a time the Italian question must be shelved. It was therefore with great satisfaction that England now saw the triumph of her policy, though this satisfaction was allayed somewhat by the rumour that Sardinia was to be ceded to France. Sir J. Hudson told Baron Riccasoli that such a cession would be taken by England as a *casus belli*, a warning which elicited from him a fervent denial that Victor Emmanuel would ever sanction such a transaction.

Meanwhile the Queen, still sad at heart and depressed in spirits, struggled bravely to perform her social duties. She held two Drawing-rooms and two Investitures before June was over. Visitors, too, came to comfort her in her sorrow. The King of the Belgians and his son, and the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia and their children arrived in midsummer. They were followed in rapid succession by others, including some members of the Orleans family, the Archduke Maximilian, and the Archduchess Charlotte, the Princess.

Charles of Hesse, and the King of Sweden, who arrived in August. But it was a year fruitful in sorrow for the Queen and her family. Mr. Sidney Herbert had early in the year accepted a peerage, and retired to the Upper House as Lord Herbert of Lea. In July he fell ill, and to the great grief of the Queen, who regarded him as the future Prime Minister, died in August. In him the Peelites lost the Bayard of their party. On the 25th of July a great gap was made in the ranks of the Ministry in the Lower House by the



THE ROYAL TOUR IN IRELAND: THE VISIT TO ROSS CASTLE, KILLARNEY.

elevation of Lord John Russell to the peerage as Earl Russell of Kingston Russell.* "The comments of the newspapers," wrote Count Vitzthum, "on Lord John Russell's acceptance of a peerage read like funeral sermons," and his farewell speech to the House of Commons, broadly hinting that England would make the cession of the island of Sardinia to France a *casus belli*, rang like a thunderclap through Europe. It was more effective than his farewell address to his constituents. In this document, when reviewing the exploits of his

* Sir George Cornwall Lewis succeeded Lord Herbert at the War Department. Sir George Grey went to the Home Office, and was succeeded by Mr. Cardwell as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Sir R. Peel succeeded Mr. Cardwell as Irish Secretary. Lord Campbell's death elevated Sir R. Bethell to the Lord Chancellorship.

career, Lord Russell modestly compared himself to the Emperor Charles V., who, having been engaged in all the great affairs of his age, and desiring to see how the world would get on after his death, had the dark pageant of his funeral prepared, and officiated as his own chief mourner at the ceremony. One of the last events of the Session was a spirited debate on the 26th of June on the demand of the Government for £200,000 for new ironclads. Palmerston, by dwelling on the growth of the French navy, frightened Parliament into granting the money, and the Manchester Radicals were fain to hold their peace. Mr. Disraeli, however, rather leant to the Peace Party in this debate. He suggested that diplomacy might effect a friendly understanding with France which would fix the relative proportions between the two navies, but his followers, who were bellicose, listened to him with amazement and anger. It did not occur to them that he was already speculating on the prospect of being in office next year, and was preparing the way for a friendly reception at the Tuileries.

It was a tranquil Session, during which hardly one party division was challenged in the Lower House. Though Lord John (now Earl) Russell had virtually abandoned his Reform Bill, the artisans in some of the large towns still kept alive the agitation for Parliamentary Reform. The country, however, seemed apathetic on the subject. How to give the best of the working men votes without at the same time enfranchising those who were unworthy, seemed to most people an insoluble problem. The American Civil War and the triumph of the Protectionists in Australia also rendered Englishmen somewhat sceptical as to the beneficial results of a democratic franchise. A Bankruptcy Bill was carried. It was not a party measure, and it was the only Ministerial Bill bearing on domestic affairs the passing of which in 1861 calls for record. When Parliament was prorogued on the 6th of August, the only shadow on the horizon of the future discernible by the Queen was the prospect of a cotton famine in Lancashire. Her Majesty's anxiety on this subject was also apparently shared by Lord Palmerston. Writing to Mr. Milner Gibson about the matter in June, Lord Palmerston wistfully asked if the Board of Trade or any other department had any means of helping the country to make good the deficiency in the cotton supply which the Civil War in America was sure to cause. "As to our manufacturers," he writes, "they will do nothing unless directed and pushed on. They are some of the most helpless and shortsighted of men. They are like the people who held out their dishes and prayed that it might rain plum-puddings. They think it is enough to open their mill-gates, and that cotton will come of its own accord. They say they have for years been looking to India as a source of supply; but their looks seem to have had only the effect of the eyes of the rattlesnake, namely, to paralyse the object looked at, and as yet it has shown no signs of falling into their jaws."*

* Evelyn Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*, Vol. II., p. 211.

On the 16th of August the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia and their children left Osborne for Germany. Next day her Majesty, the Prince Consort, and the Princess Alice visited the grave of the Duchess of Kent at Frogmore, celebrating there in sorrow a birthday anniversary which had hitherto brought joy every year to the Royal circle. They placed wreaths on the tomb, and felt, writes the Queen to King Leopold, "that it was only the earthly robe of her we loved so much that was there—the pure, tender, loving spirit is above, and free from all suffering and woe. . . . The first birthday in another world, must have been a far brighter one than any birthday in the poor world below." *

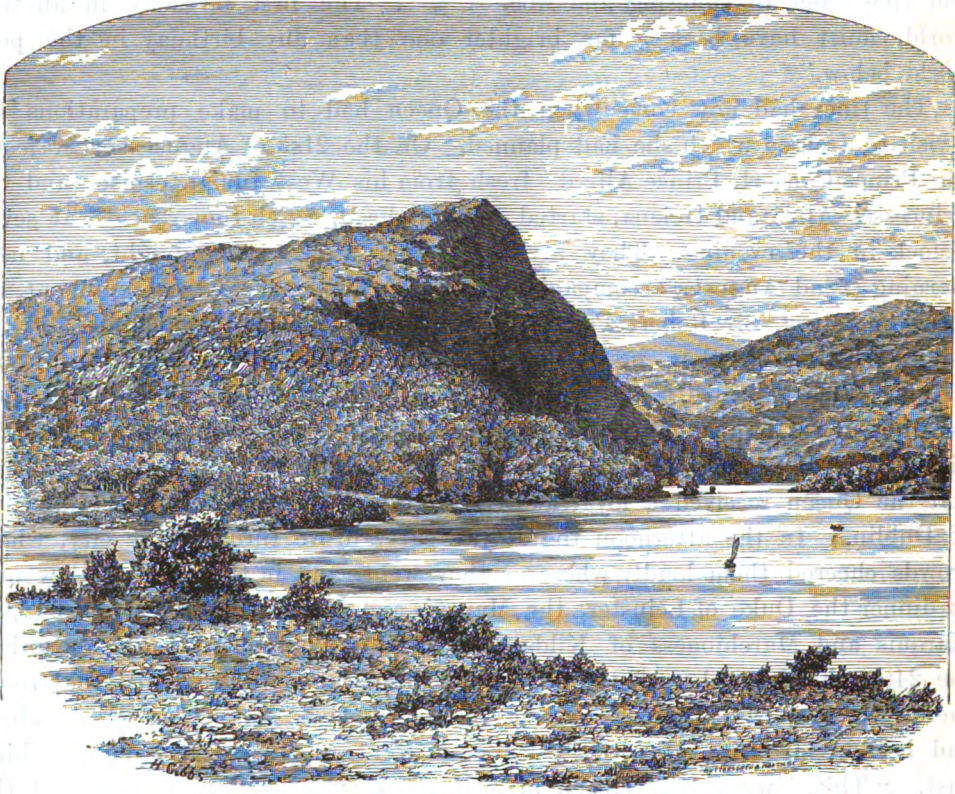
The time had now come when the Queen had to make preparations for a visit to Ireland which she had planned. On the 21st of August her Majesty, the Prince Consort, Prince Alfred—fresh from his West Indian cruise—and the Princesses Alice and Helena, started for Holyhead, which they reached at seven o'clock in the evening. They arrived at Kingstown at midnight, and next morning (22nd August), accompanied by Lord Carlisle, the Lord-Lieutenant, his Chief Secretary, Sir Robert Peel, and Sir George Brown, Commander of the Forces in Ireland, they proceeded to Dublin. Despite the wet and stormy weather, the populace gave their Royal visitors a cordial reception. Next morning (23rd August) the Prince Consort visited the Curragh Camp to see for himself how the Prince of Wales was progressing with his military studies there, and the Queen received a loyal address from the Lord Mayor and Corporation of Dublin. In the afternoon the Royal party drove through the city, where crowds cheered them loudly wherever they went, and in the evening they met at dinner the Duke of Leinster, the Marquis and Marchioness of Headfort, the Marquis and Marchioness of Kildare, and Lady Charlemont. On Saturday, the 24th, the Queen herself visited the Curragh Camp, and reviewed the troops there. As they passed the cavalry one of the bands began to play an air which had been a favourite with the Duchess of Kent, and repeated it on marching past. "This," wrote the Queen in her Diary, "entirely upset me, and the tears would have flowed freely had I not checked them by a violent effort. But I felt sad the whole day till I came to Bertie (the Prince of Wales), who looked so well." † Then came some field manoeuvres, and a visit to "Bertie's hut," where the whole party, with Sir George Brown, General Ridley, Colonels Wetherell, Browning, and Percy—the latter of whom had the Prince of Wales under his care—partook of a comfortable luncheon. The Queen thanked Colonel Percy very warmly "for treating Bertie as he did like any other officer, for," she says in her Diary, "I know he keeps him up to his work in a way, as General Bruce told me, no one else has done; and yet Bertie likes him very much." On Sunday afternoon the Queen visited the Kilmainham Hospital, and on Monday (August 26th) celebrated her husband's birthday. "Alas!" she

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CXIII.

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CXIV.

writes to King Leopold, "there is so much so different this year—nothing festive, and we on a journey, and separated from many of our children, and my spirits bad."

In the afternoon the Queen and her family left the Viceregal Lodge for Killarney, and, recording her impressions on the road, her Majesty dwells on the sparseness of the population, and the scarcity of villages and towns. At



THE EAGLE'S NEST, KILLARNEY.

(After a Photograph by W. Lawrence, Dublin.)

Thurles she notes how the crowd shrieked rather than cheered, how "wild and dark-looking" the people were, and how handsome the girls seemed, despite their dishevelled hair. At Killarney the Queen was received by Lord Castlerosse, Mr. Herbert of Muckross Abbey, the General commanding the district, and the Mayor, who presented a loyal address. Guarded by a strong escort of troops, her Majesty drove amidst cheering crowds to Lord Castlerosse's house, which was so charmingly picturesque that she sketched it on her arrival. At dinner in the evening she met the Roman Catholic Bishop, Dr. Moriarty—whom she describes as "a tall, stout, and very intelligent, clever man,"—the Knight of Kerry, and a brother of O'Connell's, whose views her

Majesty found more to her liking than those of the *Liberator*. On the 27th the Queen spent most of her time on the lakes in this lovely and romantic spot—the close, warm, humid atmosphere being the only drawback to her delightful tour. In the evening Muckross was visited, and next day (28th



KING WILLIAM OF PRUSSIA (AFTERWARDS EMPEROR OF GERMANY).

August), after driving round Muckross Lake, the Queen went on that splendid sheet of water, and admired especially the excellent rowing of the boatmen. Very reluctantly did the Queen bid farewell to her kind hosts on the 29th of August, when she hastened back to her yacht at Kingstown. At nine next morning she reached Holyhead, where she rested, while the Prince Consort and her suite made an excursion to Carnarvon. Leaving Holyhead in the evening, and travelling all night, the Royal party reached Balmoral on the 30th of August.

The affairs of Germany had now drifted into such a critical condition that the Prince Consort felt bound to explain to the King of Prussia the views of the English Court on this subject. All over the Fatherland the people, stirred by the success of the movement in Italy for unity, were forming political clubs, and Prussia, to whom they looked for leadership, was disappointing them by refusing to reform her internal administration. Prince Albert, writing to the King of Prussia, took the popular German view—pointing out how Austria had ever worked for the purpose of weakening the Fatherland, and how she had once more given to France, after her victories in Italy, a strong position on the Rhine. “Is it an evil trait of the spirit of the people,” asks the Prince, “if they yearn for general unity and active co-operation in what is to decide their destiny? Do not allow yourself to be annoyed or misled if here and there the people are guilty of stupid extravagances. They and you are Germany’s only stay, and the power by which alone the enemy can be held at bay. It is not a Cavour that Germany needs, but a Stein.” It has been said that the Queen and her husband were not consistent in their policy, because, while they showed little sympathy for the national movement in Italy, they always encouraged the same movement in Germany. To them it must be remembered that the former movement was an anti-German one. They believed that if Austria lost Venetia, Galicia, Hungary, and Poland, Germany would be crushed—because they assumed that these nations, like the new kingdom of Italy, would be under the hostile influence of France. The mistake which they made in the case of Italy lay in supposing that political gratitude is stronger than the love of national independence.

During this autumn the Prince of Wales visited Germany, ostensibly to be present at the military manoeuvres in the Rhine Provinces, but really to make the acquaintance of the Princess Alexandra of Denmark at Speyer and Heidelberg, where she happened to be staying, and where, according to the Prince Consort, “the young people seem to have taken a warm liking for each other” when they first met.* The visit of the King of Prussia to Compiègne somewhat disturbed the mind of the country, for it set afloat rumours of an alliance with France, one result of which might perhaps be a scheme for the unification of Germany, with Belgium and the Rhine Provinces playing the part which was allotted to Nice and Savoy in the scheme for unifying Italy. The Queen and her husband, however, knew that the visit was purely one of ceremonial courtesy, and that no attempt had been made to inveigle Prussia into any such conspiracy. This information was communicated to the Cabinet, and soon all disquieting rumours ceased.

On the 18th of October the King of Prussia was crowned at Königsberg, and Lord Clarendon, who was present as representing the Queen, congratulated

* Martin’s Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CXIV.

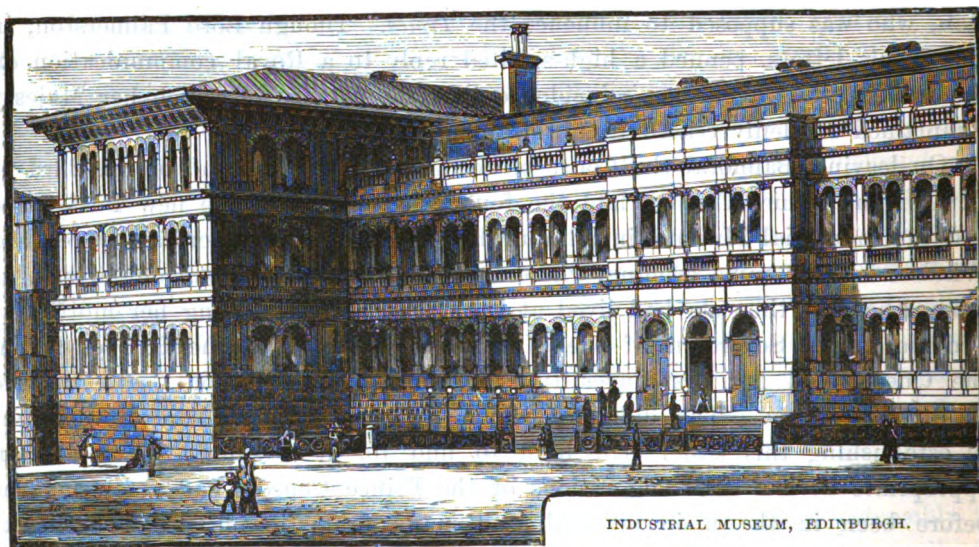
her Majesty on the charming manner in which the Crown Princess did homage to her father-in-law. King William I. was desirous of conferring the Order of the Black Eagle on Lord Clarendon, but the Queen begged him not to offer it, because it was against the traditions of the English Foreign Office to permit a subject to accept such a distinction.* Lord Clarendon mixed very freely in society at Berlin, and was able to report to the Queen that the attacks of the *Times* on everything Prussian would have damaged the position of the Crown Princess, had it not been safeguarded and secured by her own high personal qualities. These attacks broke out afresh over the King's seeming assertion of the principle of Divine Right in his Address to the Chambers, and Clarendon begged the Queen to remonstrate with Lord Palmerston, who was supposed to influence the *Times*. Though Lord Palmerston, in one of his letters, penned a high-spirited reply to a Royal communication on the subject, it is a curious coincidence that the attacks of which her Majesty complained suddenly ceased from this moment.

On leaving Balmoral the Court proceeded to Holyrood, and on the 23rd of October the Prince Consort laid the foundation stones of the new Post Office and the Industrial Museum in Edinburgh. The Queen and her family reached Windsor on the same evening, where her Majesty's grief broke out afresh, as it was the first time she had lived at the Castle without finding her mother at Frogmore. As Sovereign of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, the Queen held her first investiture of Knights at Windsor Castle on the 1st of November. The difficulty which perplexed the Indian Government in establishing this Order had been to find for it a suitable name and an appropriate device. The suggestions of the Prince Consort had a few months before been in the main adopted, and many fantastic ideas had been extinguished by the cold *douche* of his common sense. It had been settled that the Order was to consist of the Indian Viceroy as Grand Master, and twenty-five Knights, together with such extraordinary Knights as the Queen might appoint. The badge was to be an oval onyx cameo suspended from an Imperial crown in the centre of the collar, and on the stone Her Majesty's head was cut in high relief, the motto being "Heaven's Light Our Guide." The jewel was surmounted by a star, and set in diamonds. The ceremony of investiture was held in high state. The Queen having previously conferred the Order on the Prince Consort and the Prince of Wales, entered the Throne Room wearing the sumptuous Mantle of the Order. After the usual formalities, she invested with the Insignia of the Order, Lord Harris,

* The rule originated with Queen Elizabeth, who said she objected to her dogs wearing anybody else's collars. Lord Clarendon himself, as Foreign Minister, had prohibited English servants of the Crown from accepting Foreign Orders. Lord Granville at the Coronation of the Czar Alexander, the Duke of Northumberland at the Coronation of Charles X., and Lord Beauvale at that of the Emperor Ferdinand, had to refuse Foreign Orders. The Duke of Devonshire was allowed to accept one from the Czar Nicholas at his Coronation, on the ground that, like many distinguished Englishmen, he was a personal friend of his Imperial Majesty.

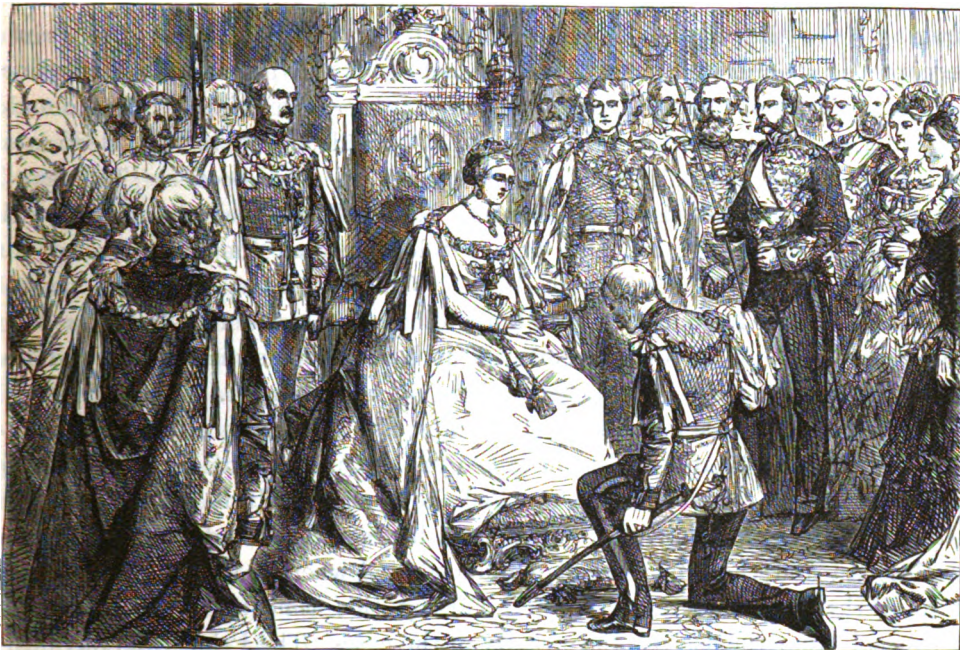
Lord Gough, Lord Clyde, His Highness the Maharajah Duleep Singh, Sir John Lawrence, and Sir George Pollock.

At Windsor the Prince Consort now began to make arrangements for the approaching marriage of the Princess Alice, and the journey of Prince Leopold, then in delicate health, to Cannes. He busied himself also with the preparation of Marlborough House as a residence for the Prince of Wales. On the 4th of November he inspected the works at Wellington College. A brilliant company of guests, including the Grand Duke and Duchess Constantine, the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Granville, Earl and Countess Russell, Lord Sydney, and the Baron and Baroness Brunnow, were at the Castle when the birthday of



the Prince of Wales was celebrated on the 9th. The death of Prince Ferdinand of Portugal, from typhoid fever, together with sad memories of the late Duchess of Kent, had somewhat darkened this family festival, and in a few days her Majesty and the Prince Consort were still further shocked to hear that the King of Portugal had also fallen a victim to the disease which had cut short his brother's life. The attachment which existed between the Prince Consort and the Portuguese branch of the House of Coburg was close and tender, and it is certain that the sudden death of King Pedro and his brother weighed heavily on his heart. The Crown Princess of Prussia was suffering from illness, brought on by the fatigues and excitement of the coronation ceremony, and, as the last letter the Prince Consort ever wrote to Stockmar indicates, this also preyed on his mind. To these troubles were added certain private vexations, hinted at, but not specified by Sir Theodore Martin. The Prince began to look ill, and his irritability amazed his household, every member of which loved him for his serene temper, his imperturbable good humour, and his invincible patience. On the 12th of November the Queen

began to notice that her husband's repeated journeys to London were making him "low and sad." His sleeplessness returned, and her Majesty pressed Sir C. Phipps to lighten as much as possible the strain on his energies. On the 22nd of November he inspected the buildings of Sandhurst Military College amidst a downpour of rain, and it was at first thought he here caught the illness which sent him to his grave. On the 23rd, though complaining of *malaise*, he went out shooting with Prince Ernest of Leiningen. On the 24th he complained of rheumatic pains, but walked with the Queen and her family



THE QUEEN HOLDING THE FIRST INVESTITURE OF THE ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA.

to Frogmore. Next day (Monday) he went to Cambridge to see the Prince of Wales, who found him "greatly out of sorts," and when he came back to Windsor he was so ill that he could not walk out with the Queen in the afternoon. On the 26th he was worse; on the 28th he was still worse, and greatly grieved at the seizure by the Americans of the Confederate Commissioners, who were passengers in the English mail steamer *Trent*. During the next two days the Prince still complained of illness, and when, on the 1st of December, he drafted a memorandum—the last he ever wrote—for the Queen on the *Trent* affair, he could scarcely hold his pen. Yet he had struggled against his malady, and during the two previous days had appeared among his guests—including the Duc de Nemours, Lord Carlisle, and Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone—as best he could. But he ate nothing, and when he went to bed he complained of shivering with cold. On the 2nd of December Sir James Clark and Dr. Jenner pronounced

him to be suffering from low fever. Curiously enough, when Lord Methuen called on him to report on the death of the King of Portugal he said he was glad his disease was not typhoid fever, because he knew he could not survive an attack. Lord Palmerston was a guest at the Castle on the 2nd, and when he found that the Prince was still unable to take food or leave his room he suggested that another physician should be called in. The Queen could not bring herself to believe that her husband was seriously ill, and on the 3rd her opinion was confirmed by that of Sir James Clark, for the Prince slept better that night and so Palmerston's suggestion was overruled. Next day even Sir James Clark admitted there was no improvement, and that the symptoms were discouraging. On the 4th of December the Queen says she found the Prince "very woebegone and wretched." He had not slept, and his appetite had gone. He seemed to care for nothing save that his daughter, the Princess Alice, should sit by him and read to him. His irritability extended even to the selection of books, and it was not till the Princess began to read Scott's "Talisman" to him that he was satisfied. Sir James Clark still consoled the Queen with smooth prognostications; but Dr. Jenner told her that the Prince must eat because he was simply starving to death. On the 5th he began to marvel what kind of illness it could be that clung to him so persistently, and how long it would last. Clark, however, reported that he was somewhat better, and the Queen was again deceived by delusive signs of improvement. He still begged the Princess Alice to read to him, and nothing else seemed to soothe his irritability. On the 6th he rose early and talked to the Queen about his illness. She told him it sprang from overwork, to which he replied: "It is too much. You must speak to the Ministers."* His mind, he remarked, had begun to brood over Rosenau and the scenes of his childhood, and when he said that the Queen felt as if her heart were breaking. For by this time the physicians could not conceal from themselves the gravity of the case. The Prince was obviously suffering from typhoid fever, and Dr. Jenner broke the news to her Majesty as softly and kindly as he could. Still, they told her the symptoms were not bad, and she tried to think of those who had been smitten with typhoid fever and had survived. On the 7th the Queen worked hard—harder than ever she had worked in her life; for her husband's pen was no longer at her service. She herself has said that "the tears fell fast" as she sat by his bedside watching him and thinking of the shipwreck of their plans, "and of the painful loss this long illness would be, publicly as well as privately."

On the 8th the Prince felt so well that he begged to be moved into a larger room, and as he lay in the sunshine he asked the Princess Alice to play for him some of his favourite German chorales. Tears came to his eyes as her fingers wandered over the keys. Suddenly he cried out, "*Das reicht hin*"—"that is enough"—and then the music was mute. Charles

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CXVI.

Kingsley preached that Sunday in the Chapel, but the Queen, who attended service, says in her Diary, "I heard nothing." In the afternoon she sat by her husband and read "Peveril of the Peak," he holding her hand, and occasionally murmuring words of love and tenderness. Lord Palmerston, himself disabled with gout, could no longer conceal his anxiety. He and his colleagues again pressed the Queen to call in some other physician, and Sir James Clark and Dr. Jenner accordingly sent for Sir H. Holland and Dr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Watson. The Prince, after seeing the latter, spoke hopefully, and told the Queen that he was "quite the right man"—but still they noticed as a distressing sign that his mind had an increasing tendency to wander. On the 10th Lord Palmerston again urged that further medical advice should be obtained, and by this time the public were becoming alarmed at the condition of the patient. Still, ere the evening wore away even Dr. Watson admitted that the Prince had improved. But on the 11th the Queen, on visiting him in the morning to give him some beef-tea, noticed how his face, "more beautiful than ever, had grown so thin." As she assisted him to his sofa, he stopped to look at a picture on china of the Madonna, saying, "It helps me through half the day." The doctors, it seems, felt uneasy towards the evening, when they discovered that the Prince had begun to breathe with more difficulty. The Queen read to him during the greater part of the day, and he manifested great reluctance to let her leave him, even when her duty called her away for a few minutes. On the 12th the bad symptoms increased, and Palmerston wrote three letters, in quick succession, to Sir C. Phipps, each more distracted than the other. On the 13th Dr. Jenner had to warn the Queen that congestion of the lungs might set in, and she herself saw that her husband had become much weaker. But all through the night comforting reports were brought to her, and next morning, the 14th, Mr. Brown, the Royal apothecary, told her that Prince Albert was over the crisis. She went straight to his bedside. "I went in," she writes, "and never can I forget how beautiful my darling looked, lying there with his face lit up by the rising sun, his eyes unusually bright, gazing as it were at unseen objects, and not taking notice of me."* Hour after hour, as she watched by the sick bed, the Queen saw that her husband was slowly sinking. Still, in the afternoon he knew her—for as he laid his weary head on her shoulder, he kissed her and muttered, "*Gutes frauchen.*" Then his mind would wander, and then he would doze in brief and troubled snatches of sleep. He took his children by the hand when they came and kissed him, but it is doubtful if he now knew them. Late in the afternoon he asked for Sir Charles Phipps, who came and kissed his hand, whereupon he again closed his eyes. So he lingered on, the Queen keeping her mournful watch with breaking heart. At a late hour they changed his bed, and on the Queen

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CXVI.

pointing to a favourable sign, Dr. Jenner told her that the Prince's breathing rendered all favourable signs of no avail. At last she went to her room, but returned when she heard the breathing grow worse. The Prince was partially conscious, for when she kissed him and whispered, "*Es ist kleines Frauchen*"—"Tis your own little wife"—he kissed her also. But he seemed desirous of being left quite undisturbed, and so she retired to her room to weep. The end was coming fast. Clark soon saw that a serious change for the worse was setting in, and the Princess Alice went to summon the Queen. When she came she found the Prince still breathing, and she knelt at the bedside, taking his cold hand in hers. On the opposite side knelt the Princess Alice—at the foot of the bed the Prince of Wales and the Princess Helena. The doctors, Generals Bruce and Grey, Sir Charles Phipps, the Dean of Windsor, Prince Ernest of Leiningen, and the faithful valet, Löhlein, stood around hushed and grief-stricken, and the sobs of those to whom the Prince was dearest alone broke the stillness of the chamber of death. The dying man's face grew serenely soft and reposeful, as his breathing became feebler and feebler. At last he strove hard to take a long, deep breath. In this effort he passed away to his last, long rest, as the great clock of the Castle struck the third quarter after the tenth hour of the night. Those who heard the doleful chime at the Prince's deathbed will never forget it.

"Yet in these ears, till hearing dies,
One set slow bell will seem to toll
The passing of the sweetest soul
That ever look'd with human eyes."

Of the grief that broke the widowed heart of the Queen it is not becoming to speak here. The veil of silence must be drawn over a crisis in her life too sacred, and too tragical even for her children's eyes. But through England a great wave of sorrow swept over the hearts of men when they became conscious of all that the Prince Consort's death might imply. Political partisans whose waywardness had harassed the Prince during his life, were not unmoved by the touching story of his last days. Some were even ready to drop a remorseful tear over his grave, when they remembered how eagerly they had, for base party purposes, too often wounded the proud but gentle heart which would now beat no more. The voice of calumny was silenced at last. The *Times* newspaper, which had pursued the Prince with ungenerous criticism throughout his life, had, to quote the Queen's own words in a memorandum which she wrote on this painful subject, in January, 1862, "the most beautiful articles on him when he died." Lord Palmerston also shared in the general grief, and his biographer says that he felt the death of the Prince Consort most acutely, and looked upon it as an irreparable loss. Indeed, he was almost melodramatic in his manifestations of remorse when in presence of a member of the Royal Family. The Duke of Cambridge,



THE PRINCESS ALICE READING TO HER FATHER.

for example, considered it his duty to inform Palmerston of the sad event, and was utterly astounded at the effect the news had on him. He told Count Vitzthum that "the Prime Minister was so affected that he had fainted away several times in the presence of the Duke, who expected him to have a fit of apoplexy, and still fears that his days are numbered." Count Vitzthum, however, adds significantly:—"He (Palmerston) recovered again in the afternoon so far as to be able to receive Baron Brunnow, who perceived nothing unusual about him."* Mr. Hayward has stated that the news of the Prince Consort's death so affected Lord Palmerston that he had a violent attack of gout.† According to Mr. Ashley, the Prime Minister was suffering from gout before it was suspected that the Prince Consort was dangerously ill; though, no doubt, Mr. Hayward rightly accounts for Lord Palmerston's demonstrative emotion when he explains that he was afraid of the effect of the Prince's death on the Queen. But this apprehension as to the weakness of her Majesty's nerves must have quickly worn away, for when he visited her at Osborne, on the 29th of January, 1862, for the first time after the Prince's death, he not only neglected to put on mourning, but enhanced the gaiety of his raiment by wearing green gloves and blue studs.‡

The English people, however, had on the whole judged the Prince Consort generously through life, and they mourned over his death with genuine and unaffected sincerity. Never since the death of the Princess Charlotte was the grief of the people more widespread and more real. Friar Francis says of Hero's supposed death—

"That what we have we prize not to the worth
Whiles we enjoy it, but being lack'd and lost,
Why, then we rack the value."

Some such feeling as this was universal when, amidst the gloom that tinged the skirts of the dying year with hues of sorrow, the nation reviewed Prince Albert's career, so full of usefulness, of self-restraint, of high aim, of patriotic purpose, of unselfish devotion. Very beautiful and touching, too, were the popular expressions of sympathy which were sent to the widowed Queen, the light of whose life had been extinguished at one fell stroke.

Till Count Vitzthum's "Reminiscences" appeared, little that was authentic had been published as to the personal history of the Queen during the first days of her widowhood. "Just as the Queen had failed," writes Count Vitzthum, who obtained his information from the Duke of Cambridge, "to recognise the danger till the last moment, so also she appears not to have realised, for the

* Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 182.

† A Selection from the *Correspondence of Abraham Hayward*, Q.C., Vol. II., p. 65.

‡ This, says Lord Clarendon in a letter to Mr. Hayward, was "charmingly characteristic;" but he adds, thinking of the effect on the mind of the Queen, "they" (the green gloves and blue studs) "will not have been unobserved, or set down to the credit side of his account."—Mr. Hayward's *Correspondence*, Vol. II., p. 72.

first few days after all was over, the full extent of her loss. Her composure was almost unnatural, and it was not till her return to Osborne that she awoke to the full consciousness of this unexpected blow. 'Her Majesty is unnaturally quiet,' was the remark of an eye-witness two days after the event." The Duchess of Cambridge was the first member of the Royal Family who ventured to write to the Queen. She described the answer of the Princess Alice as "heartrending." Her Majesty sat all day in dumb despair, staring vacantly round her, and it was only with the utmost difficulty that the Royal sign manual could be obtained for the most urgent business. The wise, strong affection and the capable energy of the Princess Alice, however, spared her Majesty from many anxieties at the moment when her grief was keenest. Lord Granville was the first Minister she was able to see, and she transacted some business with him a few days after the Prince's death. Sir Charles Phipps, too, strove hard to lighten the burden of sovereignty for his Royal mistress in the darkest hours of her life; but his efforts, though well meant, gave rise to misunderstandings. "I hear," writes Lord Malmesbury in his Diary, on the 28th of December, "that Ministers have signed a memorial to the Queen refusing to transact business with her through Sir C. Phipps." From a constitutional point of view Palmerston and his colleagues were right in taking this course. Whether it was generous, or even wise, to annoy the Queen at such a moment with their cruelly conscientious pedantry is not a question that admits of much argument.* Her Majesty was able to hold her first Privy Council, after the Prince's death, on the 11th of January, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Granville, and Sir George Grey being in attendance. The chief point under discussion was that of summoning Parliament.

The Duke of Newcastle, who was a valued friend of the Prince Consort, had a quiet conversation with her Majesty early in January, before she left Windsor for Osborne. "His account of the Queen," writes Mr. Hayward in a letter to Lady Emily Peel, "is highly favourable. He said his private interview left him with the very highest opinion of her strength of character."† After retiring to Osborne, however, nervous exhaustion seriously impaired her strength. Lady Ely told Lord Malmesbury that during the first weeks at Osborne her Majesty seemed very low and wretched. "She (Lady Ely)," writes Lord Malmesbury on the 4th of February, 1862, "gives a sad report of the poor Queen, who talks continually about the Prince, and seems to feel comfort in doing so. She takes great pleasure in the universal feeling of sympathy for her and sorrow for him shown by all classes."‡ King Leopold of Belgium came to Osborne in the end of January, and he endeavoured by his good offices to bring about an arrangement with Lord Palmerston for facilitating the transaction of Ministerial business with the

* Malmesbury Memoirs, Vol. II., p. 266.

† The Hayward Correspondence, Vol. II., p. 67.

‡ Malmesbury Memoirs, Vol. II., p. 267.

Queen. At that time her health was not actually bad. But the King of the Belgians said that though she was outwardly composed she was not equal to the strain of dining at table, even with her half-sister, the Princess Hohenlohe, and with Prince Louis of Hesse, who were then at Osborne. She seems to have desired no other companionship in the first weeks of her widowhood save that of the Princess Alice.

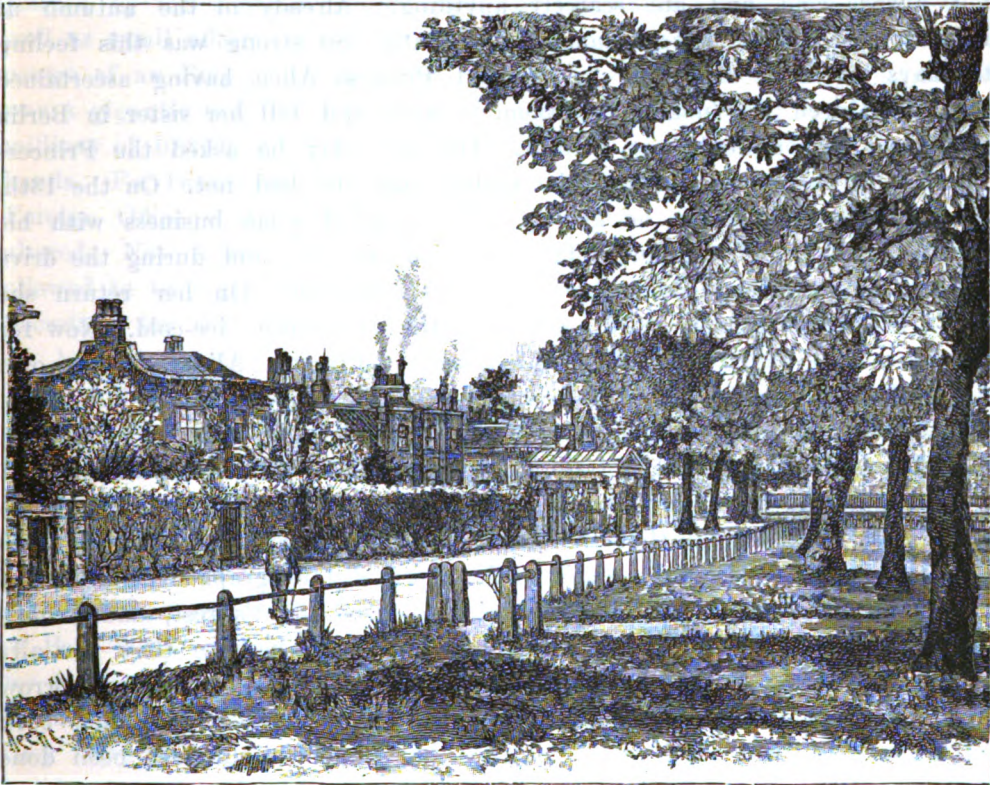
Count Vitzthum was in Lisbon when the tidings of the Prince Consort's death arrived, but he returned to London very soon afterwards. He says, "The consternation I found prevailing among all classes of the people surpassed my utmost expectations. Mr. Disraeli spoke to me with deep and heartfelt sorrow of the irreparable loss that England had sustained. 'With Prince Albert,' he said, 'we have buried our Sovereign. This German Prince has governed England for twenty-one years with a wisdom and energy such as none of our kings have ever shown. He was the permanent Private Secretary, the permanent Prime Minister of the Queen. If he had outlived some of the 'old staggers,' he would have given us, while retaining all constitutional guarantees, the blessings of absolute government. Of us younger men who are qualified to enter the Cabinet, there is not one who would not willingly have bowed to his experience. We are now in the midst of a change of government. What to-morrow will bring forth no man can tell. To-day we are sailing in the deepest gloom, with night and darkness all around us.'"

Some very curious details were collected by Count Vitzthum relating to the Prince Consort's illness. On the 15th of January the Duke of Cambridge, who was then staying with his mother at Kew, invited Count Vitzthum and Count Apponyi to dinner, and from his conversation the former was able to glean the following facts:—"The illness," writes Count Vitzthum, "which snatched away the Prince so suddenly in his forty-second year was at first nothing but a gastric fever, as his private librarian, Mr. Ruland, had informed me by letter on the day before I left for Lisbon. This so-called Windsor fever, so frequently recurrent at that season in the badly-drained town, soon, however, became typhoid. The Prince did not seem to be really ill, though as early as the 23rd or 24th of November his mind strangely wandered. His valet* felt instinctively what was necessary. 'Living here will kill your Royal Highness,' he frequently repeated. 'You must leave Windsor and go to Germany for a time to rest and recover strength.' These well-meant warnings passed unheeded by the patient, who showed the listlessness so foreign to his nature, but so characteristic of this disease. The most serious sign was sleeplessness and a total want of appetite. All the symptoms show that. I had the same illness myself last year. My own experience, therefore, makes me convinced that the sick man, from the indifference he showed for everything, especially for the preservation of his own life, had no idea of the danger he

* The faithful Coburger, Löhlein, was the only member of the Royal household who seems to have given advice that would have saved the Prince's life had it been acted on.

was in. This is the peculiarity of typhoid fever, which so completely shatters the nervous system. It requires, after timely diagnosis, complete rest and gentle treatment. When once the blood-poisoning has reached a certain stage no human aid can avail.

“Above all things the Prince seems to have had no doctor attending him who was capable of recognising the gravity of the disease in time. Unfortunately, his physician, Dr. Bayly, had been killed in a railway accident the year



CAMBRIDGE COTTAGE, KEW.

before. Sir James Clark, fifty years before a distinguished physician of the old school, had virtually retired from practice, and probably had but a limited knowledge of the advance made by modern science in the treatment of typhoid diseases. As physician to the Queen his position had been for twenty years a sinecure. Her Majesty enjoys such excellent health that she does not know what it is to be ill. Hence to the last moment she clung to vain hopes in regard to the condition of her husband, which Sir James very possibly confirmed. In consequence of the urgent representations of Ministers,* Dr. Watson and

* It is only fair to say that Lord Palmerston was the first to make these representations. For his views on the Prince's illness and the Queen's doctors, see his letter to Lord Shaftesbury, of 11th December.—*Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*, by Edwin Hodder. Vol. III., p. 130.

Sir Henry Holland were summoned in addition to Dr. Jenner. Sir Henry Holland is said to have been the first to have had the courage, when it was too late, to tell the Queen the truth.

"The news of the death of King Dom Pedro, whom the Prince had loved as a son, had deeply affected him As he himself confessed, he hardly closed his eyes from the time he received the news till the fever actually set in. The troubles with America also embittered his last hours. He was so tired that at times he nodded off to sleep when standing. He felt always cold, and ate scarcely anything. Already in the autumn at Balmoral he had a presentiment of his death. So strong was this feeling ten days before he died that he enjoined Princess Alice, having ascertained that the Queen was not in the room, to write and tell her sister in Berlin that their father would not recover. The next day he asked the Princess whether she had done so, and she replied that she had not. On the 13th, the day before his death, he got up and transacted some business with his private secretary, Mr. Ruland. The Queen drove out, and during the drive appeared much easier about her husband's condition. On her return she found him in bed, unconscious, and with the extremities ice-cold. Now for the first time they all realised the danger. Princess Alice, on her own responsibility, sent for the Prince of Wales, who was then at Cambridge. Sir Charles Phipps telegraphed during the night for the Duke of Cambridge, who left London by the first train on the 14th, and arrived at Windsor at 8 o'clock in the morning. The alarming symptoms had increased, and the doctors did not conceal that the Prince had only a few hours to live. The Queen alone still deceived herself with hopes, and telegraphed early on the 14th to Berlin, 'Dear Vic., Papa has had a good night's rest, and I hope the danger is over.'" These details are important, because they partially explain the secret of what has been to many inexplicable—the extreme sorrow that has clouded the Queen's life during her long widowhood. It has been bitter to look back on the past and see how much might have been done that was left undone to save the life which was far dearer to her than her own.

As to the public aspects of the Queen's married life, Count Vitzthum was favoured with many disclosures from the Duchess of Cambridge. "She spoke," writes the Count, "with tears in her eyes, of the almost unparalleled happiness of his (the Prince Consort's) twenty years of married life, now brought to such a sudden end. In all that clear and sunny sky there was only one cloud. How gladly would the Queen have shared her crown with the husband who helped her to wear it, and was her all in all! In vain already, in Sir Robert Peel's time, had she expressed her wish to bestow the title of King upon her husband. The constitutional scruples of the deceased Tory Minister were urged still more emphatically by Lord Palmerston when, later on, the question was again mooted. The promotion

of the Prince to the title of 'Prince Consort' was the consequence of a compromise. Prince Albert was naturalised in 1840, and obtained, in the same year, by letters patent, precedence next to the Queen. Nevertheless, he was not a British prince, and both at Court and the Privy Council his eldest son, on attaining his majority, must have taken precedence of him. 'For the Prince of Wales,' as the Duke of Cambridge says, 'is and remains Prince of Wales.'"

"The value which the Queen attached to her husband's precedence is explained by the submissive veneration she invariably showed him in great as well as small affairs. He was complete master in his house, and the active centre of an Empire whose power extends to every quarter of the globe. It was a gigantic task for a young German prince to think and act for all these millions of British subjects. All the threads were gathered together in his hands. For twenty-one years not a single despatch was ever sent from the Foreign Office which the Prince had not seen, studied, and, if necessary, altered. Not a single report of any importance from an Ambassador was allowed to be kept from him. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Secretary for War, the Home Secretary, the First Lord of the Admiralty—all handed to him every day just as large bundles of papers as did the Foreign Office. Everything was read, commented upon, and discussed. In addition to all this, the Prince kept up private correspondence with foreign Sovereigns, with British Ambassadors and Envoys, with the Governor-General of India, and with the Governors of the various colonies. No appointment in Church and State, in the Army or the Navy, was ever made without his approbation. At Court not the smallest thing was done without his order. No British Cabinet Minister has ever worked so hard during the Session of Parliament—and that is saying a good deal—as the Prince Consort did for twenty-one years. And the Ministers come and go; or at any rate, if frequently and long in office, as was the case with Palmerston and Russell, they have four or five months' holiday every year. The Prince had no holidays at all. He was always in harness.

"The Continental notion that Royalty in England is a sinecure was signally refuted by the example of Prince Albert. As for the charge sometimes alleged against him, that owing to his Liberalism he yielded too much to the Ministers—in other words, to Parliament—it is wholly groundless. The influence exercised on the Government by the Crown is a power which makes itself felt, not merely in crises at home and abroad, but continually. This influence is, however, indirect, and wears a different garb in England to that which it assumes, for example, in Russia and France. Prince Albert's task was all the more difficult, since his decision depended on unknown data, and he had to reckon with the changing factors of a constitution the foundations of which have been undermined for years by the rising waves of democracy. If, in spite of all this, the Crown's game, as Prince Metternich

expressed it, has been well played, this result is doubly creditable to the late Prince, inasmuch as he could only direct the game—not play it himself. With what tact and skill he did so is proved by the fact that, with the exception of the British Ministers and a few intimate friends, no one had any idea of the actual position of the Prince during his lifetime. Those who knew it were pledged to keep the secret, which now for the first time since his death has been revealed to the nation.

“As truth appears to have been the most prominent attribute of the Prince, this necessary game of concealment must have been all the more painful to him. The daily regard for public opinion gave rise to misunderstandings, to overcome which required an amount of elasticity which was bound gradually to weaken. Sparing as the deceased was of sleep, it is difficult to understand how he found time to grapple with the mass of business. He could never call an hour his own. The continual receptions, notwithstanding the uniformity of an almost cloister-like Court life, no less than the mere physical strain caused by the continual change of residence, cut up the day into pieces and left scarcely any time for rest and reflection. The wonder is how he found it possible, in the midst of these occupations, to attend with labouring conscientiousness to the cares of government; to conduct personally the education of nine children; to prosecute his studies in all branches of human knowledge; to astonish men with the results of these studies; and at the same time to live, as he did, for art, himself a student, and constant patron of music, painting, and poetry.”*

From these disclosures the following conclusions can now be drawn. The Prince Consort really killed himself by overwork. The Windsor fever, which was the proximate cause of his death, was neglected at the outset. Even when the symptoms were recognised as serious they were misunderstood and treated feebly by his physicians. Finally, when competent medical advice was sought, it was sought too late.

Of the Prince Consort's character, much that is interesting and curious might be written. “The silent father of our kings to be” was respected rather than appreciated during his life by the nation he served so well. Save for the fact that he had no special aptitude for military science, we might have traced a curious parallelism between the work he did for England, and that which was done by William of Orange. Prince Albert's strength, and perhaps his weakness, really lay in his capacity for looking at affairs from other than merely conventional British points of view. His serene intellect had scarcely any bias traceable to prejudice or vanity. His conclusions were always based on the application of a finely tempered logical mind, to all the facts of a given case that could be collected by patient and unceasing industry. A natural love of justice and truth informed his convictions. Instinctive

* Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., pp. 178—185.

sagacity and wise tolerance characterised his judgments. The good sense—which, according to Sainte-Beuve, gave form and substance to the ideas of Louis XIV.—never deserted Prince Albert in any crisis of his life. His policy was seldom at fault, because its sole aim was to conserve national as



THE PRINCESS ALICE

(From the Photograph by Mayall.)

distinguished from dynastic interests. If he erred during the Crimean War he erred with some of the wisest men of his time. If he undervalued the promise and potency of the great movement which led to Italian independence, his mistake was excusable. It was wrapt up in the tortuous policy of Napoleon III. and Cavour, which was hateful to him just because it was tortuous, and, moreover, he dreaded any movement on the Continent which, by letting loose the ungovernable ambition of the Bonapartist dynasty and

giving free play to the aggressive instincts of France, might again convert Belgium and Germany into "the cockpit of Europe." Arnold has said of Sophocles, "He saw life steadily and saw it whole." The Prince Consort was almost alone among his contemporaries by reason of his capacity to see organised society steadily and to see it whole. He was an omnivorous, desultory reader, and his education was fortunately neither academical nor technical, neither exclusively literary nor exclusively scientific. His thirst for knowledge was unquenchable, and it was gratified under the guidance of a singularly correct taste. He was constantly corresponding with all sorts of interesting people, in all ranks of life, who happened to know anything that was worth knowing. Every business, or pursuit, or calling, that made men useful to each other, or added comfort, grace, beauty, and dignity to existence, had an irresistible fascination for him. A clever critic has said of Edmund Burke what might well be said of Prince Albert, whose mind, though less imaginative was more reflective. "Burke's imagination," writes Mr. Augustine Birrell, "led him to look out over the whole land: the legislator devising new laws; the judge expounding and enforcing old ones; the merchant despatching his goods and extending his credit; the banker advancing the money of his customers upon the credit of the merchant; the frugal man slowly accumulating the store which is to support him in old age; the ancient institutions of Church and University, with their seemly provisions for sound learning and pure religion; the parson in his pulpit; the poet pondering his rhymes; the farmer eyeing his crops; the painter covering his canvases; the player educating the feelings."* Similarly, when Prince Albert thought of England or her interests, her aims, and her mission in the world, it was not the England of St. James's or St. Giles's, of Piccadilly or the slums, or of any special class or order, that presented itself to his mind. It was the England which the eye of the historian will see—the England which has been built up and is maintained by the toil, the self-sacrifice, the enterprise, the leadership, and the genius of all who in their several stations work for her with brain and hand. To give these workers peace and security—that was to the Prince Consort the fundamental problem of statecraft, and the only true touchstone of policies. His finger was always on the pulse of the nation, and to every change in its feverish throbbing he was as sensitive as a physician. His "catholicity of gaze" has done for his writings and his speeches, what originality of thought and brilliancy of style have done for those of other men. It has enabled them to stand the test of time. If he failed to win unbounded popularity during his lifetime, it was because, as the French say, he had the defects of his qualities. His lot was not with the idlers of the earth, and he had little in common either with an aristocracy of pleasure or a democracy of noisy but futile activities. "Society," says Dr.

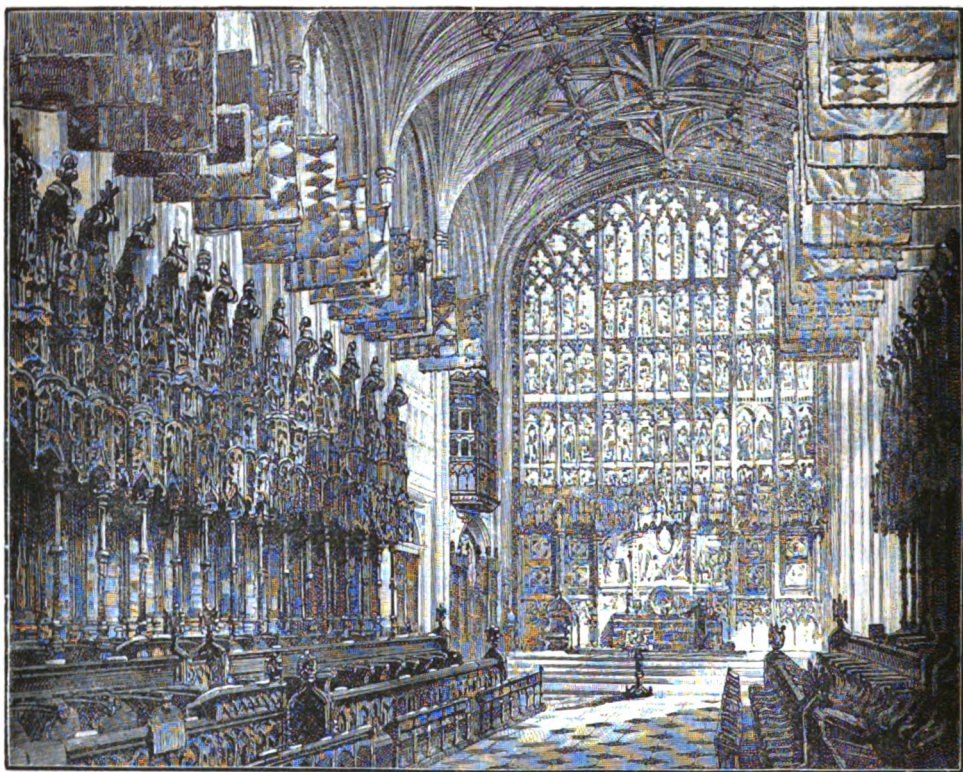
* Edmund Burke, by Augustine Birrell. *Contemporary Review*, July, 1866, p. 41.

Martineau, "has reason for dismay where there is an ever-widening chasm between the two summit levels of thought and character." The Prince Consort's public life seemed as if it were planned in order to bridge this chasm. As for his private life, it is perhaps enough to say that the veneration and love with which his family, his friends, and his servants regarded him sufficiently attest its unblemished worth. Of the calumnies that pursued him almost to the verge of the grave, there is little to add to what has been already stated in preceding chapters. They never touched his honour as a gentleman, or his conduct as the head of an illustrious family. All the attacks which were directed against him were ostensibly directed against his supposed interference with affairs of State—in the interests of foreign despots. These attacks were, however, made by the lags of politics, from mixed motives of malignity and self-interest. As the late Mr. Albany Fonblanque once remarked, they came from those who had distinguished themselves by their unfailing championship of every form of despotism, and by their inveterate hatred of liberty "in every province of politics, and in every part of the world." * Calumny from such quarters never needed any explanation, and the Prince met it, not with a defence, but with disdain.

It was on the 23rd of December that the Prince Consort's remains were removed from Windsor Castle, and temporarily deposited in the entrance to the Royal Vault in St. George's Chapel, where they were to lie until the completion and consecration of a mausoleum for their reception. Shortly before noon the gloomy pageant began to file through the gate of the Norman Tower. It was headed by mourning coaches, containing four of the Prince's old servants, followed by an array of coaches with officials of his suite and household. One of the Queen's carriages preceded the hearse. In it was Lord Spencer, who, as the Prince's Groom of the Stole, carried his "crown." His *bâton*, sword, and hat were borne by Lieut.-Colonel Lord George Lennox, the Prince's Lord of the Bedchamber. The hearse, decorated in quiet, good taste with the Prince's escutcheons, was escorted by the Second Life Guards, followed by the Queen's carriage, the carriages of the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cambridge, and the Duchess of Cambridge. The line of route was kept by the Second Life Guards and Scots Fusiliers with arms reversed. Long ere the procession reached St. George's Chapel, the choir was filled by those who were invited to the ceremony, but not to join in procession, and the Knights of the Garter were in their stalls. The Royal Family met in the chapter-room at noon, from which, when the funeral procession was re-formed on the arrival of the corpse at the South Park, they were conducted to their places by the Lord Chamberlain. As before, the servants and dependents of the Prince headed the procession. They were followed by servants and officers of the Royal household, in order of rank, the *bâton*, sword, hat, and crown

* The Life and Labours of Albany Fonblanque, by Edward Barrington Fonblanque, p. 247.

of the Prince being carried immediately before the coffin, which was preceded by Lord Sydney, her Majesty's Lord Chamberlain. The pall-bearers were Sir Charles Phipps, General Grey, General Wylde, Colonel Francis Seymour, Lord Waterpark, Colonel Hood, Lieut.-Colonel Dudley de Ros, and Major du Plat, who were respectively Treasurer, Private Secretary, Groom of the Bedchamber, Lord of the Bedchamber, Clerk Marshal, and equerries to his Royal Highness.



ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR, SHOWING THE ROYAL GALLERY AND ALTAR.

Immediately after the coffin came Garter King-at-Arms, followed by the Prince of Wales as chief mourner, who was supported by Prince Arthur, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-and-Gotha, and attended by General Bruce, the Crown Prince of Prussia, the Duke of Brabant, the Count de Flandres, the Duke de Nemours, Prince Louis of Hesse, Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, the Count Gleichen, and the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh. They were followed by their suites. On arriving within the choir, the Prince's crown, *bâton*, sword, and hat were reverently laid on the coffin, at the head of which stood the Prince of Wales, with Prince Arthur and the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-and-Gotha on either side of him. The other illustrious mourners formed a group behind them. At the foot of the coffin the Lord Chamberlain stood, and the pall-bearers stood on each side of it. When the first part of the

service was over, the coffin was lowered into the vault. The Dean of Windsor having concluded the ritual, Garter-King-at-Arms proclaimed the style and titles of the Prince, and then the mourners left the chapel, while the "Dead March" in *Saul* was played on the organ. Lord Palmerston's absence was accounted for by an attack of gout, which had been aggravated by his grief for the Prince's death. Severe illness confined the Duke of



FUNERAL OF THE PRINCE CONSORT: PROCESSION IN THE NAVE OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL.

Cambridge to his room. The absence of Dr. Jenner, which was remarked, was due to a melancholy cause. He was detained at Osborne in constant attendance on the grief-stricken Queen. For during the first agony of grief that followed the death of the Prince Consort serious fears were entertained lest the Queen should herself fall ill and die. "How you suffered," wrote the Princess Alice to her mother many long years afterwards, "was dreadful to witness. Never shall I forget what I went through for you then; it tore my heart in pieces."* Although the Princess took on herself the management of the household, and both verbally and by writing strove to transact her mother's business, it was obvious that something must be done to rouse

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. *Biographical Sketch and Letters*. London: John Murray, 1884, p. 360.

her Majesty from the lethargy of sorrow. King Leopold accordingly insisted on an immediate change of surroundings, and decided that she must be taken to Osborne. For a time the Queen resisted this decision. Even the Princess Alice remonstrated with Sir Charles Phipps against a step which seemed to her to be cruel. But she yielded at last to King Leopold's wishes, and it was indeed through her influence that the Queen was finally induced to quit Windsor before her husband's remains were laid in the grave.* "What a blow this has been," wrote Bishop Wilberforce to the Hon. Arthur Gordon when describing the scene at St. George's Chapel; "all my old affection for him (the Prince Consort) has revived over his tomb—and for our poor Queen The funeral was most deeply affecting; you saw old dry political eyes, which seemed as if they had long forgotten how to weep, gradually melting and running down in large drops of sympathy. The two Princes and the brother (the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-and-Gotha) and the son-in-law intended (Prince Louis of Hesse) were all deeply moved."†

* See Memorandum by the Grand Duchess of Baden quoted in Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse. Biographical Sketch and Letters, pp. 18-19.

† The allusion here to the "revival" of Wilberforce's old affection may seem curious. The Bishop of Oxford enjoyed more influence and favour at Court than ever fell to the lot of any ecclesiastic in our time. He was one of the extremely small group of prominent public men—Sir Robert Peel, Lord Aberdeen, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Clarendon, and Sir George Cornwall Lewis—who enjoyed the Prince's close personal friendship. But suddenly, for no apparent reason, the Prince Consort dropped him, and in one of his letters to Miss Noel the Bishop gives utterance to his sorrow over his fall at Court. Knowing Lord Aberdeen's intimacy with the Prince, he begged his son, the Hon. Arthur Gordon, to induce his father to intercede for him. The incident curiously illustrates the Prince Consort's character. When Lord Aberdeen opened the subject with his customary tact and delicacy, the Prince detected his object at once, and stopped him by observing, "He (the Bishop) does everything for some object. He has a motive for all his conduct." Lord Aberdeen replied, "Yes, sir, but when a bad motive?" which, however, did not lead the Prince to continue the discussion. Again Lord Aberdeen seized an opportunity of serving the Bishop, and this time the Prince Consort frankly said he had occasion to doubt the Bishop's sincerity—a suspicion that invariably forfeited the Prince's confidence. Being pressed by Aberdeen still further, the Prince said that in early life he detected Wilberforce intriguing for the preceptorship of the Prince of Wales. Nor was that all. In a discussion with the Prince on a certain miracle about which he had preached, the Bishop had unduly modified his views to suit those of the Prince. It is only fair to Wilberforce to say that, in a letter to the Hon. Arthur Gordon, he denies the assertion about the preceptorship, but admits there was some colour in the other part of the Prince's case. "The swine sermon," writes Wilberforce, "was preached in days when he (the Prince Consort) was most friendly, long before I was Dean or Bishop; the conversation followed, and a long one it was. He did not say how entirely he disbelieved in spirits of evil, but raised all possible objections, which I combated; and the only thing like 'convenient' averment I said was that it was far best to believe in a devil who suggested evil to us; for that otherwise we were driven to make every man his own devil; and I thought that this view rather touched him." It did touch him, but not in the way intended. See *Life of Wilberforce*, by his son, Reginald G. Wilberforce, Vol. II., p. 226. For reference to the Prince's funeral, see Vol. III., pp. 41—45.

CHAPTER V.

WAR AND FAMINE.

Outbreak of Civil War in the United States—Origin of the Dispute—The Missouri Compromise—Effect of the "Gold Rush" on the Extension of Slavery—Colonising Nebraska—The Struggle in "Bleeding Kansas"—Assault on Senator Sumner—The Wyandotte Constitution—The Dred Scott Case—Election of Mr. Lincoln as President—Secession of South Carolina—Organisation of the Southern Confederacy—The Firing of the First Shot—Capture of Fort Sumter—Lincoln's Call to Arms—Opinion in England—The *Trent* Affair—The Queen and the Prince Consort avert War—Opening of Parliament—Bitter Controversy over the Education Code—Parliament and the Civil War—The Cotton Famine—A Relief Bill—War Expenditure—Mr. Disraeli denounces Lord Palmerston's "Bloated Armaments"—A Budget without a Surplus—The Fortifications at Spithead—Floating *versus* Fixed Forts—A Mexican Adventure—Revolution in Greece—Bismarck's Visit to London—Anecdote of Bismarck and Mr. Disraeli—Progress of the American War—Mr. Peabody's Benefactions—The Exhibition of 1862—The Prince of Wales's Tour in the East—The Hartley Colliery Accident—Marriage of the Princess Alice—The Queen's Visit to Belgium—Her Meeting with the Princess Alexandra of Denmark—The Queen's Visit to Gotha—Removal of the Prince Consort's Remains to the Mausoleum at Frogmore.

THE closing days of 1861 and the opening days of 1862 were days of feverish excitement. The citizens of the United States were locked in the deadly and fratricidal strife of Civil War. The passions and prejudices which divided them into hostile armies, divided their kith and kin in England into hostile factions. In America the fight between North and South was waged on the field of battle. In England it was carried on in the Press, on the Platform, on the floor of the Senate, in Clubs, in drawing-rooms, by road and rail, in the market-places of the great cities, and in the ale-houses of quiet rural villages. Roughly speaking, the classes as opposed to the masses took the side of the South. Those who view public affairs from the standpoint of privileged as distinguished from national and popular interests, and who can always command the facile advocacy of what may be termed the organs of well-dressed opinion in the London Press, were nearly all arrayed against the North. At the end of 1861 the nation watched the struggle with breathless interest, for events had happened which rendered it probable that England might be dragged into it.

When the United States formed themselves into a Federal Republic each State dealt as it pleased with the question of slavery. But when new Territories were annexed it was difficult to say whether slavery should or should not be recognised in them. The people of the slave States argued that under the Federal Constitution a citizen of any State had the right to settle in and transfer his property to any of the partially organised Territories which were owned in common by all the States. Slaves were property. Therefore a citizen who had slaves had a right to hold them in any of the Territories. Soon, however, Territories became sufficiently populous

to be admitted as States. In that case was slavery to be recognised in them? During the Presidency of Mr. Monroe (1816) this difficulty became acute. A Bill authorising the Territory of Missouri to form itself into a State was introduced. Mr. Talmage, of New York, proposed to insert a clause converting the Territory into a Free State. The controversy raised on the point was settled in 1820 by the adoption of what was called "The Missouri Compromise," by which slavery was prohibited in new States north of latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$. The slave-owners' party endeavoured, by making war on Mexico, to increase the territory available for slavery, and under the Presidency of General Taylor, who was elected in 1849, they persuaded Congress to virtually abandon the Missouri Compromise, and permit all Territories, in the event of becoming States, to decide for themselves whether or not they should recognise slavery. They based their hopes on the aggressive activity of their squatters. It was supposed that they would pour more rapidly into the new Territories than emigrants from the Free States, and thus in every *plébiscite* turn the scale in favour of slavery. And but for an accident the policy of the Southern leaders would have triumphed, and slavery would not only have been established in the new Territories contiguous to the Southern States, but even in the North-West itself. This accident was the discovery of gold in California. The "gold rush" from the Free States to the Pacific Coast was not a migration but an exodus, and long ere the Southern squatter could settle in force in these regions, they were swarming with citizens from New England. In the Pacific Territories, where slavery must have been legalised had the Missouri Compromise not been upset by Southern politicians, it was prohibited by popular vote, and in 1850 California joined the Union as a Free State. Meanwhile the Fugitive Slave Law had created much ill-feeling between the Free and other Slave States.* Some of them, like Massachusetts, prohibited its enforcement. But the two great parties were agreed in abiding by the Fugitive Law, and maintaining slavery in *statu quo*. During the administration of President Pierce (who was elected in 1852) the conflict over the organisation of Kansas and Nebraska into Territories disturbed the *status quo*. Their people had it in their power to determine the question of slavery for themselves, and to control the popular vote in favour of slavery. Missouri, which was a Slave State, therefore poured pro-slavery emigrants into both Territories. It was alleged that most of these were sham settlers, and that the pro-slavery vote was tainted by terrorism and fraud. But be that as it may, a Territorial government in favour of slavery was organised in Nebraska and Kansas, and President Pierce appointed Governors pledged to secure the ultimate admission of these Territories to the Union as Free States. To defeat this policy settlers from the Free States migrated to Nebraska and Kansas—"bleeding

* It gave Federal Commissioners power, without judge or jury, to return fugitive slaves to justice: prohibited State Courts from testing, on writ of *habeas corpus*, the rights of the person who claimed the slave in a Free State.

Kansas," as it was called in the North—and they were supplied with arms and money to defend themselves against the "border ruffians" from Missouri, who naturally objected to their company. Ultimately there came to be two rival governments in the Territories, and when in 1856 the anti-slavery party



MR. LINCOLN.

elected their own State officers, and repudiated all that had been done in the interests of slavery, President Pierce ordered the Governor to call on Federal troops to enforce the pro-slavery laws of the Territory.

During the debates in Congress on this subject, Senator Sumner happening to make a strong speech in favour of the anti-slavery party in Kansas, was brutally assaulted in his place in the Senate by a slave-owner called Brooks, a senator from South Carolina. "To me," said Sir George Cornewall Lewis

of this outrage, writing to Sir Edmund Head, "it seems the first blow in a civil war," and it was. In 1857 Mr. Buchanan was elected President. The Supreme Court of the United States, in the famous Dred Scott case, decided that negroes had no rights save those which the Government gave them, and that Congress could no more prohibit a citizen from taking his slave into any State, than it could prohibit him from taking there any kind of property whose safe possession was guaranteed to him by the Constitution.* This, of course, intensified the struggle between North and South for the control of Nebraska and "bleeding Kansas." Southern slave-owners saw that they must have an outlet for their surplus slave population. If they lost Kansas and Nebraska they must seize Cuba or Mexico, or both, or secede from a Union in which the Slave States would be in a minority, and at the mercy of the Free States. The struggle went on till, in 1859, Kansas adopted, by a majority of 4,000, the Wyandotte Constitution, prohibiting slavery. President Buchanan seems to have prepared for the worst, because he now began secretly to pour munitions of war and arms, which were the common property of the North and the South, into Southern strongholds. The Democratic party split into a Southern and a Northern wing over the Dred Scott case, so that in November, 1859, the Republicans elected Mr. Abraham Lincoln as President, pledged to maintain the principle that freedom was the normal condition of the Territories, which Congress must preserve and defend—though slavery in the old Slave States was not assailed as a domestic institution.

The difference between North and South was thus sharp and clear. The North desired to maintain the *status quo* with regard to slavery, and to prohibit the extension of its area. The South demanded the extension of its area into the Territories, and all new States that might be carved out of them. Lincoln's election was followed, at the beginning of 1860, by the secession of South Carolina. By the end of February, 1861, her example was imitated by Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Georgia, and Alabama. Tennessee, North Carolina, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Missouri were wavering. When Congress met, President Buchanan, in his last Message, explained how events were drifting, denied the right of the Southern States to secede, but doubted the power of Congress to levy war on seceding States. The Crittenden compromise was now proposed, but it came too late.† Another attempt was

* The minority of the Judges seem to have taken a less pedantic view, and one more in accordance with the policy of the Republic, which had always been one of compromise with regard to slavery. They held that it was not by Federal but State law that a negro was made property. They contended that neither the laws of nature nor of nations, nor the Constitution of the United States, recognised him as property, so that the rights of owners over this species of property must logically be limited to the Territory where, by municipal law, it was recognised as property.—See *The Constitutional History of the United States*, by Simon Stern, of the New York Bar (Cassell and Co.), p. 190.

† According to it, slavery was prohibited north of parallel 36° 30', but south of this it was to be recognised and never interfered with by Congress, and the Federal Government would pay for all slaves rescued from officers after arrest.

made to conciliate the South by an amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting Congress from ever meddling with slavery in the United States. By this time the seceding States had met at Montgomery, and had organised the Government of the Confederate States of America. The constitution adopted differed from that of the United States in that it recognised slavery, extended the term of the President's office, and prohibited tariffs for other purposes than raising revenue.* Being producers, not of manufactured goods, but of raw material, the governing class in the South were naturally Free Traders. Mr. Jefferson Davis was chosen President, and Mr. Alexander H. Stephens Vice-President, and their Government prepared to carry on war. In Congress, the withdrawal of the Southern representatives enabled the Republicans by large majorities to admit Kansas as a Free State, to organise Nevada, Colorado, and Dakota as Territories, and to adopt a new protective tariff mainly in the interests of the Eastern States and Pennsylvania.

With the exception of two or three small forts, the Government of the seceding States took quiet possession of all fortresses and places of arms in their territory. This was easily done, because in most instances the officers in command, though holding Federal commissions, betrayed their masters. Major Anderson, however, was an exception. He held Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbour, for the Federal Government. Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated as President on 4th of March, 1861. In his Message to Congress he said that the Government was determined to relieve Fort Sumter, and whilst denying the right of the South to secede, he asserted the right of the Federal Government to preserve the Union. On the 13th of April, 1861, Fort Sumter was attacked by the rebel, or Confederate forces, and on the 14th it surrendered. On the 15th Lincoln issued his first call for troops, and by this time only an insignificant section of the Democratic Party remained true to their principle that secession was a constitutional right, and that the Federal Government had no legal authority to coerce a State. Within a fortnight after the first shot was fired, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas joined the South. Small majorities, however, held Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri for the North. The capture of Fort Sumter stirred up a war feeling in the loyal States which astonished the Confederate leaders. So eagerly did the Northern men respond to Lincoln's call that the Federal Government, ere the end of the year, had half a million of troops at its disposal. As, however, most of the officers of the regular army had gone over to the South, the Federal troops chiefly consisted of armed mobs of volunteers.

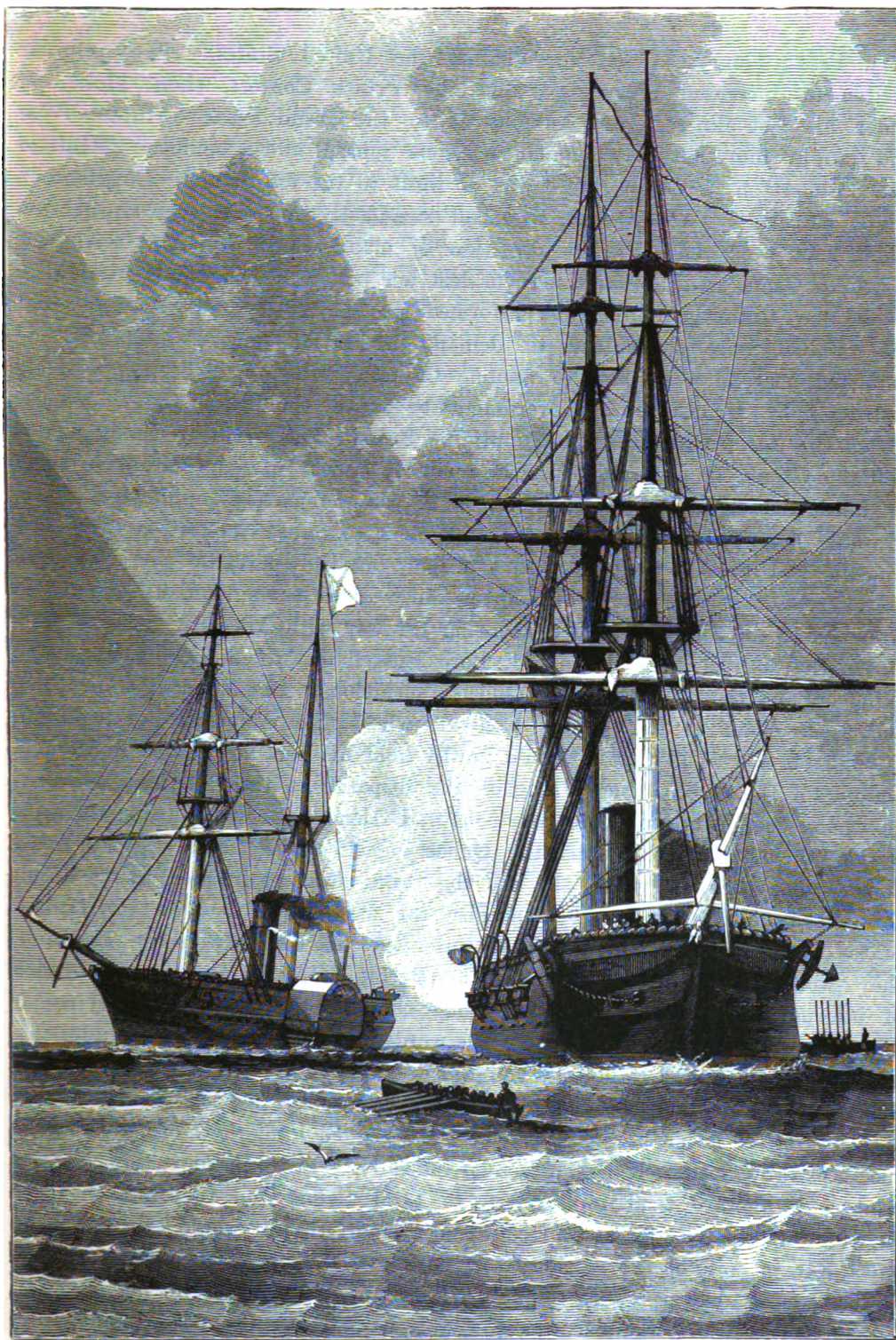
In England up to this point the main current of public opinion set in favour of the North. Lord Shaftesbury gave expression to the general voice when he said, in a letter to the *Times*, "the triumph of the South meant

* There had always been a more or less tacit understanding that whilst the Northern States were to be allowed to have their manufactures protected, the Southern States, as a set-off, were to have slavery tolerated and safeguarded.

the consolidation of slavery, and his sympathies, therefore, were wholly for the North." * But the inflated language in which Northern partisans discounted their easy conquest of the South, and denounced the "unnatural rebellion" of the Confederate States, tended to strengthen the aristocratic faction who were in favour of the South. It was asked sarcastically if Secession could possibly be more illegal than the revolt of the Thirteen Colonies from which the Federal Union sprang? Had not Americans defended, with wearisome iteration, the sacred right of insurrection in Monarchical countries? Was it consistent with English Liberalism to scan too closely the legitimate origin of States, either in the Old world or the New, which having struck out an independent existence, were prepared to defend it? As for slavery, had not President Lincoln overruled General Fremont's order liberating slaves in Missouri? In fact, the partisans of the South grew bolder every day. The asperity of the Northern Press and Government, when they found they could not command the unanimous support of England, favoured the progress of the Southern cause in England. In concert with the French Government, Lord Palmerston not only adopted a policy of neutrality, but recognised each party to the struggle as belligerents. He would indeed have been foolish to have treated the people of twelve organised States as a small mob of rioters, and armed ships flying their flags, as pirates. For this step England was as violently denounced in the North, as France was fulsomely praised. The classes who have no anchorage in principles for their plastic opinions were fast veering round to the side of the South, and Mr. Lincoln's strong measures, which caused *Habeas Corpus* to be suspended in Washington, suppressed newspapers, and imprisoned persons suspected of disloyalty, helped to obscure the real issue in the eyes of the English people.

In August the Federal troops attacked the Confederate position south of the Potomac at Bull's Run, and were defeated; but the Northern levies effectually protected Washington, and held down wavering States like Maryland. Then an incident happened which threatened to extinguish the small party which among the wealthier classes in England still favoured the North. On the 8th of November, 1861, Captain Wilkes, of the *San Jacinto*, a Federal man-of-war, stopped and boarded the English mail steamer, *Trent*, which had the day before sailed from Havannah with passengers for Europe. Among these were Messrs. Mason and Slidell, Envoys accredited by the Confederate Government to the English and French Courts. Captain Wilkes arrested them and carried them away to the *San Jacinto*, in spite of the protests of the Commander of the *Trent*. On the 27th of November, when the news reached England, the partisans of the Southern States strove hard to lash the country into fury. The arrest was an outrage, but instead of inquiring whether Captain Wilkes acted under orders, the sympathisers with the South, headed by the

* Life of Lord Shaftesbury, by Edwin Hodder. Vol. III., p. 136.



THE "SAN JACINTO" STOPPING THE "TRENT."

Tory Press, clamoured for war against the United States. The popular excitement increased every day, and the Prince Consort, then sickening under his last illness, grew anxious as to the result. The Crimean War had taught him that with popular passions roused, and a bellicose Minister like Palmerston in power, there was no limit to the folly which Englishmen might perpetrate. The Queen, who had steadfastly opposed every suggestion which had been made in the direction of manifesting sympathy with the Southern Confederacy, became nervous lest her policy of scrupulous neutrality should be thwarted. She was informed on the 29th of November that the Cabinet were determined to demand reparation, and Palmerston had indicated that he was ready to assume Captain Wilkes had been positively instructed by Mr. Lincoln's Government to insult the British flag. To the Queen this seemed an absurd assumption. But she knew that if the idea was in Palmerston's mind it would most certainly appear in some offensive form in Lord Russell's despatches. Yet, if it was offensively manifested there, it would tempt the United States Government to refuse reparation—for Mr. Lincoln had also to contend with a stupid, boastful party in the Northern States, who were as eagerly clamouring for war with England as the same stupid party in England were clamouring for war with America.

On the 30th of November, 1861, Lord Russell forwarded the despatches to Windsor, and they confirmed the Queen's suspicions. She disliked their tone, and took them to the Prince Consort, who quite endorsed her opinion. Though he was so ill that he could hardly hold his pen, he drafted a Memorandum for the Queen, complaining of the dispatch to the American Government, and suggesting a more courteous and friendly way of stating the case against them. Even this draft the Queen herself revised and slightly toned down. The point on which she and the Prince Consort insisted was that all through Lord Russell should emphasise the assumption that as the United States Government could not have intended to wantonly insult England, they would naturally be desirous of offering reparation for any breach of international law Captain Wilkes had committed, either by disobeying or misunderstanding his instructions. The words of the royal draft were adopted, and with the happiest result. When the despatch arrived at Washington, Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, told Lord Lyons, the British Minister, that the wording of it meant peace or war. He begged him, therefore, to let him see it privately before it was presented officially. It was sent to him. After reading it, Seward went immediately to Lord Lyons and told him that the tone of the despatch was so courteous and friendly that it would enable him to avert war, in spite of the recriminatory outcry of the press, the vote of thanks which Congress had passed to Captain Wilkes, and the ovations he had received in Northern cities. Seward was now able to extricate his Government from a false position, by the loophole of escape which the Prince Consort's sagacity had opened for him. With some difficulty he reconciled the Government and

people of the North to admit that Captain Wilkes acted without instructions, that a breach of international law had been committed, but that the prisoners must be "cheerfully liberated." The difficulty of his task was unfortunately aggravated by the menacing warlike preparations of the English Government, and the departure of troops for Canada before he had an opportunity of answering the despatch. On the 9th of January, 1862, the news that the dispute was settled reached the Queen. She replied, in a note to Lord Palmerston, that she was sure he would recognise that the peaceful issue to which the quarrel had been brought was "greatly owing to her beloved Prince," whose Memorandum altering the despatch to the American Government "was the last thing he ever wrote."* Palmerston's warlike preparations, which nearly rendered a diplomatic solution of the difficulty impossible, cost the country £5,000,000.

Although the houses of the *grandes dames* of politics were opened earlier than usual in 1862, and politicians flocked to town sooner than was their custom, it was generally known that the Session would be dull and uneventful. The death of the Prince Consort overshadowed Society, and the leaders of both parties generously agreed that political strife should be suspended till the Queen was better able to bear the anxieties of party conflicts which lead to Ministerial crises. Lord Russell was well pleased with the termination of the American quarrel, because it left the Foreign Office free to assert the ascendancy of England in the councils of Europe. Lord Palmerston was not displeased that his Government had won a diplomatic victory, for which the public, ignorant of the true effect of his extravagant military preparations on American opinion, gave him credit. Rumours had at this time gone abroad that his health was seriously impaired by the death of the Prince Consort, but these he was at pains to disperse by his conspicuous energy in the hunting-field. Lord Derby did not complain of the settlement of the *Trent* affair, because he saw it would enable Lord Palmerston to hold office for life. But the rank and file of the Tory Party, and a small fringe of aristocratic Whigs, were disappointed, for a war in which England would have fought on the side of the Southern Confederacy had been averted. Mr. Disraeli, who has obtained great credit for never manifesting his sympathies in favour of the slave-holding confederacy, did not conceal them from his intimate friends. In conversation with Count Vitzthum he said, "The effects on England (of the American War) are incalculable. Considering the probable loss to English trade, we (the Tory leaders) cannot, of course, proclaim openly the satisfaction we naturally feel at the collapse of Republican

* At the time, credit was given to M. Thouvenel, the Foreign Minister of France, for bringing the American Government to reason. Count Vitzthum, however, states that "the French Ambassador at Washington knew that at the eleventh hour the American Cabinet would yield, and had advised his Government to this effect. When Thouvenel, therefore, in his despatch of December 3rd, represented strongly the justice of the English demands, he risked little, and only gave a fresh proof that the Tuilleries prefer siding with the gods to Cato."—Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 177.

institutions. But speaking privately, we can only congratulate ourselves if the monarchical principle comes into favour on the other side of the Atlantic.”*

Parliament was opened on the 6th of February, 1862. The Speech from the Throne touched on the death of the Prince Consort, the termination of the dispute with the United States, and on the Convention with France and Spain, the object of which was to obtain redress from Mexico for wrongs committed by the Mexican Government on foreign residents. It alluded to a Land Transfer Bill, and vaguely to “other measures of public usefulness” which would be submitted to Parliament. The debate on the Address mainly consisted of eloquent eulogies on the late Prince Consort—Lord Palmerston declaring that it was no exaggeration to say that so far as the word “perfect” could be applied to human imperfection, it was applicable to the character of the Prince. Out of respect to the Queen, politics were but lightly touched, Ministers promising to give full information as to the blockade of the Confederate ports, and the Mexican enterprise.

National education, curiously enough, was the first subject that produced anything like an earnest discussion in Parliament. During the Recess a Revised Code had been drawn up by Mr. Lowe, which had roused the wrath of those interested in sectarian education. The objection to the old system was that the State did not get value for the subsidies which Parliament voted for Primary Education. Subventions to the Training Colleges seemed to lessen rather than stimulate voluntary efforts to maintain them; in fact, 68 per cent. of their cost was now borne by the State. Of the 2,200,000 children who ought to be in inspected schools, only 920,000 attended them, and of these only 230,000 received adequate instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The Revised Code proposed to pay by results. A penny a head was to be given for each attendance over 100, provided the children (grouped according to age) passed examinations in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Failure in any one branch was to lead to the loss of one-third of the grant. Failure in all was to cut off the whole grant. The sectarian party, alarmed at the application of Mr. Lowe’s stern practical test to their work, first of all raised the cry of “Religion in Danger.” But when Parliament met, the Opposition attacked the Code on the ground that the Government, by embodying it in an Order in Council, had tried to evade Parliamentary criticism. This was a futile objection, for the scheme was not only criticised but modified under the fire of sharp assaults in both Houses of Parliament. These attacks were ultimately concentrated in the Resolutions which Mr. Walpole laid before the House of Commons. He condemned (1), the individual examination of the pupils; (2), the system of paying exclusively by results; and (3), the plan of grouping by age. It was, however, admitted on all sides that the existing system could not be defended. The only point to be decided

* Count Vitzthum’s *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 146

was as to what was the right method of altering it. The existing system was neither cheap nor efficient, but Mr. Lowe contended that his system, if not both, would be either the one or the other. Ultimately a compromise was arranged. It was agreed that 4s. a year was to be given on the average annual attendance of each pupil; that 8s. would be given for reading, writing, and arithmetic to every pupil who put in 200 attendances, 1s. 3d. being



THE CLOCK TOWER, WESTMINSTER PALACE, 1870.

deducted in case of failure in attendance; and managers were to be permitted to group pupils for examination as they thought best. Neglect of religious instruction in Anglican schools would forfeit the grant, and any future revision of the Code was to be laid before Parliament for a month before it became operative. In this struggle the Tories, therefore, carried most of their points.

The Civil War in America naturally caused many discussions. The Cabinet, on the whole, were loyal to the policy of the Queen and the Prince Consort, which was that of scrupulous neutrality. But they were not quite loyal to her Majesty's desire that neutrality should be tempered by generous consideration for the great and unprecedented difficulties with which President Lincoln's Administration had to contend. The effect of the virtual withdrawal

of the Queen from public life was soon seen in the supercilious tone of Lord Russell's despatches, and in the latitude of criticism in which Lord Palmerston too frequently indulged in his references to American affairs in the House of Commons. The partisans of the Southern States made strenuous efforts to induce the Government to declare that the blockade of the Southern ports would not be recognised. But Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell, greatly to their credit, refused to yield to pressure on this point, although it was known that the French Emperor would have supported them gladly if they had yielded. The argument of the Opposition, beaten out over many long wearisome speeches, simply came to this—that the blockade was inefficient, and was, therefore, by international law invalid. It will always be difficult to understand how responsible persons could gravely maintain that position in face of the fact that Lancashire was starving because she could not get cotton out of Southern harbours, and that English trade was suffering because English goods could not get into them. The affair of the *Trent* gave rise to a brisk passage at arms between Mr. Bright and Lord Palmerston. Mr. Bright complained that whilst the Foreign Office was busy settling the dispute by firm but conciliatory diplomacy, the War Office and Admiralty were spending £1,000,000 on provocative preparations for war, which inflamed popular excitement in America, and really rendered it difficult for the United States Government to admit that they were in the wrong. "It is not customary," said Mr. Bright, "in ordinary life for a person to send a messenger with a polite message to a friend, or neighbour, or acquaintance, and at the same time to send a man of portentous strength, wielding a gigantic club and making every kind of ferocious gesticulation, and still to profess that all this is done in the most friendly and courteous manner." Lord Palmerston's defence was that Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet was in danger of being overawed by mob dictation, and that the preparations for war which Mr. Bright condemned, neutralised the pressure of popular passion in the United States Government. A curious illustration of the provocative tone adopted by the Ministry in their dealings with the United States was given by their condemnation of an order issued by General Butler, the military governor of New Orleans. The ladies of that city, after its occupation by Federal troops, appear to have been in the habit of publicly insulting their conquerors by methods which most respectable persons would hesitate to adopt. General Butler put a stop to these practices by ordering the military authorities to treat the culprits as if they were loose women plying a disreputable vocation. What the British Government had to do with the police arrangements of a foreign army in a foreign city it is not possible to conceive. Still, Lord Carnarvon, Sir John Walsh, and Mr. Gregory insisted that the Government should protest against General Butler's order; and Lord Palmerston considered he was entitled to denounce the order as "infamous," to assert that "Englishmen must blush to think that it came from a man of the Anglo-Saxon race,"

and to declare that the course which the Cabinet would take "was matter for consideration." As Lord Palmerston took no "course," it is to be presumed that he preferred to "blush" for General Butler, rather than run the risk of being snubbed by Mr. Seward. On the 18th of July Mr. Lindsay, in spite of protests from Mr. Ewart, Mr. Clay, and some others, persisted in pressing a motion in the House of Commons which, if carried, would have pledged the Government to mediate between the belligerents in the interests of the Southern States. The debate was an elaborate argument on the part of Tory speakers for the recognition of the Confederate Government. But the responsible leaders of the Opposition took no part in it, and Lord Palmerston refused to abandon his policy of neutrality.

Towards the close of the Session it was seen that the operatives of Lancashire must quickly sink into pauperism. The blockade of the Southern ports cut off the exports of cotton. The cotton mills in Lancashire, it was evident, must soon be stopped, and a teeming industrial population must become a prey to famine. Mr. C. Villiers, President of the Poor Law Board, accordingly introduced a Bill enabling Boards of Guardians to meet extraordinary demands for poor law relief. It provided that any parish which was overburdened by extraordinary pauperism might claim a subvention from the common fund of the Union to which it belonged, and that in certain cases one Union might call upon others in the county for assistance. Mr. Cobden, Mr. Ayrton, and Mr. Puller were strongly in favour of permitting distressed Unions to raise money by loans as well as by a rate-in-aid, and Mr. Villiers ultimately yielded to the pressure which they put on him.*

Mr. Gladstone's Budget was hotly attacked. His estimated expenditure—including supplementary estimates—for the year 1861-62 had been £71,374,000. The actual expenditure had been less than that by £536,000. But still the revenue had only amounted to £69,674,000, so that there was a deficit of £1,164,000. Had there been no supplementary estimates voted there would, however, have been a surplus of £335,000. The harvest had been bad, and the American War had depressed trade. Hence it was not natural to look for elasticity in the revenue. Yet Mr. Gladstone estimated the revenue for 1862-63 at £70,190,000. As the expenditure would be £70,040,000, he could not look for a surplus on the existing basis of taxation of more than £150,000. He would not, he said, impose new taxes. But on the other hand he could not remit any old ones. He even proposed to abolish the duty on hops, and as a set-off readjust brewers' licenses, so as to sacrifice by this change only £45,000 of revenue. His scheme, in fact, consisted of a Budget without a real

* It was decided by the House of Commons that the liability to a rate-in-aid of the other parishes of a Union should arise when the rate came to 3s. in the £, and that Guardians, subject to the sanction of the Local Government Board, might raise loans on the security of the rates, when the aggregate expenditure of the whole Union reached 3s. in the £ of its rateable property.

surplus, and its only popular feature was the simplification of the wine duties.* Why had Mr. Gladstone failed to provide a surplus? Had not Peel said that one ought always to begin the year with a surplus? Why was the Paper Duty surrendered, seeing it would have provided a surplus?

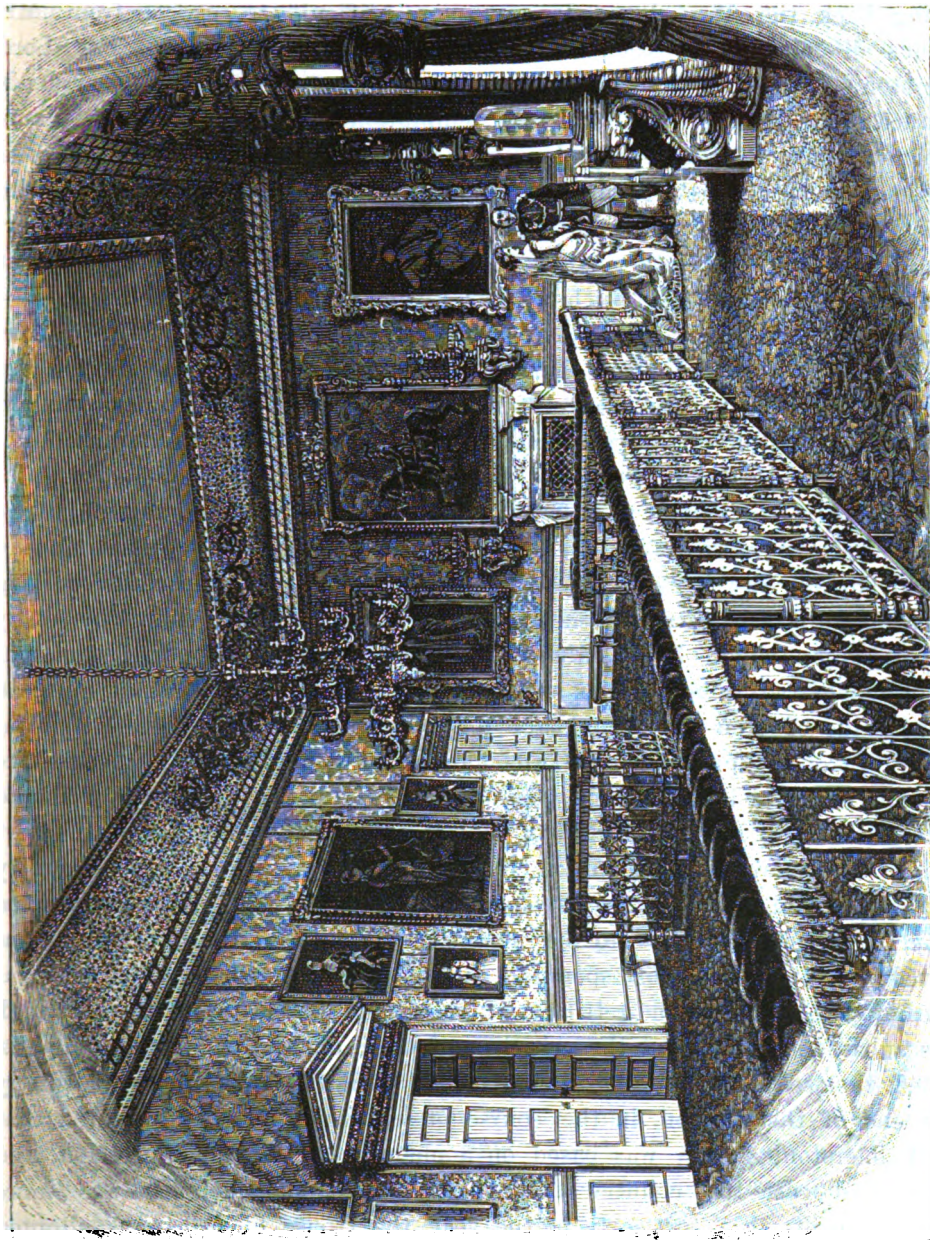


MR. SEWARD.

Why did Ministers persist in exceptional expenditure when they assured the country that their relations with the only foreign Government that could be distrusted were friendly and satisfactory? Our expenditure was due to distrust of Napoleon III., whose objects were the same as ours. And yet,

* Prior to 1860 there were four duties—1s., 1s. 9d., 2s. 5d., and 2s. 11d.—on wines, with varying degrees of alcohol, from 18 up to 42 degrees. In 1862 Mr. Gladstone substituted for these two duties—1s. a gallon on wines below 26 degrees and 2s. 6d. on wines above 26 and below 42 degrees.

said Mr. Disraeli, instead of acting cordially in alliance with France for the purpose of maintaining English influence in the councils of Europe, Lord Palmerston had tried to attain that end by exerting what was called the



QUEEN ANNE'S ROOM, ST. JAMES'S PALACE.
(From a Photograph by H. N. King.)

"moral power" of the country, which really meant "bloated armaments in time of peace." If the conduct of France justified distrust, why not go to war with her? If she was not giving us cause for distrust, why waste money

in preparing for war with her? Such were the questions and arguments which Mr. Disraeli put forward. But Peel's doctrine of the surplus was of course never meant to apply to all circumstances. As for the Paper Duty, to expect Mr. Gladstone to revert to it was as absurd as to ask Nature to bring back the Mastodon. It was more difficult to escape from Mr. Disraeli's dilemma as to the relations of England and France, but Lord Palmerston satisfied the House at this time that by outstripping the armaments of France he really freed her from any temptation she might have to become an enemy. The Radical Party, however, induced Mr. Stansfeld to move a resolution asserting that expenditure could be reduced with safety to the country, and the Tories showed their sympathy with the attack, when Mr. Walpole gave notice of another expressing a hope that expenditure might be cut down. Lord Palmerston said such attacks involved the fate of the Ministry—which settled the matter. Mr. Stansfeld's resolution was rejected. Mr. Walpole, loving Lord Palmerston better than retrenchment, withdrew his motion, for which Mr. Disraeli, to the consternation of his party, assailed him bitterly, and Lord Palmerston carried unanimously a vote of confidence in himself.

The fight in March between the Confederate iron-clad *Merrimac*, and the Federal *Monitor*, indicated that wooden war-ships were henceforth useless. The Admiralty were therefore pressed to push forward the construction of iron-clad ships. Nay, it was suggested that the new type of iron-clads, working guns from revolving turrets, was better for coast defence than the costly fortifications on which Lord Palmerston had persisted in spending enormous sums of money. Why not, it was asked, stop the building of forts at Spithead till the value of iron-cased gunboats for coast defence had been fully considered? Strong supporters of Lord Palmerston's fortification scheme—like Sir J. Hay—declared that their opinion as to the necessity for the Spithead forts had changed, because a ship of the *Monitor* type being a movable fort was of course more useful than any fixed fortification. Then, if the country spent, as it would probably have to spend, £20,000,000 on a great fortification scheme, how were the forts to be manned? Was the House of Commons prepared to vote for a corresponding increase in the Army? The Government, however, insisted on getting the money for fortifications voted, though events subsequently justified the criticism of their opponents. The economists consoled themselves by making a fierce but futile assault on the Ministry at the end of the Session, in the course of which Mr. Cobden declared that Lord Palmerston's policy was based on a phantom of French aggression, and that it had cost the country £100,000,000. Colonial defence was more practically dealt with, for early in the year the House of Commons adopted a resolution to the effect that self-governing colonies should in the main provide for their own defence.

Foreign politics gave rise to no important debate in the House. Abortive attempts were made to induce the Government to make representations to

Russia on behalf of the Poles, which would probably have led to Russia imploring the Ministry to deal more generously with Ireland. Partisans of the Pope and of the deposed Italian despots also indulged in impotent demonstrations of hostility against the new Kingdom of Italy. A Session which was from a party point of view almost colourless, ended on the 7th of August, the only discernible result of its proceedings being an aggravation of the feud between Lord Palmerston and the Radicals, who, as Mr. Cobden said, would now be better pleased to see the Tories in power. But the Tories had no desire to hold office till they were strong enough to resist Radical dictation. The Queen, too, was more than usually desirous that, in the circumstances, a Cabinet should remain in power which could avert Ministerial crises. Thus Lord Palmerston's dictatorship was again confirmed.

The policy of intervention in Mexico in conjunction with France and Spain was not one which found much favour in England, although King Leopold of Belgium endeavoured to win the Queen over to support it in the interests of his son-in-law, the Archduke Maximilian of Austria. It was for this purpose that his Majesty carried on his intrigues at Osborne early in February. The real object of his policy was to establish a monarchy in Mexico, and to persuade the Queen that the Mexicans desired to have Maximilian as their ruler. This, however, was not divulged at the time, and thus, so far as England was concerned, she stood committed—despite King Leopold's secret negotiations at Osborne—to nothing save to act with Spain and France in obtaining from Mexico satisfaction for wrongs done to certain British subjects. The French Emperor, however, was bent on creating a Latin Monarchy in the New World, under French protection, as a counterpoise to the great Anglo-Saxon Republic. After the allies landed, dissensions soon became manifest when the French contingent was doubled. Spain objected to convert Mexico into a French dependency, nominally under the rule of an Austrian Archduke. Hence, when the Mexican Government of Juarez offered to submit to the original demands of the allies, England and Spain accepted their proposals, and withdrew their forces. The French had permitted a Mexican conspirator called Almonte to accompany their expedition, and as his object was to overthrow the Mexican Government, President Juarez demanded that he should be sent back to Paris. The French refused, and made the demand an excuse for declining to treat with the Mexican Government. This, of course, broke up the alliance, and General Lorencez was ordered to march on Mexico, and enable the natives to choose a Government with which France could negotiate, which meant that they were to vote for a French Protectorate under the Archduke Maximilian. As a preliminary token of their appreciation of this proposal, the Mexican troops stopped the march of Lorencez at Orizaba. General Forey, with reinforcements, was accordingly sent out from France to prosecute the war, which was already unpopular with all Frenchmen who were not slaves of the Ultramontane Party.

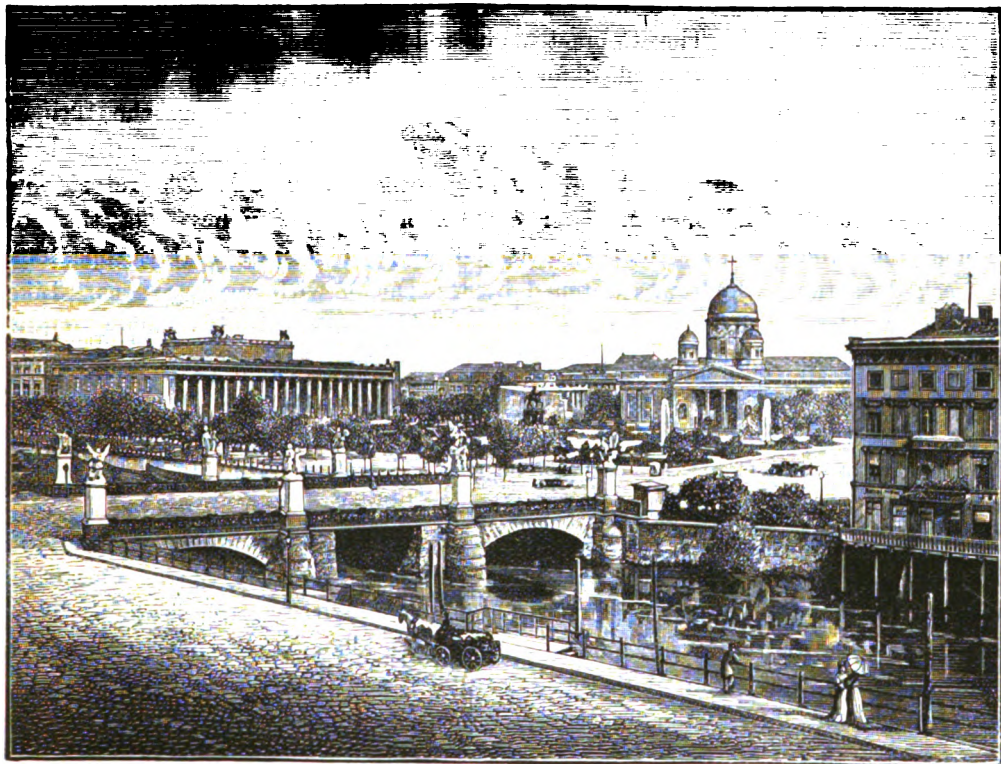
During the last six months of the year, events in Italy and Greece pre-occupied the Cabinet. Indeed, affairs in Greece took a turn that for the moment roused the Queen from the depths of her sorrow.

Baron Ricasoli, who succeeded Count Cavour, did not hold office long. The object of his policy was to win Rome for Italy, which rendered him obnoxious to Napoleon III. Moreover, he was too stiff and formal in his manners for the loose-living King of Italy, and so his fall was inevitable. To him succeeded Ratazzi—a Minister who was acceptable to Napoleon because he thought more of winning back Venice, than of expelling the French from the Holy City. How far Victor Emmanuel and Ratazzi participated in an intrigue, the result of which was that General Garibaldi began to raise the “Party of Action,” is not clear. At any rate, Garibaldi, at a meeting of a rifle club in Palermo, at which the Heir Apparent to the Crown was present, announced his intention of opening a new campaign of liberation. From Sicily he led a band of “Red Shirts” to the mainland, evidently under the impression that he was to repeat his former exploits with the secret connivance of the Italian Government. Before he advanced into the heart of Calabria, he found he had been deceived. Victor Emmanuel’s troops attacked and dispersed his irregular forces at Aspromonte, before they came into collision with the French. Garibaldi himself was wounded, and though at first sent as a prisoner to Spezia, he was soon afterwards set free, and his “rebellion” forgiven. Napoleon III. then induced Russia and Prussia to recognise the Kingdom of Italy. But in November Ratazzi resigned rather than face a vote of censure, and Farini succeeded him.

Italian intriguers had been busy at Athens fomenting rebellion against King Otho. Their object was to depose him, and seat Prince Thomas, the Duke of Genoa, on the throne. Russian and French intrigues seem also to have been going on. But every conspiracy, whether of native or foreign origin, had for its object the expulsion of King Otho, whose authority had been undermined by Palmerston’s treatment in 1850, and whose reign had done nothing to gratify Greek aspirations for an extension of territory. Otho’s opposition to progressive reform rendered him an obstacle to those who thought that Greece in the Ottoman Empire, might play the part of Piedmont in Italy. He was therefore driven from his throne, and the Crown of Greece offered to Prince Alfred of England, on whose behalf it was declined. England, however, showed her goodwill to Greece by declaring herself ready to surrender the Ionian Islands, an offer which gave Lord Palmerston an opportunity of emphasising his belief in “the doctrine of nationalities,” which he had so strenuously insisted on applying in Italy. In 1863, when the Greeks chose a Danish Prince for their King, these islands were transferred to Greece.

In Germany the cause of Reform slept. Austria apparently had increased her influence, because the King of Prussia was in conflict with the representatives of the Prussian people as to the reorganisation and strengthening of

the Army. But Hungary and Venetia had still to be held down by the sword. The Queen, however much she might regret the contest between the Crown and the nation in Prussia, did not view it with the scornful levity that was fashionable at the time in England. She knew that the carrying out of the military policy of Prussia was the condition precedent to the incorporation of North Germany under Prussian leadership. She was well aware that when the Bernstorff Ministry fell, Count von Bismarck, Prussian Minister at Paris,



VIEW IN BERLIN : THE PALACE BRIDGE AND PLEASURE GARDEN.

would become President of the Council, and she knew what purpose he had in view. Von Bismarck had, in fact, visited London in July, 1862, and he had conversed freely and frankly with the leaders of both parties. At a dinner party given by Baron Brunnow in his honour, he revealed his plans to Mr. Disraeli, who on the same evening repeated the conversation to Count Vitzthum. "‘I shall soon,’ said in effect the Prussian statesman, ‘be compelled to undertake the conduct of the Prussian Government. My first care will be to reorganise the Army, with or without the help of the Landtag. The King was right in undertaking this task, but he cannot accomplish it with his present advisers. As soon as the Army shall have been brought into such a condition as to inspire respect, I shall seize the first best pretext to declare

war against Austria, dissolve the German Diet, subdue the minor States, and give national unity to Germany under Prussian leadership. I have come here to say this to the Queen's Ministers.' * Count Vitzthum adds that Mr. Disraeli's commentary was, "Take care of that man! he means what he says." On the other hand, the late Lord Ampthill—who was present at the dinner—told Mr. Lowe, the biographer of Prince Bismarck,† that Mr. Disraeli described the Bismarckian policy as the "mere moonshine of a German Baron."‡ The Landtag refused to sanction an increase in the Army, for which it saw no obvious use. The King could not publicly avow why the increase was wanted. The Cabinet confessed itself helpless in the dilemma, whereupon the King telegraphed for Count von Bismarck, who was holiday-making in the Pyrenees, to come to Berlin. He arrived there on the 19th of September. On the 23rd, after seven days' debate, the Chamber refused to vote the Army Estimates and the Ministry resigned. The King's retort was the appointment as Prime Minister of the man, whose policy was that of "blood and iron." From that moment the history of Continental Europe took a fresh departure, which was watched by the Queen with anxious eyes. Like the Prince Consort, her sympathies were with the new Prussian policy. Only, she would have endeavoured to attain Von Bismarck's ends without using his methods. That the Bismarckian methods were adopted in less than a year after the Prince Consort's death, only serves to illustrate how quickly the policy of the Court of Berlin changed after the King of Prussia was emancipated from Prince Albert's moderating influence.

As might be expected, the struggle in America was followed in England with keen interest, and step by step. The Confederate States found no difficulty in raising troops, and in supplying them with capable leaders. They seemed to have raised money on the security of their stocks of cotton. But they evidently were soon in financial straits, for Mr. Mason told some of his intimate friends in London in February that it would be hardly possible for

* Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 172.

† Lowe's *Life of Bismarck*, Vol. I., p. 278 (Cassell and Co.).

‡ It is well known that Count Ferrol, in "Endymion," was drawn from Prince Bismarck. The novel was written in Lord Beaconsfield's old age, and there is a passage in it which curiously confirms Count Vitzthum's report of Count von Bismarck's conversation with Mr. Disraeli. It is as follows:—"The Count of Ferrol about this time made a visit to England. He was always a welcome guest there, and had received the greatest distinction which England could bestow upon a foreigner—he had been elected an honorary member of White's. 'You may have troubles here,' he said to Lady Mountfort, 'but they will pass. . . . We shall not get off so cheaply. Everything is quite rotten throughout the Continent. This year is tranquillity to what the next will be. There is not a throne in Europe worth a year's purchase. My worthy master wants me to return home and be Minister; I am to fashion for him a new Constitution. I will never have anything to do with new Constitutions; their inventors are always their first victims. Instead of making a Constitution, he should make a country, and convert his heterogeneous domains into a patriotic dominion.' 'But how is that to be done?' 'There is but one way—by blood and iron.' 'My dear Count, you shock me: 'I shall have to shock you a great deal more before the inevitable is brought about.'"

the Confederates to find money for their troops much longer. The war was then costing them £500,000 a day. The Federal Government was more prosperous. In a few months it had 800,000 men under arms, and even its enemies bore testimony to the fact that these troops were always well paid and well fed. General McClellan, during the autumn and winter of 1861, organised a great army for the defence of Washington, which was menaced by the Confederate forces. Instead of dispersing these, McClellan contented himself with watching them. Early in January the Federals at Mill Springs, Kentucky, foiled an attempt of the Confederates to attack Ohio. Next month Burnside captured the Confederate garrison of Roanoke, in North Carolina, and in March he also took Newbern. Fort Henry, on the Tennessee, and Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland River, yielded to General Grant, and Pope seized a Confederate post on the Mississippi, called "Island No. 10." On the 24th of February Commodore Farragut, after a brilliant action, forced the defences of New Orleans, from which the Confederates retreated, and the city was then occupied by General Butler. So far victory had crowned the Federal banners. But on the 6th of April the fortune of war favoured the Confederates, when General Albert Sydney Johnston surprised Grant at Pittsburg Landing, on the west side of the Tennessee River, opposite to Savannah. The timely arrival of General Buell and the galling fire of two Federal gunboats on the river saved Grant's army from utter destruction, and when night fell he still stood at bay on the river's bank. Next morning (the 7th) he renewed the struggle with characteristic obstinacy, and drove the Confederates back to their lines at Corinth. In this action General Johnston was killed. To him succeeded Beauregard, who for many weeks held, by sheer audacity, the lines at Corinth against Halleck and 150,000 Federal troops. At last Beauregard and his army suddenly vanished, leaving Halleck and his lieutenant, Pope, in a state of stupefaction at their disappearance.* The Western States echoed with the tramp of armed men on both sides, but save for a Confederate defeat at Corinth in October, and a Federal surrender at Hartville in December, nothing worth recording happened. The lesson from the year's campaign in this region was that the Confederates blundered by trying to do too much when they attempted to hold the line of the Ohio. Vicksburg was the only strong post which they retained on the Mississippi. On sea they were more successful. They nailed iron rails on to the hull of the old United States warship *Virginia*, and sent her forth in March from the Navy Yard at Norfolk as the *Merrimac* to spread terror through the Federal transport fleet. The United States ironclad, *Monitor*, however, fought her on the 9th of March and drove her into port. At close quarters the shot glanced

* Pope at first pretended that he had discovered the line of Beauregard's retreat, and had captured his rearguard. This turned out to be an impudent fabrication, put about to divert attention from the almost inconceivable incapacity of Halleck, who let his enemy slip through his fingers after wasting the season in looking at him.

off the protected sides of the ships, and it was not till the *Monitor* fired into the unprotected part of the *Merrimac's* hull that she disabled her. This action—as we have seen—aroused naval critics in England, and convinced them that the “wooden walls” of the country were obsolete.

Meanwhile great expectations had centred in the Army of the Potomac. Its leader, McClellan, was one of the most highly trained and scientific soldiers in the service of the Federal Government. Its numbers were overwhelming, and yet month after month passed by and it did nothing. It permitted the Confederates to retreat unmolested from their lines at Manassas in spring, when McClellan pursued them for two days. He then suddenly returned to Washington, and made arrangements to convey his army from the Potomac to the peninsula between York River and James River. From that point he meant to deliver a crushing blow against Richmond, the Confederate capital. At this moment President Lincoln deprived McClellan of the Command-in-Chief, and gave Generals McDowell and Fremont independent commands in Northern Virginia. It is not fair to forget, therefore, in criticising McClellan's movements, that he thus lost the right to dispose of McDowell's division as he pleased, for the protection of his left flank. McClellan's campaign was unfortunate. General Joseph Johnston artfully seduced him into the swamps of the Chickahominy River, where he settled down and entrenched himself behind earthworks, while Stuart, with the Confederate cavalry, worked round the Federal right, looted part of their camp, and returned in safety to Richmond. General Jackson—“Stone-wall” Jackson—dashing through the Shenandoah Valley, had driven the Federals under Banks back to the Potomac, and was menacing Washington. McDowell, who was hastening to McClellan's aid, was suddenly recalled to protect the Federal capital, and McClellan, whose position was now hopeless, had to retreat, after repeated attacks, to Harrison's Landing, on the James River—a manœuvre which was termed by the New York Press “a strategic movement to the rear.” He then embarked his army at Aquia Creek, and took it to Alexandria. To cover McClellan's retreat, Pope advanced from the Rapidan to the Rappahannock, but was met by the Confederate General, Robert Lee, who fought a drawn battle with him at Cedar Mountain on the 9th of August. Jackson, by a rapid movement westward, crossed the Blue Mountains and thrust himself between Pope's rear and Washington, and again Stuart made a raid on the Federal camp. Pope was now completely outmanœuvred, so he was fain to fall back on the Potomac and the strong lines of Washington. Lee pushed on, intending to raise Maryland. He was checked by McClellan at Antietam, and recrossed the Potomac, but without being pursued. Jackson now captured the Federal garrison at Harper's Ferry.

A month elapsed before McClellan renewed his advance on Richmond, and in November he was dismissed from his command. Halleck was now Commander-in-Chief, and Burnside, McClellan's successor, transferring the struggle

to the Rappahannock, undertook to advance on Richmond—a movement which was partly forced on him by the Government at Washington, in order to redeem the *prestige* it had lost through McClellan's failures. On the 13th of December he was defeated by Lee with great slaughter at Fredericksburg,



MR. PEABODY.

the news of this victory creating much excitement in England. This ended the campaign for the year. New Orleans was all that the Federals had to show for two years' campaigns. Their invasion of Virginia was rolled back, and the partisans of the Southern States in England pointed to this fact as a proof that the Union could never be restored by force. In the Northern States the Abolitionist faction had now absorbed the Republican Party. Slavery was abolished in the district of Columbia, and Lincoln was induced

to say that he was now ready to restore the Union with or without slavery. Finally he issued his proclamation on the 22nd of September, declaring that he would recommend Congress to pass a Bill to free all slaves in rebel States. In England the proclamation was sneered at as an act of confiscation, and Lord Russell sent a despatch to Lord Lyons, scoffing at it with ill-concealed malice as "a measure of war, and a measure of war of a very questionable character." The naval operations of the belligerents also gave Lord Russell several opportunities for controversy. He waxed very indignant over the blockade of Charleston harbour, where the Federals had sunk ships loaded with ballast. In January the Confederate cruiser *Nashville*, after preying on American commerce, ran into Southampton Water for repairs. Mr. Adams, the American Minister in London, warned Lord Russell that her conduct had been almost piratical, to which Lord Russell replied that as she bore the commission of a recognised belligerent she would be allowed to make such necessary repairs as would not increase her fighting power, and that care would be taken to prevent the Foreign Enlistment Act from being infringed. The excitement created by the *Trent* affair was dying out, when the country was startled to find a United States cruiser, *Tuscarora*, moored in Itchen Creek, and watching the *Nashville*. Her officers and men were accused of prowling suspiciously close to the *Nashville*, and people began to ask if the Government was going to tolerate such an outrage as a naval engagement in an English creek. Lord Russell warned Mr. Adams that Captain Craven of the *Tuscarora* must respect our neutrality, and that whichever ship left first must have twenty-four hours' "law" before the other was allowed to follow. H.M.S. *Dauntless* and *Shannon* were sent to Southampton to overawe Captain Craven, who ultimately put to sea. The *Nashville* followed, and thus escaped her antagonist.

A more romantic and perplexing case was that of a British ship, the *Emilie St. Pierre*. She had sailed from Calcutta for St. John's, New Brunswick, and had gone to Charleston to see if the port was blockaded. The Federal cruiser, *James Adger*, seized her, and put a prize crew on board. The skipper of the *Emilie St. Pierre*—a Scotsman called Wilson—aided by the cook and steward, one morning overpowered the prize crew and their officers by a clever stratagem, and after escaping many dangers brought the ship safely into Liverpool on the 31st of April. Wilson for the moment was the idol of the seafaring population, and Mr. Adams, somewhat nettled at the defeat of the prize crew, demanded the surrender of the vessel. Lord Russell refused, alleging that the Government had no legal power to seize her, or "interfere with her owners in relation to their property in her."

These controversies rather embittered the relations between Americans and Englishmen in this country. It was therefore most gratifying to the Queen to learn that a kind-hearted citizen of the United States, whose princely charity has endeared his memory to the English-speaking race, had bestowed

on the poor of London a gift of surpassing munificence. Mr. George Peabody had a high reputation as a merchant in the City, where his generosity and courageous use of his credit had saved many firms from ruin in the financial crisis of 1857. In the spring of 1862 he made over to Trustees the sum of £150,000, to be applied for the benefit of the poor of London, his only stipulation being, that the management and application of the fund should be free from all sectarian bias. He did not limit the discretion of the Trustees, though he suggested that they would best spend the money in providing improved dwellings for the people. His ideas were not quite carried out, for the blocks of buildings erected by the Peabody Trustees were soon occupied, not by the poor of London, but by the lower middle class, who were not meant by Mr. Peabody to participate in the benefits of his gift.

The 1st of May had been fixed for the opening of the Great Exhibition of 1862, and the ceremony was a somewhat mournful one. The sable liveries of the lackeys who appeared in the grand procession served to remind the people of the late Prince Consort, who had been the life and soul of the project. His place was taken by the Duke of Cambridge and the Crown Prince of Prussia, who was associated with him by the special request of the Queen, as one of her representatives. South Kensington was crowded with sightseers, and it was admitted that the ceremonial was one of the most imposing pageants that had ever been witnessed. To the daïs, where the formal business of inauguration was transacted, none but persons in uniform were admitted, and the scene was therefore bright with rich masses of colour, glittering with the flashing jewels of knightly Orders and military decorations. When the Duke of Cambridge and the other Special Commissioners had taken their seats, the National Anthem was sung, and Earl Granville, as the representative of the Exhibition Commissioners, placed an address to the Queen in the hands of his Royal Highness. To this the Duke replied, alluding in touching terms to the death of the Prince Consort, and to the affliction which had prostrated the Queen with sorrow. The brilliant procession then slowly filed down from the daïs to the eastern dome, where Meyerbeer's *Overture en forme de Marche*, written for the occasion, was performed, and Tennyson's fine ode, set to music by Professor Sterndale Bennett, was given. Its allusions to Prince Albert went home to every heart:—

“O silent father of our Kings to be,
Mourn'd in this golden hour of jubilee,
For this, for all, we weep our thanks to thee!
The world-compelling plan was thine,
And lo! the long laborious miles
Of Palace: lo! the giant aisles,
Rich in model and design”—

were lines that gave expression to the feeling of the country with rare felicity and power. It was admitted on all hands that the building of the new

Exhibition was far grander and far larger than that of 1851. But on the other hand the witchery of the Palace, with its walls of crystal and its strong flood of diffused light, had vanished. The roof and walls of the new building were solid, and these and the windows "factory-patterned," as a singer in *Punch* called them, destroyed the sensation of unconfined space which one felt on entering the Crystal Palace of 1851, and which gave to that structure its magical charm.

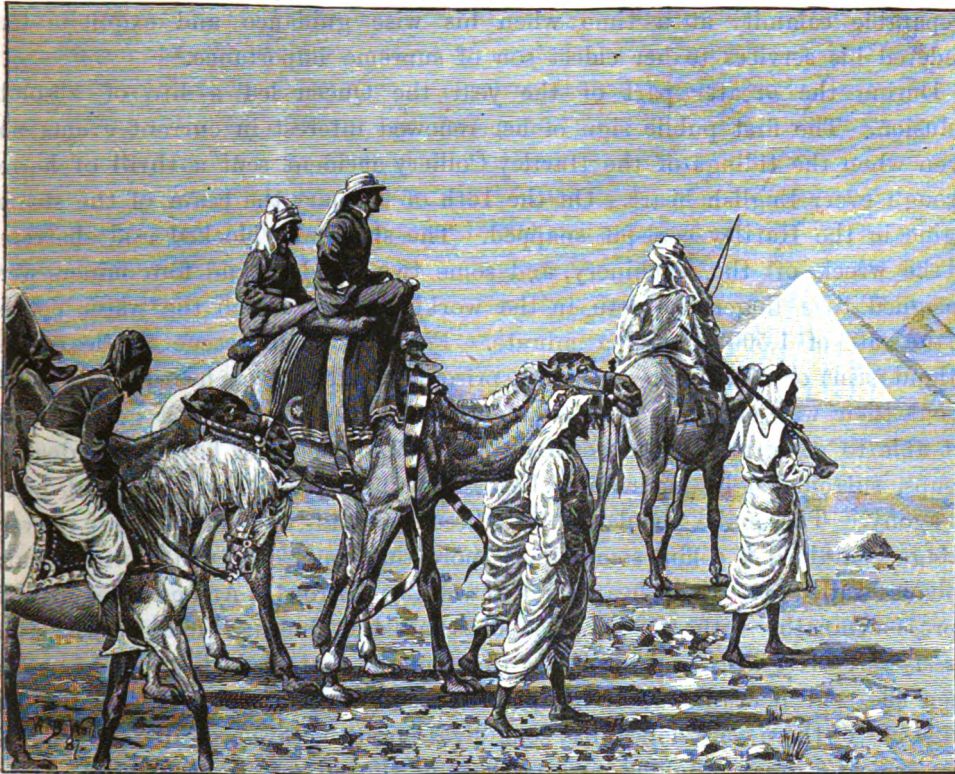
On the 14th of June the Prince of Wales, who had completed the Eastern tour that had been planned for him by his father, returned to England. He had left Osborne on the 6th of February with General Bruce and a carefully



THE EXHIBITION BUILDING OF 1862.

selected suite, of whom Dr. A. P. Stanley (afterwards Dean of Westminster), who joined him at Alexandria, was a member. On the 1st of March he landed at Alexandria, where, despite his *incognito* as Baron Renfrew, he was saluted with Royal honours. At Cairo he enjoyed the hospitality of the Viceroy of Egypt, and on the 4th of March left the city for the Pyramids, which were reached just as the mysterious outline of the Sphinx was vanishing in the fading light of sunset. At dawn the Prince ascended the Great Pyramid without assistance, much to the amazement of the Bedouins, who asked, sceptically, "Is that the Governor? If so, why does he go alone?" The party then went up the Nile as far as the First Cataract, viewing the Temple at Esneh by torchlight. After Assouan and its antiquities were explored, the Prince returned down the river, halting three days at Thebes, where he met the Duke and Duchess of Saxe-Coburg. On the 21st of March a tournament between some Arnauts and Arab chiefs was held; then Memphis was visited, and Cairo again reached on the 23rd. After some other excursions the Prince proceeded to Jerusalem, which he entered on the 31st of March. He was received by the

Pacha and a picturesque escort of wild horsemen, who kept circling round the party, brandishing their spears and firing their guns in mimic combat. His Royal Highness pitched his tent on the northern side of the city, near the Damascus Gate, and visited all the sacred places—even those from which Christians are excluded being opened to him.* He left Jerusalem on the 10th of April, and next day arrived at Nablûs, on the eve of the Samaritan



THE PRINCE OF WALES AT THE PYRAMIDS.

Passover. He ascended Mount Gerizim, and saw this last vestige of the old Jewish ritual performed, the sun sinking behind the western hills as the Paschal sheep were sacrificed. On the 15th he encamped at the foot of Mount Carmel, and on Easter eve saw the sun set on the Sea of Galilee. At Damascus he received but a churlish welcome from the sullen, fanatical population, and on the 6th of May he visited Beyrout. On the 10th he landed at Tripoli, and on the 12th explored the cedar groves of Lebanon. On the 15th the Royal yacht touched at Rhodes, on the 17th at Patmos, and—after visiting Smyrna,

* This was difficult to arrange. Even the Sultan did not dare to do more than recommend Suraya Pasha to admit the Prince to the Sanctuary of the Patriarchs. For a long time the Pasha refused, but the Prince's anger at being balked was so great that Suraya at last consented, accompanying the party himself with a strong armed escort to protect his Royal guest from assassination.

Constantinople, Athens, Cephalonia, and Malta—the tour ended at Marseilles. A brief visit was paid to the French Emperor at Fontainebleau, and on the 14th of June the travellers reached Windsor. Three days afterwards the Queen heard, to her deep regret, that General Bruce—long a trusted friend of her family—had died from Syrian fever, contracted during his journey. He had sacrificed his life to the chivalrous discharge of his duties as the Prince's Governor, and the Queen felt only too keenly that his loss was an irreparable calamity at a time when his wise guidance and exquisite tact rendered his services to her eldest son of supreme importance.*

During the greater part of the year the Queen led a life of absolute seclusion. The first public sign of her renewed interest in current events was given when the tidings of the Hartley Colliery accident sent a thrill of horror through every English heart. On the 16th of January the beam of the steam-engine in the Hartley coal-pit snapped. The shaft was blocked and shattered by the wreck of the machinery, and some two hundred and four miners were consigned to a lingering death in the workings, into which the water poured at the rate of 1,500 gallons a minute. For nine days rescue parties toiled without stint or ceasing to reach the prisoners. They even heard their efforts to cut their way out, but were unable to reach them. When a gang was at last able to penetrate to the workings they found men and boys lying dead in groups, surrounded by mournful relics and painful records of their last hours of agony. The male population of three hamlets was swept away; every cottage contained a coffin, some, alas! more than one, over which widows and orphans wailed out their hearts in unavailing sorrow. Among the first to express sympathy with the bereaved ones was the Queen. *Haud ignara mali miseris succurrere disco* was probably the thought that flashed across her mind when she sent her anxious telegraphic messages to the scene of the disaster, whilst as yet there were hopes that some lives might be saved. After the funeral, the scene at a great religious meeting held at the pit was most touching, when the incumbent of Earsdon read to the assembly of mourners a letter which her Majesty had dictated to Sir Charles Phipps, and which had been addressed to the head viewer (or overseer) of the mine. It ran as follows:—

"OSBORNE, January 23rd, 1862.

"SIR,—The Queen, in the midst of her own overwhelming grief, has taken the deepest interest in the mournful accident at Hartley, and up to the last had hoped that at least a considerable number of the poor people might have been recovered alive. The appalling news since received has afflicted the Queen very much.

"Her Majesty commands me to say that her tenderest sympathy is with the poor widows and mothers, and that her own misery only makes her feel the more for them.

"Her Majesty hopes that everything will be done, as far as possible, to alleviate their distress, and her Majesty will have a sad satisfaction in assisting in such a measure. Pray let us know what is doing.

"I have the honour to be, your obedient servant,

"C. B. PHIPPS."

* General Bruce was the second son of Thomas, Seventh Earl of Elgin, and brother of the celebrated Governor-General of Canada and India.

It was estimated that £17,000 would be needed for the relief of the widows and orphans. In London alone £20,000 was sent to the Lord Mayor, and by the end of February it was necessary to close the fund, for upwards of £81,000 had been generously subscribed by the public.*

A glimpse of the early days of the Queen's widowhood is afforded in the "Diaries" of one of her chaplains in Scotland—the late Dr. Norman Macleod, Minister of the Barony Parish Kirk, Glasgow. Her Majesty was advised to retire to Balmoral in the first week of May, and when she reached her Highland home she commanded the attendance of Dr. Macleod. He seems to have been somewhat nervous at being called upon to undertake the delicate duty of offering spiritual consolation to his widowed Sovereign. On the 12th of May, however, Dr. Macleod, writing to his wife, says, with a sense of relief, "All has passed well—that is to say, God enabled me to speak in private and in public to the Queen in such a way as seemed to me to be truth, the truth in God's sight; that which I believe she needed, though I felt it would be very trying to her spirit to receive it. And what fills me with deepest thanksgiving is that she has received it, and written to me such a kind, tender letter of thanks for it."† Writing in his Journal on the 14th of May, Dr. Macleod jotted down, whilst the facts were fresh in his mind, the chief incidents of his visit to the Queen at this painful period of her life. "After dinner," he says, "I was summoned unexpectedly to the Queen's room. She was alone. She met me, and, with an unutterably sad expression, which filled my eyes with tears, at once began to speak about the Prince. It is impossible for me to recall distinctly the sequence or substance of that long conversation. She spoke of his excellences—his love, his cheerfulness, how he was everything to her. She said she never shut her eyes to trials, but liked to look them in the face; how she would never shrink from duty, but that all was at present done mechanically; that her highest ideas of purity and love were obtained from him, and that

* The medical evidence showed that the miners in the pit had died painlessly from poisoning by carbonic oxide gas. The Coroner's jury recommended that all mines should have two shafts instead of one only, and that engine-beams should be made of wrought, and not of cast iron.

† Dr. Macleod's ministrations at this time extended to other members of the Royal Family, and appear to have been conducted with the supple tact characteristic of the true-born Celt. "Your Royal Highness knows," he said to one of them, "that I am here as a pastor, and that it is only as a pastor I am permitted to address you. But as I wish you to thank me when we meet before God, so would I address you now." Again, in his letter to Mrs. Macleod, dated 12th of May, 1862, he writes:—"Prince Alfred sent for me last night to see him before going away. Thank God I spoke fully and frankly to him—we were alone—of his difficulties, temptations, and of his father's example; what the nation expected of him; how, if he did God's will, good and able men would rally round him; how, if he became selfish, a selfish set of flatterers would truckle to him and ruin him, while caring only for themselves. He thanked me for all I said, and wished me to travel with him to-day to Aberdeen, but the Queen wishes to see me again."—*Life of Norman Macleod, D.D.*, by his brother, Rev. Donald Macleod, B.A., 2 vols. London: Daldy, Isbister, and Co., 1876. Vol. II., p. 123.

God could not be displeased with her love. But there was nothing morbid in her grief. I spoke freely to her about all I felt regarding him—the love of the nation and their sympathy; and took every opportunity of bringing before her the reality of God's love and sympathy, her noble calling as a Queen, the value of her life to the nation, the blessedness of prayer."

"Sunday: the whole household, Queen and Royal Family, were assembled



MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS ALICE.

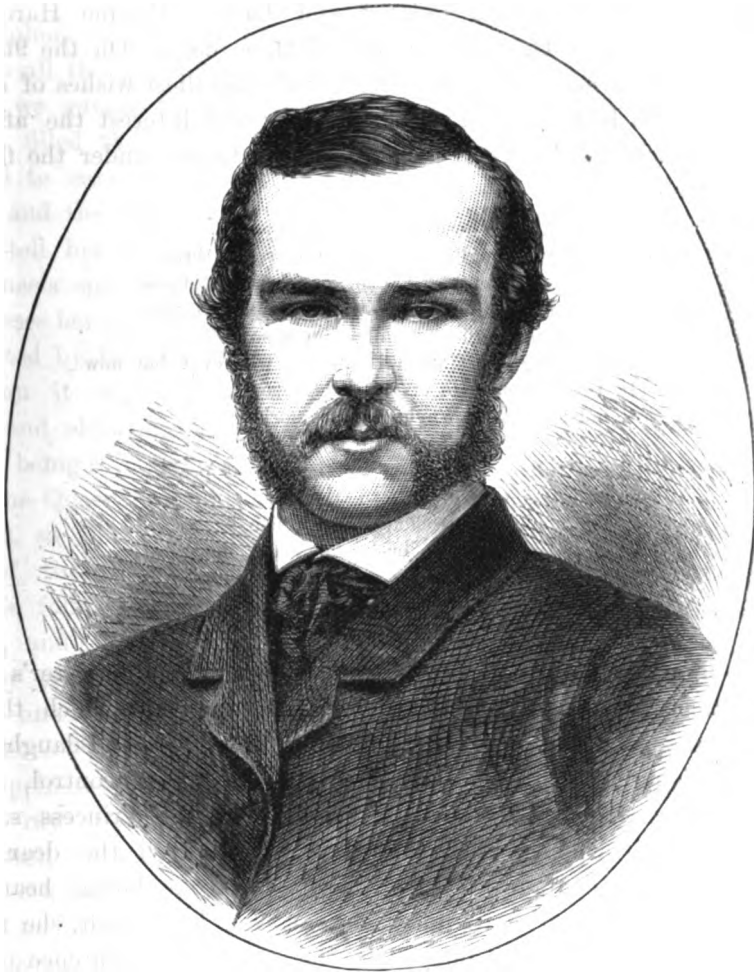
at 10.15. A temporary pulpit was erected. I began with a short prayer, then read Job xxiii., Psalm xlii., beginning and end of John xiv., and end of Revelation vii. After the Lord's Prayer I expounded Hebrews xii. 1—12, and concluded with prayer. The whole Service was less than an hour. I then, at 12, preached at Crathie* on 'All things are ours.' In the evening at Crathie on 'Awake, thou that sleepest.' The household attended both Services."

"On Monday I had another long interview with the Queen. She was much more like her old self—cheerful—and full of talk about persons and things. She, of course, spoke of the Prince. She said that he always believed he was to die soon, and that he often told her that he had never any fear of death. I also saw the Princesses Alice and Helen—each by herself. No

* The Queen's parish kirk.

words of mine can express the deep sympathy I have for all these mourners. . . . The more I hear about the Prince Consort, the more I agree with what the Queen said to me about him on Monday, 'that he really did not seem to comprehend a selfish character or what selfishness was.'''*

After her father's death, the Princess Alice was so deeply affected by her



PRINCE LOUIS OF HESSE-DARMSTADT.

mother's grief and her own bereavement, that for a time Prince Louis of Hesse thought she would not hold to her engagement with him. However, this fear soon passed away, and it was duly announced that the Princess would be married on the 1st of July. The ceremony took place in private at Osborne, and was performed by the Archbishop of York, in the absence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was suffering from a severe illness. The Queen

* Life of Norman Macleod, Vol. II., pp. 123, 124.

attended in deep mourning, but her agitation was so great that, when the service was ended, she had to be led away to her room. The Crown Prince of Prussia, all the bride's brothers and sisters, the parents, brothers, and sisters of the bridegroom, and many other near and dear relatives, were present. The Duke of Saxe-Coburg-and-Gotha gave the Princess, his niece, away at the altar, and the married couple, after the ceremony was over, drove off quietly to St. Clare, near Ryde, which Colonel and Lady Catherine Harcourt had placed at their disposal. There they remained three days. On the 9th of July they left for Hesse-Darmstadt, accompanied by the kindest wishes of all classes in the country, who had watched with sympathy and interest the affectionate solicitude with which the Princess had solaced the Queen under the first shock of her bereavement.

"Dear to us all by those calm earnest eyes,
And early thought upon that fair young brow,
Dearer for that where grief was heaviest, thou
Wert sunshine, till he passed where suns shall rise
And set no more: thou, in affection wise
And strong, wert strength to her, who even but now
In the soft accents of thy bridal vow
Heard music of her own heart's memories.

"Too full of love to own a thought of pride
Is now thy gentle bosom; so 'tis best;
Yet noble is thy choice, O English bride!
And England hails the bridegroom and the guest
A friend—a friend well-loved by him who died.
He blessed you both; your wedlock shall be blessed."

In these simple and pathetic lines *Punch*, dropping the jester's cap and bells, gave graceful expression to the popular feeling with which the nation bade the Princess good-bye. The parting between mother and daughter was a mournful one, though both kept their feelings well under control. Writing from the Royal yacht to bid adieu to the Queen, the Princess said, "My heart was very full when I took leave of you and all the dear ones at home; I had not the courage to say a word—but your loving heart understands what I felt."* And again after she reached Darmstadt, she recurs to this sad theme. "Away from home," is the concluding sentence of one of her letters to the Queen, "I cannot believe that beloved papa is not there; all is so associated with him."

Indeed, it may be doubted whether the loss of her daughter's society for a time had not a salutary influence on the Queen. It stimulated her to take a fresh interest in her family life, for a correspondence, intimate and affectionate, was carried on between mother and daughter, in which the Queen had to transmit budgets of home news, the mere collecting of which diverted her thoughts from the heart wound that tortured her. From this

* Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse: Biographical Sketch and Letters, pp. 27 and 29.

correspondence we gather that in those days the Queen's life was full of many gloomy hours. It is clear that the shadow of death at times fell very darkly on her spirit, and that she poured out her heart to her daughter without reserve. The Princess Louis of Hesse—as Englishmen had to learn to call the Princess Alice—on her side sympathised with every varying mood of her mother's troubled mind, although her letters indicate how each reference to her father, whom she had idolised from her childhood, made her own wounds bleed afresh. She is sedulous in cheering her mother with accounts of her new home. She enters into all the Queen's plans for perpetuating the Prince Consort's memory. From her we gather that, outside of public business and family duties, these plans now filled the Queen's life. Commissions were given to sculptors like Mr. Theed to carve busts of the Prince. Marochetti's equestrian statue was projected, and the Princess Louis, soon after reaching Darmstadt, presses the Queen to tell her how it is progressing. The Queen also makes a collection of the Prince's speeches, and this again stimulates the interest of her daughter, who expresses her pleasure at hearing that Mr. (afterwards Sir Arthur) Helps has been selected by her mother to write an introduction to them for publication. "What can it be," she writes in one of her letters to the Queen, "but beautiful and elevating if he has rightly entered into the spirit of that pure and noble being?" But even these occupations failed entirely to divert the mind of the Queen from brooding over her bereavement, and now and again her letters, so full of despondency and hopelessness, alarmed her daughter. To one of these the Princess replies from Auerbach, in the month of August, as follows:—"Try and gather in the few bright things you have remaining, and cherish them, for though faint, yet they are types of that infinite joy still to come. I am sure, dear mamma, the more you try to appreciate and to find the good in that which God in His love has left you, the more worthy you will daily become of that which is in store. That earthly happiness you had is indeed gone for ever, but you must not think that every ray of it has left you. You have the privilege, which dear papa knew so well how to value, in your exalted position, of doing good and living for others, of carrying on his plans, his wishes, into fulfilment, and as you go on doing your duty, this will, this must, I feel sure, bring you peace and comfort."*

In the meantime preparations for an interesting and important event in the Royal Family had to be made. It has been already mentioned that the Prince of Wales had been much attracted by the fascinating society of the Princess Alexandra of Sleswig-Holstein-Glücksburg, whom he met shortly before his father's death whilst visiting Germany. The feeling had ripened into a warm attachment, and it soon came to be rumoured that the lady had listened favourably to his suit as a lover. In autumn it was decided

* Alice: Grand Duchess of Hesse-Darmstadt. Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 37.

that the Queen should proceed to the Continent and arrange the preliminaries of this alliance with the parents of the Princess. It was also her Majesty's wish to visit Gotha—consecrated to her now by many tender memories—as soon as she was able to endure the fatigue of travel. Lord Russell was selected to accompany her Majesty as Minister in attendance.

Writing in his Diary on the 1st of September, Count Vitzthum says, "The Queen, who returned two days ago to Windsor, held a Privy Council there, in order to make the necessary arrangements for the period of her absence. Lord Palmerston did not attend this sitting, but has come down to town to receive her Majesty's last commands. The Queen embarks to-day at Woolwich, and goes first to Brussels to meet for the first time the Princess Alexandra and her parents. A few days later the Prince of Wales will also come to Brussels, when the betrothal will be officially declared. The indiscretion of the newspapers, which speak of the betrothal as a settled affair before it has actually been announced, has given great annoyance at Windsor Castle."* The impression which the youth and beauty of the Danish Princess made on the Queen was most favourable, and the preliminaries of the marriage were soon arranged. Her Majesty then proceeded to Germany, where she retired to the little shooting-box of Reinhardsbrunn, a residence so small that even Lord Russell had to stay at Gotha for lack of accommodation. In a letter to Count Vitzthum, he gives us a casual glimpse of the Queen's retreat. "I went to Reinhardsbrunn yesterday (17th September)," says Lord Russell, "and took an opportunity of speaking to the Queen about the proposed visit of Prince George of Saxony. Her Majesty appreciated the kindness of the King of Saxony, whom she regarded, she said, in the light of a relation. The Queen has no room in the house she inhabits to lodge any one, but if the Prince George could come any day after to-morrow (Friday), about three o'clock to pay her a visit, she would be happy to see him. The Prince of Wales is in high spirits, and willingly accepts congratulations on his marriage."†

In the middle of October the Princess Louis of Hesse - Darmstadt and her husband came to England, awaiting at Windsor the arrival of the Queen, who was then at Osborne. The thoughtful affection of the Princess herself prompted this visit. It was feared that the anniversary of the Prince Consort's death might bring on one of those attacks of nervous prostration from which the Queen suffered, during the first year of her bereavement, and at such a moment the presence of the Princess Alice afforded comfort, consolation, and confidence to the Royal family.

On the 18th of December the Queen emerged from her seclusion to superintend the removal of the Prince Consort's remains from St. George's Chapel

* Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 207.

† *Ibid*

to the Mausoleum at Frogmore Park. This sepulchral edifice had been built by her special directions as a monument of the affection and reverence which she and her children bore to the dead Prince. It is cruciform in plan, the arms of the cross radiating from a central cell, lit by three semi-circular windows in the clerestory, to the cardinal points of the compass. Polished shafts of cold grey granite decorate the outside of the building, and on an octagonal roof of copper a gilded cross gleams on a square-set tower.



REINHARDSBRUNN, NEAR GOTHA.

The transepts are also square, and lit by a clerestory corresponding with that in the central cell. Monoliths of Aberdeen and Guernsey granite flank the steps of the entrance porch, and the whole exterior is faced with polished granites and parti-coloured masonry. When the Prince's remains were laid there, the interior—remarkable for its almost Oriental richness of subdued colour and for the splendour of its golden decorations—was unfinished, nor was Marochetti's recumbent statue of the Prince, which was to be placed over his sarcophagus, completed.

Early on the morning of the 18th of December the remains of the Prince were taken from St. George's Chapel, Windsor, to Frogmore, the ceremony being conducted in extreme privacy. The coffin was first placed in a hearse,

which was followed by the Prince of Wales and Prince Louis of Hesse in a mourning coach. The Lord Chamberlain, the Dean of Windsor, Sir Charles Phipps, Colonel Grey, and other officials and domestics of the Royal Household formed the rest of the procession. The ceremony was very brief, simple, and solemn, and when the coffin was placed within the sarcophagus, the Princes laid upon it floral wreaths, which the Princesses had woven with their own hands for their father's grave.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

England in 1863—The Prince of Wales Summoned as a Peer of Parliament—His Introduction to the House of Lords—Cession of the Ionian Islands to Greece—Mr. Disraeli's Policy—The Prince of Wales's Income—The Dowry of the Princess—Approaching Marriage of the Prince of Wales—The Voyage of the "Sea-King's Daughter"—Reception of the Princess Alexandra at Gravesend—Her Entry into London—The Scene in the City—The West End *en fête*—Loyalty of Clubland—Accident to the Royal Party at Slough—The High Churchmen and the Queen—Objections to a Royal Marriage in Lent—The Dispensing Power of the Primate—A Visit to Frogmore—The Queen at the Prince of Wales's Marriage—The Scene in St. George's Chapel—The Wedding Presents—The Ceremony—The Wedding Guests hustled by Roughs—Riots in Ireland—Illuminated London—Foreign Policy—The Polish Question—The Russian Rebuff to Lord Palmerston—Napoleon III. Proposes a Congress of Sovereigns—Lord Russell Condemns the Proposal—The Death-Knell of the Anglo-French Alliance—France and Mexico and the Archduke Maximilian.

BUT for the controversy that was waged in the Press over the Civil War in America, and the sufferings of Lancashire, where the people were lying under the blight of the Cotton Famine, the year 1863 would have presented a record of unruffled calm. The classes and the masses still wrangled over the rights and wrongs of the Southern States; but the leaders of political parties, adhering to the policy of neutrality, discouraged all projects for interfering between the belligerents. The organs of public opinion in the Northern States bitterly condemned England because her aristocracy displayed strong Southern sympathies. The organs of public opinion in the Southern States reviled the English Government because Lord Russell refused to join the Emperor of the French in recognising the Southern Confederacy. For some mysterious reason France, whose policy was thus absolutely hostile to the Federal Government, was not only popular in the South but in the North. Both belligerents were, however, surprised to find that events falsified the anticipations which they had based on the effect of the Cotton Famine. So far from forcing England to interfere in the struggle, the destruction of her cotton industry was seen to produce local suffering rather than national disaster. The foundations of British trade, in fact, had, by the fiscal policy of Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone, been laid so broad and so deep, that the nation easily withstood the shock from the ruin of its most productive

branch of manufacture. Losses in the cotton trade were more than balanced by increased gains in other forms of commercial enterprise, and on New Year's Day the revenue had increased so unexpectedly, that Mr. Gladstone not only began to dream of surpluses, but was busy hatching projects for a fresh reduction of taxation. Indeed, the lavish subscriptions to the fund for relieving distress in the cotton districts indicated how little the Cotton Famine had affected the aggregate amount of disposable wealth in the country. By the end of January this princely fund had reached three-quarters of a million sterling—a sum which did not, of course, represent the unestimated contributions of manufacturers who, like Mr. John Bright, ran their mills on short time at a loss, rather than turn their workpeople into the streets.

Parliament was opened by Commission on the 8th of February—the first paragraph in the Queen's Speech announcing the approaching marriage of the Prince of Wales to the Princess Alexandra. The offer of the Crown of Greece to Prince Alfred was alluded to, and the continuance of the Civil War in America, with its attendant Cotton Famine in Lancashire, deplored. But as to legislation, the Royal Speech said nothing definite. All promises were conveyed in Lord Palmerston's stereotyped formula, that "various measures of public usefulness and improvement" would be submitted for the consideration of Parliament. The debates on the Address attracted less popular interest than the ceremonial proceedings of the House of Lords, when, on the first day of the Session, the Prince of Wales took his seat in that august Assembly. The scene on that occasion was a memorable one. In the side galleries near the Throne the Duchess of Cambridge, the Princess Mary of Cambridge, and a brilliant array of Peeresses had secured places. The Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers and Members of the House of Commons were also well represented. After the Royal Speech was read the Commissioners retired, and at about a quarter to four the Lord Chancellor, in his ordinary black silk robe, wig, and three-cornered hat, entered the House, preceded by the Great Seal, and seated himself on the woolsack. The Bishop of Worcester having read the prayers, a brilliant procession of Peers was then seen defiling from the Prince's Chamber, and it marched with slow and stately formality up the floor of the House, led by Sir Augustus Clifford, Usher of the Black Rod, who was followed by Sir Charles Young, arrayed in the robes of the Garter-King-at-Arms. He was followed by an equerry carrying the coronet of the Prince of Wales on a gorgeously embroidered cushion. Then came the Prince himself, wearing the scarlet and ermine robes of a Duke over a general officer's uniform, and decorated with the insignia of the Garter, the Golden Fleece, and the Star of India. Accompanying him were the Dukes of Cambridge and Argyll, the Earls of Derby and Granville, Earl Spencer and Lord Kingsdown, Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, Hereditary Grand Chamberlain, and Lord Edmund Howard, representing the infant Duke of Norfolk, as Hereditary Grand Marshal. As the

procession entered the House, the Peers rose and remained standing during the ceremony—the Lord Chancellor alone retaining his seat, and wearing his cocked hat. The Prince bowed, and advancing to the woolsack, delivered his patent of nobility and writ of summons to the Lord Chancellor. He then returned to the table where Sir J. Shaw-Lefevre, Clerk of the Parliaments, administered the oath to him, as Duke of Cornwall and Rothesay, Earl of Chester and Carrick, and Lord of the Isles. Having signed the roll, the procession passed round behind the woolsack, till the Prince reached the right-hand side of the Throne, where he took his seat formally on the Chair of State reserved for the Heir-Apparent to the Crown. As he seated himself he placed his hat on his head. Then uncovering he rose, advanced to the woolsack, and shook hands with the Lord Chancellor, who very slightly raised his hat as he went through the formal salutation. The procession then left the House, and business was suspended till five o'clock, when the Prince reappeared in ordinary walking-dress, with the Duke of Cambridge, beside whom he sat on one of the cross-benches throughout the debate on the Address.

In both Houses the Government was attacked, mainly on account of its foreign policy. The Tories pretended to see in the proposed cession of the Ionian Islands to Greece the premonitory sign of the fall of the British Empire. Their argument turned on a strange misconception, not only of the arrangements made at Vienna in 1815, but of the Queen's prerogative. The Ionian Islands were never British territory. They formed an independent Republic, placed by the European Powers under the protection of England.* But the primary aim of that protectorate was to foster the spirit of Greek nationality, and not to give Corfu to England as a place of arms. When the Ionians therefore desired annexation to Greece, and Greece was able to protect them, England would have been false to the trust she undertook in 1815, if she had maintained her protectorate by force. Earl Grey clearly proved that it was quite within the prerogative of the Queen to cede a protectorate without consulting Parliament. In fact, as the magnificent island of Java, which was a possession and not a protectorate, was given to the Dutch without Parliament being consulted on the subject, it is difficult to understand why the Opposition raised the question of prerogative in this instance. Mr. Disraeli's complaints that certain Ministers—of whom Mr. Gladstone was one—had made speeches during the recess indicating a

* The history of the Protectorate is as follows :—After the downfall of Napoleon I. in 1815, England held six of the Ionian Islands. Austria offered to undertake their government, because she said that their position enabled their population to disturb her Adriatic coast. Count Capo d'Istria, on behalf of Russia, objected, and at the time the voice of the Czar Alexander was all-powerful. He was a strong partisan of Greece, and avowedly so because he believed that the spirit of Greek nationality would be repressed under Austria, whereas it would be fostered under England. He insisted on the Ionians being placed under a British protectorate, so that they might have the benefit of free institutions.

desire to recognise the Confederate Government in the United States, were more difficult to meet. These speeches compromised the policy of strict neutrality which had been accepted by the Cabinet, and on that account they had caused considerable annoyance to the Queen. The absence of legislative proposals from the Royal Speech naturally gave Lord Derby a cue for some gibes, which, however, did not in the least affect Lord Palmerston's



THE VANDYKE ROOM, WINDSOR CASTLE.

peace of mind. The position of the Tories at this time was frankly avowed by Mr. Disraeli in a conversation with Count Vitzthum just before Parliament met. "I have not, indeed," said Mr. Disraeli, "yet settled with my friends our plans for the coming Parliamentary campaign; but I think I can tell you at once that there will be no serious fighting. Something, of course, may turn up, but at present there seems to be nothing that could force us to quit our waiting attitude. We shall not form a weak Ministry a third time. We can wait, and shall upset nothing. If we take the helm again, we shall do so with the prospect of a longer and safer tenure. Whether this will happen or not before Lord Palmerston dies I don't know; for the present, at any rate, the old man need fear no serious attack from us." The change in strategy here is obvious. In 1862 the policy of the Opposition was adopted

in deference to the general feeling that the Queen should, during the first days of her widowhood, be spared the anxiety of party conflicts, which possibly involved Ministerial crises. In 1863 the Tories adopted the policy of patriotically supporting Lord Palmerston's Ministry simply because they were themselves unable to form a strong Cabinet, and Mr. Disraeli had determined that they must not "form a weak Ministry a third time."*

But an event was approaching which diverted the minds of the nation from politics, namely, the marriage of the Prince of Wales, which it was now known would take place before Easter. The object of one of the first proposals laid before Parliament was to make an adequate provision for the future establishment of the Heir-Apparent. A message from the Queen to both Houses on the subject evoked a loyal congratulatory Address, and Palmerston himself moved the formal resolutions called for by the occasion in the House of Commons. He said that the Government considered that £100,000 a year would be a fair income to allow the Heir-Apparent, and, as he derived £60,000 a year from the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, the House would be asked to vote only £40,000 a year out of the Consolidated Fund. For the Princess of Wales, it was proposed that a separate allowance of £10,000 a year should be sanctioned, and, further, that in the event of her surviving her husband, a jointure of £30,000 should be secured to her. No objection could be fairly made to an arrangement which was at once moderate and business-like. Indeed, the Radicals were agreeably surprised to find that Parliament was not called on to vote anything approaching the enormous sum which was sanctioned by the precedent of 1795.† As for the domestic arrangements relating to the marriage, they were proceeding apace, and the nation was pleased to know that the Queen was able to participate in them with ever-quickenning interest.

It has been said already that during the visit of the Queen to Brussels in the autumn of 1862, the preliminaries of this marriage had been arranged, and in November the Princess Alexandra had paid a brief visit to the Queen at Osborne, where her winsome manners charmed all hearts. In February, 1863, the King of Denmark and his subjects alike testified their approval of her marriage by bestowing on her many valuable gifts. On the 26th the Princess left Copenhagen with the good wishes of all classes sounding in her ears. The day was kept as a public holiday, and the crowded streets from the palace to the railway station were gay with festal flags and garlands.

* Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 228.

† In 1795 the Prince of Wales was voted £138,000 a year. In the reigns of the Queen's predecessors the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall were absorbed by the Crown. But when the Prince of Wales was born, the Prince Consort, finding these revenues sadly encumbered, set them apart for the use of the Heir-Apparent. During his minority they had been so ably administered by Prince Albert that in 1862 they yielded a free income of £60,000 a year. This enabled the Government to cut down the Parliamentary vote to £40,000.

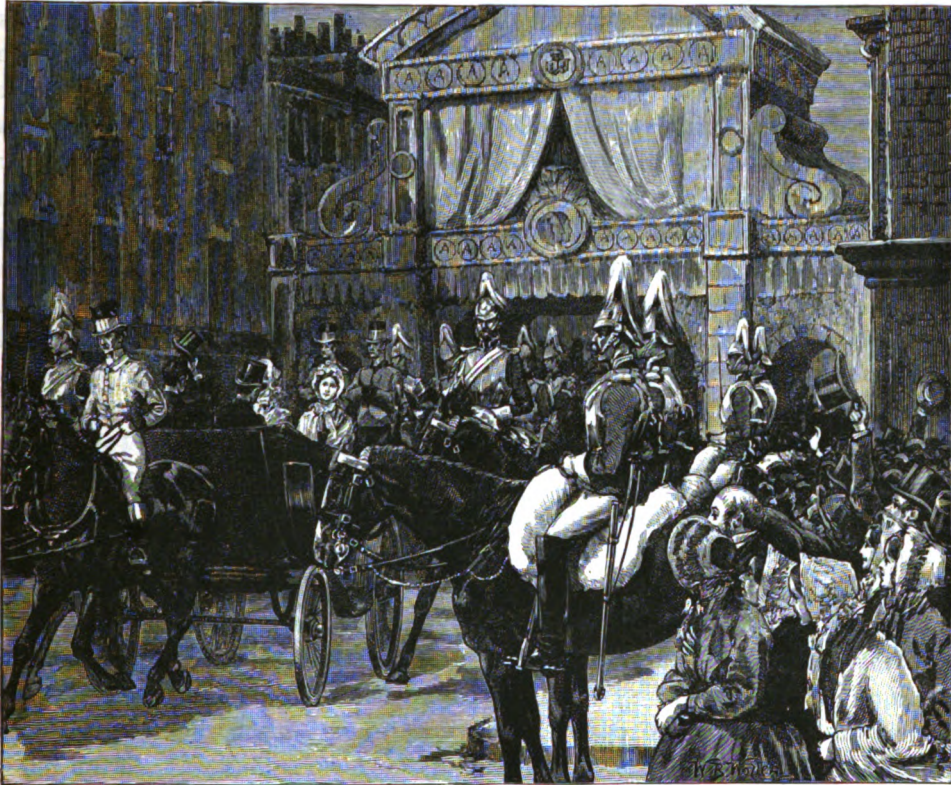
From the windows of the houses the Princess, who was escorted by her eldest brother, Prince Frederick, was pelted with bouquets of flowers, and at the station she was met by all the high functionaries of State, who took leave of her in formal farewell addresses for which her father, Prince Christian of Sleswig-Holstein-Glücksburg, Heir-Presumptive to the Danish throne, returned thanks. The Royal party travelling by Kiel, Hamburg, Hanover, and Coblenz, reached Brussels on the 2nd of March, where they were received by the Duchess of Brabant, the Count de Flandres, and the English and Danish Ambassadors. On the 5th they left for Antwerp, where they embarked on board the *Victoria and Albert* yacht and sailed for Flushing, where Rear-Admiral Smart's squadron of escort was waiting for them. At eight in the evening the Royal yacht, which had passed Flushing, was sighted by the two chief vessels of the escort. Royal salutes from each awoke the echoes of the deep, yards were manned, and rockets went hissing up into the air, falling round the Royal yacht in a sparkling shower of stars. Without stopping for a moment, the bridal party and their convoy sped on through the darkness, gliding over the glassy surface of what might have been a summer sea. Before midnight the *Victoria and Albert* had anchored in Margate Roads. At eight o'clock in the morning of the 6th the *Revenge* and the *Warrior* were dressed with flags, and again a royal salute thundered over the waves. Admiral Smart, by hurrying at racing speed across the North Sea, had earned the gratitude of the Princess and her companions, for soon after the bridal party entered English waters the German Ocean was swept by south-westerly gales. At four o'clock in the afternoon the squadron was sighted from Sheerness, whereupon the ships at the Nore manned their yards and saluted. Bonfires blazed along the beach. The word "Welcome" in letters ten feet high gleamed in the radiance of blue lights, and a long line of torches glimmered along the sea-wall. Next morning the Royal yacht, escorted by the *Warrior*, steamed up the Thames, arriving at Gravesend at noon. Here the Prince of Wales met his bride, and they landed amidst Royal salutes from the warships. The Mayoress presented the Princess with a bouquet. The Mayor and municipal dignitaries presented loyal addresses, but the prettiest part of the ceremony was the procession from the landing-place to the Royal carriage. A band of young ladies dressed in white—wearing red burnous cloaks and straw hats decked with wreaths of oak-leaves—tripped gaily along in advance of the Princess, strewing her path with flowers. At the railway station the party was greeted by crowds whose cheers betokened their desire to welcome the "Sea-King's daughter." When the Royal train reached London it stopped at the Bricklayers' Arms Station, which was gay with crimson drapery, and here a boudoir and ante-chamber for the travellers had been fitted up. Among the brilliant crowd of about 700 privileged persons who were admitted to the station were the Duke of Cambridge, the Prince of Prussia, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, the Count de Flandres, Sir George Grey, the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London, Sir Richard Mayne, Chief

Commissioner of Police, Mr. Layard, and others. Here the Royal party partook of luncheon, received some congratulatory addresses, and left the station at five minutes past two o'clock.

There was some fear lest the entry of the Princess into the capital would not be an unalloyed triumph. The officials of the Court had contrived to irritate the populace by several of their arrangements. The people were at first annoyed because they had been told the procession was to pass through the metropolis at a smart trot. Then the municipal dignitaries were greatly affronted because in the original plan they were to have no part in the procession. The reason given for this prohibition was that the Lord Mayor would necessarily have headed the pageant, but inasmuch as his unwieldy State coach must proceed at walking pace, his presence would have prevented the Royal carriages passing along at high speed. But when the Corporation met and expressed their anger at this interference with their prerogative, the Court officials yielded, and so it was arranged that the Lord Mayor and his train should head the procession as far as Temple Bar. But the moment the Princess appeared, her grace, her beauty, her charming simplicity of manners, carried all hearts by storm, and London was quite delirious with joyful excitement when she came on the scene. As the *cortège* left the station it was headed by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, and by the High Bailiff of Southwark, escorted by Horse Guards. Loyal crowds lined the *route*, which was decked with flags and triumphal arches. The officials of Southwark left the procession at London Bridge, which had been decorated in the most lavish manner by the Corporation. Venetian masts, surmounted by the Danish arms, medallions of the Danish Kings, tripods of incense, and banners innumerable were seen on all sides. Near Fishmongers' Hall, a huge triumphal arch, seventy feet high, spanned the roadway. It was a gorgeous but somewhat confused mass of allegory and symbolism, bearing statues of Saxo Grammaticus, Holberg, Thorwaldsen, and Juel; a group of horses in plaster crowning the whole structure. As for the centrepiece, it was a fearful and wonderful work of art, blazoned with gold and flaunting colours. Britannia, surrounded by all the Pagan gods and goddesses; a portrait of the Queen in widow's weeds; banners and heraldic devices and armorial escutcheons, all combined to make this structure unforgettable. In the City, it must be allowed, the local authorities rivalled the Court officials in their capacity for mismanagement. They refused all offers of assistance from the Horse Guards and the Home Office. Neither the Duke of Cambridge's Cavalry nor Sir Richard Mayne's Police were permitted to keep the crowds in order—that duty being entrusted to the City Police, the Honourable Artillery Company, and some Volunteers. Hence the streets were blocked up, and, according to Lord Malmesbury,* “if it had not been for the good temper of the people some terrible catastrophe must

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 294.

have occurred." At the Mansion House a brilliant group of ladies, of whom the Lady Mayoress was the central figure, was waiting in the portico to welcome the Princess. Here the procession paused, and a bouquet was presented to her Royal Highness. But whilst this ceremony was going on, the authorities lost control of the crowd, and dense masses began to press on the Royal carriages with such persistency, that the Danish dignitaries in the train of the Princess were thrown into a panic, which was, however, allayed by the presence of mind of the Prince of Wales. The procession then drove on



ENTRY OF THE PRINCESS ALEXANDRA INTO LONDON: THE PROCESSION PASSING TEMPLE BAR.

to Temple Bar, which was transformed into a grand triumphal arch, crowned with a tent of cloth of gold. At the corners smoking tripods sent up clouds of incense. Here the Civic dignitaries left the *cortège*, which was then headed by the High Steward of Westminster and other officials, who fell out at Hyde Park.

Clubland was in gala array, and the Princess seemed quite interested when Marlborough House was pointed out to her by the Prince as her future home. On the balcony at Cambridge House in Piccadilly Lord and Lady Palmerston were the most conspicuous figures in a group of aristocratic sightseers, and were honoured with gracious salutes from the Royal party. But of all the houses in Piccadilly that of Lord Willoughby d'Eresby was the most florid in its decoration.

It was decked with evergreens, flags of all nations, and numberless banners. The wall space under the drawing-room windows was draped with white and gold, and with blue hangings studded with golden stars. "We went," writes Lord Malmesbury, in his Diary, "to Lord Willoughby's house at a quarter before one to see the entry of the Princess. The houses along Piccadilly were decorated, with few exceptions, but I saw nothing really pretty except Lord Willoughby's and Lord Cadogan's. There were a good many people in the drawing-room. It was the coldest day we have had for a long time, no sun, with occasional showers, and we were half frozen standing on the balconies. The Duke of Cambridge rode by two or three times with his staff, and was greatly cheered. Lord Ranelagh passed at the head of his brigade of Volunteers. Then appeared the Royal carriages; and I was never more surprised or disappointed. The first five contained the suite and brothers and sisters of the Princess Alexandra; the carriages looked old and shabby, and the horses very poor, with no trappings, not even rosettes, and no outriders. In short, the shabbiness of the whole *cortège* was beyond anything one could imagine, everybody asking 'Where is the Master of the Horse?' The Princess kept bowing right and left very gracefully. The moment the procession had passed the crowds dispersed, but there were universal remarks and compliments on the Princess's beauty." * Through a double line of seventeen thousand Volunteers the procession drove to Paddington Station, and there the Royal Party took the train for Slough, where they were received by the Princes of Prussia and Hesse, and Princes Arthur and Leopold. Night was now closing in, and rain fell fast. To add to the discomforts of the travellers, the horses of the first carriage became restive. The leaders of the second turned right round on the wheelers, and great confusion prevailed. All the harness became entangled. "Altogether," writes Lord Malmesbury, "everything done by the Court authorities was bad." It was past ten o'clock when Eton was reached, the boys of the College cheering the Princess vociferously, after which the *cortège* was met and welcomed at the triumphal arch at Windsor by the municipal authorities. The shouts of the people and the loyal and royal town rang in the ears of the Princess as she drove into the Castle. Here she was received by the Queen and the Princesses Louise and Beatrice, who had been waiting anxiously for her coming.

Next morning (Sunday) the Queen, her family, and her guests attended service in the private chapel, where the Bishop of Oxford preached from the text "Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep." Wilberforce had to handle his theme with great delicacy and tact, because the Queen had been sadly annoyed by the carping criticism of some zealots of the High Church Party. They had taken offence because her Majesty had permitted her son to be married in Lent, and they even threatened to absent

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 294

themselves from all the national festivities that were to mark the event. The Queen had invoked Wilberforce's aid in pacifying these persons, and in a letter to the Bishop of Salisbury he writes as follows:—"I am *very* sorry for the time of the marriage, but everything possible has been done to get it changed, and in vain. I *think* the best thing now possible would be for the Archbishop to write a letter saying that for high State reasons, that time having been thought necessary, he, as Archbishop, thinks it his duty to express that he, so far as it is lawful for him to do so, dispenses for that day with the Church's ordinary rule, or add that all may, without scruple, legally devote it to rejoicing."* This advice, however, was not acted on. But Wilberforce issued a letter to each of his Archdeacons for the guidance of the clergy in his diocese, in which he said that "any rejoicing, to be real, must be on the day of the marriage." He held that the Archbishop's Episcopal authority gave him the right to abrogate the Lenten Fast for such an occasion, and he added that from communications he had received he considered "that the Primate had exercised his dispensing power."† Wilberforce's sermon, however, pleased and impressed his illustrious audience. In his "Diary," and in that of Dr. Macleod, some interesting facts of the Queen's life at this period are disclosed. After referring to the sermon on the 8th of March, Wilberforce writes: "Saw the Queen in the afternoon, and had much talk with her; always the Prince—expecting him in old places. Large dinner; after, presented to the Princess Alexandra; she *very* pleasing—such a countenance, mien, demeanour, and conversation!" Some days previously Dr. Macleod had visited her Majesty at Windsor, and she took him, with Lady Augusta Bruce and the Princess Alice, to the Mausoleum at Frogmore. "She (the Queen)," writes Dr. Macleod, "had the key, and opened it herself, undoing the bolts, and alone we entered and stood in silence beside Marochetti's beautiful statue of the Prince. I was very much overcome. She was calm and quiet. . . . I had a private interview at night with the Queen. She is so true, so genuine, I wonder not at her sorrow. To me it is quite natural, and has not a bit of morbid feeling in it. It but expresses the greatest loss that a Sovereign and wife could sustain."‡ The bridal festivities of the Princess were overcast to some extent by the cloud of melancholy which had settled on the Queen's heart.

But there was no lack of joyous display on the part of the public. On Monday, the 9th of March, the Lord Mayor of London and several members of the Corporation brought their wedding gift to the Princess—a diamond necklace

* Life of Bishop Wilberforce, Vol. III., p. 86.

† This letter did not satisfy all the clergy. Several of them challenged sharply Wilberforce's doctrine of the Archiepiscopal dispensing power, and indeed entangled him in controversial correspondence on the subject. Those interested in the matter will find Wilberforce's argument more fully elaborated in a letter quoted in his "Life," Vol. III., p. 87. He says he had discovered in his muniment box at Lavington such a dispensation to one of his own predecessors granted by Archbishop Laud.

‡ Life of Norman Macleod, D.D., Vol. II., p. 132.

and earrings worth £10,000. The Princess spent the day in driving about the neighbourhood of Windsor, and in the evening there was a splendid State banquet in St. George's Hall, followed by a party and a magnificent show of fireworks in the Home Park. On the 10th the marriage took place in the Chapel Royal at Windsor, in the presence of a brilliant assembly, the Queen—shrouded



THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

(From a Photograph taken about the time of her Marriage.)

in the deepest mourning—taking no part in the ceremony, which she watched with tearful eyes from the Royal closet. Shortly before noon the Archbishop of Canterbury, the assisting bishops and clergy, entered the Chapel—the prelates walking to the altar, the Archbishop to the north side, and the Dean of Windsor to the south. The Chapel was one mass of gorgeous colour, softened in tone by the rich light that streamed through the painted window of the choir. Massive sacramental plate of gold and silver, superb golden candlesticks,

alms-dishes, quaint and curiously-wrought chalices and patens, were heaped in a glittering pile on the altar. The reredos, hung with rich crimson velvet curtains, with its fine panels of Christ and the Woman of Samaria, the Ascension, and the Institution of the Holy Communion, shone with the virgin purity of white alabaster. Time and space would fail to catalogue the dazzling array of Royal and Princely guests, of Ambassadors and Ministers of State, whose resplendent uniforms and sparkling decorations almost fatigued the spectator's eye. The



MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, FROM THE GARDEN.

Princess Alexandra was clad in rich white satin robes, trimmed with Honiton lace and orange blossoms. Her necklace, earrings, and brooch of pearls and diamonds were a gift from the Prince of Wales; her *rivière* of diamonds was the gift of the Corporation of the City of London. On her wrists shone three bracelets—two being of opals and diamonds, one of which was given to her by the Queen, the other by the ladies of Manchester, whilst the third, of diamonds, was the gift of the ladies of Leeds. Her bouquet was a magnificent collection of orange blossoms, white rosebuds, lilies of the valley, and costly orchids, made up at Osborne in accordance with the Queen's directions, and throughout, the mass of floral bloom was relieved by sprigs of the myrtle which had served for the bridal bouquet of the Princess Royal. The design of the

four great flounces of Honiton lace on her robe was a sequence of cornucopiæ filled with roses, shamrocks, and thistles, arranged in festoons and interspersed with these national emblems.* As for the Prince of Wales, he wore a General's uniform, with the mantle of the Garter, the gold collar and jewel of that Order, and the decorations of the Golden Fleece and the Star of India. His chief supporters were the Crown Prince of Prussia, and the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-and-Gotha. The Princess was led in by her father, Prince Christian of Denmark, and the Duke of Cambridge, and her bridesmaids were eight unmarried daughters of Dukes, Marquises, and Earls, namely, Lady Victoria Scott, Lady Diana Beauclerk, Lady Elina Bruce, Lady Victoria Howard, Lady Emily Villiers, Lady Agneta Yorke, Lady Feodore Wellesley, and Lady Eleanor Hare. As the procession reached the altar, the band and organ performed Handel's march from *Joseph*. The choir next sang one of the late Prince Consort's chorales—Jenny Lind's sweet birdlike notes ringing high above all other voices. The Archbishop then read the service, and when the ring was placed on the finger of the Princess, distant guns thundered forth a salute, and the bells of Windsor rang out a peal of joy. After the benediction the Psalm was chanted with great solemnity, and the united processions of the bride and bridegroom left the Chapel, the choir singing Beethoven's Hallelujah Chorus from the *Mount of Olives*. At the Grand Entrance to Windsor Castle the bride and bridegroom and their train were received by the Queen, whose features bore traces of deep emotion, and were by her conducted to the Green Drawing Room and White Room, where the marriage was attested in due form by the Royal guests, the ecclesiastical dignitaries, the Ministers of the Crown, and M. de Bille, the Danish Minister. Breakfast was served in the Dining Room to the Royal guests, and in St. George's Hall to the company present at the ceremony, upwards of four hundred in number. The wedding cake on the table at St. George's Hall is said to have weighed eighty pounds. At four in the afternoon the Prince and Princess of Wales left for Osborne, amidst hearty cheers from loyal crowds, who greeted them as they drove along to the station.

Dr. Norman Macleod, describing the ceremony, says in his Diary, "Two things struck me much. One was the whole of the Royal Princesses weeping, though concealing their tears with their bouquets, as they saw their brother, who was to them but their 'Bertie' and their dear father's son, standing alone, waiting for the bride. The other was the Queen's expression as she raised her eyes to heaven, while her husband's chorale was sung. She seemed to be with him before the throne of God." The Bishop of Oxford, in a letter to Sir Charles Anderson, gives a less pathetic description of the scene. He writes:—"The ceremony was certainly the most moving sight I ever saw. The Queen, above all, looking down, added a wonderful chord of deep feeling to all the lighter notes of joyfulness and show. Every one behaved quite at their best. The

* Miss Tucker, of Branscombe, near Sidmouth, was the designer.



MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

Princess of Wales calm, feeling, self-possessed. The Prince with more depth of manner than ever before. Princess Mary's entrance was grand. The little Prince William of Prussia, between his two little uncles* to keep him quiet, both of whom—the Crown Princess told me—he bit on the bare Highland legs whenever they touched him to keep him quiet.”† There was, however, one jarring incident in the proceedings which irritated the Queen not a little, and to which reference is made by Lord Malmesbury and Count Vitzthum. Lord Malmesbury says in his Diary, “Nothing could exceed the splendour of the scene in St. George's Chapel. The foreigners were all much struck with it; it was so grand as to be overpowering. Mr. Paget confirmed all I had heard of the confusion on the departure of the special train for London. The Duchess of Westminster, who had on half a million's worth of diamonds, could only find place in a third class carriage, and Lady Palmerston was equally unfortunate. Count Livradio had his diamond star torn off and stolen by the roughs.” Count Vitzthum writes, “The confusion at the railway station when the special train was leaving was incomprehensible. We men were in full uniform, and the unfortunate ladies in full Court attire and covered with jewellery. It had never occurred to the police to close the entrances to the platform, and the returning guests were hemmed in by a noisy and disorderly crowd.”‡

In every part of the kingdom the 10th of March was kept as a national holiday. London and all the great cities were brilliantly illuminated—in fact, it was only in Ireland that the event was not marked by universal manifestations of popular loyalty. There was some rioting in Dublin and Cork; indeed, in the latter city, troops had to be called out to restore order. The appearance of Edinburgh on the evening of the 10th was particularly memorable, the “grey metropolis of the North” naturally lending itself to effective illumination. After a brief honeymoon at Osborne, the Prince and Princess of Wales returned to London. But Lord Malmesbury, who describes their entry to St. James's Palace, says, the scene struck him “as very melancholy, when one considered the cause of the Queen's absence.” A few days afterwards, he was invited to Windsor Castle. “The Queen,” he writes, “was quite calm and even cheerful, and looks well, but she complains of not feeling strong, and being unable to stand much.”

So far as the Queen was able to take an active interest in the management of the Foreign policy of the country, the only questions to which she paid close attention were those relating to Poland and the Duchy of Sleswig-Holstein. For two years rebellious agitators had disturbed Poland, and at last the Russian Government, in a moment of irritation, resolved to seize the youth of the upper

* Prince Arthur and Prince Leopold, who, as usual on such occasions, wore the picturesque Highland dress.

† Life of Wilberforce, Vol. III., p. 88. In this letter Wilberforce says he was quite charmed with the manner in which the Crown Prince of Prussia spoke of his wife. “Bishop,” said he, “with me it has been one long honeymoon.”

‡ Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 215.

and middle classes, who represented the discontented sections of the people, and drive them into the Imperial Army as conscripts. The rigour with which this measure was enforced roused a great deal of popular sympathy in England on behalf of the Poles, and strong pressure was put on the Government by the Tories, by some Radicals like Mr. Stansfeld, who were friendly to Continental revolutionary movements, and even by a large section of the Evangelical party, led by Lord Shaftesbury, to interfere on behalf of the Polish insurgents. For in February, 1863, the Committee of the Polish National Insurrection had issued its first proclamation, after which, Mieroslavski raised the standard of revolt on the Posen frontier. A pamphlet, called "*Napoleon III. et la Pologne*," had been published in Paris, under the auspices of the French Emperor, and it not only created a sensation on the Continent, but it roused the suspicions of the Queen. Palmerston's personal sympathies were naturally with the Poles. But, on the other hand, the Queen could not forget that the restoration of Poland was one of the many devices which the Emperor of the French had in reserve for upsetting the Treaties of 1815, in order to give him a pretext for seizing the left bank of the Rhine. It was not, therefore, from any sympathy for the Czar's autocratic policy of repression that the English Court was averse from encouraging the Polish insurrection, or that the King of Prussia and his Minister, Herr Von Bismarck, actively aided Russia in coercing the Poles by massing troops along the frontier of Posen, and delivering up Polish fugitives who fled to Prussian territory. The Courts of Berlin and St. James's alike dreaded a general European war — and to that issue the Queen honestly believed a policy of intervention must tend. For a time Lord Palmerston's Ministry tossed about aimlessly in a vortex of embarrassments. They were afraid to develop a policy of intervention, lest it might encourage an outbreak of anti-Russian opinion in England, and drive them into a war, with Napoleon III. as a self-interested ally. They were equally afraid that a policy of cold neutrality might be resented by the populace, whose sympathies were being roused daily on behalf of Poland. At last they sent a secret agent—Mr. Lawrence Oliphant—to Poland, to discover the real character of the revolutionary movement. His report was very discouraging to Lord Palmerston, but it strengthened the hands of the Queen. Mr. Oliphant found that the conscription enforced by Russia was really an act of precaution against an insurrection which had been carefully planned in secret, and was ordered and guided by a Central Committee of Social Democrats in London. The movement was not, therefore, a national one in its origin, though resistance to the conscription had drawn a large body of the nobles and the middle classes into the ranks of the insurgents. In order to free themselves from the dictation of the Socialists, they had made Langiewicz Dictator; but after a time he left them and fled to Austria. The Committee of Insurrection, which was then formed, had nothing to do with the Socialist Committee in London, and it was fighting, not for Constitutional reform under the Czar, but for the restoration of the Polish

Kingdom of 1772, an object of which England, as a party to the Treaties of 1815, could hardly approve. The insurgents had no military organisation or competent leaders, and they were carrying on guerilla warfare with the tenacity of despair.* As for the peasants, they had no reason to love their old tyrants, the nobles. For them the Government of the Czar was a lesser evil than the *régime* of 1772, and so they held aloof.† Still, some steps had to be taken to satisfy public opinion and ward off attacks in Parliament. Ministers accordingly decided to remonstrate gently with Russia—the excuse being that



CORRIDOR, OSBORNE HOUSE.

(After a Photograph by J. Valentine and Sons, Dundee.)

the Treaties of 1815 gave England a moral right of interference between Russia and Poland. The policy of France, on the other hand, was interference, not on the basis of the Treaties of 1815, which, the Emperor declared in his Speech to the Chambers, were dead, but in the interests of humanity outraged at the excesses which Poles and Russians were alike committing.

* For a curious account of Mr. Oliphant's Secret Mission, see Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., pp. 240, 241.

† English writers often draw an analogy between Ireland and Poland. There is the greatest difference between the position of the two nationalities. In Poland the Imperial Government has crushed the nobility, by taking sides with the peasantry. In Ireland the Imperial Government has striven to hold the country by allying itself with the territorial aristocracy. Had the peasants joined the nobles in Poland, Russia could not have resisted the demand for autonomy.

Austria, on the other hand, considered that she could only approach Russia as a neighbouring Power, like Prussia, possessing Polish subjects, whose institutions might with advantage be imitated in Russian Poland. The attitude of Prussia was that of declared friendliness to Russia.

Thus the Powers were grouped as before the Crimean War: England, France, and Austria in accord, but each with a different end to serve, and a different idea underlying their respective policies: Russia and Prussia, on the other hand, solidly in alliance. Ultimately, Lord Russell suggested on the 17th of June that Russia might submit the whole Polish Question to a Conference of the Eight Powers who had signed the Treaty of Vienna, on the basis of an understanding that there should be an amnesty, and an armistice, and that moderate constitutional reforms should be carried out in Poland. The weak point in the proposal was that Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell ignored the warning of their own secret agent to the effect that the Poles had no organised leadership. Russia was therefore able to ask ironically with whom did Lord Russell propose to negotiate an armistice? and how he did propose to guarantee obedience to it by migratory bands under guerilla chiefs? It was therefore the contention of Russia that surrender must precede any negotiations for peace, and that were it not for the hope of aid from France and England, the Poles would have long since ceased to resist. Russia, in a word, refused to accept the basis of negotiations. She offered, however, to discuss the affairs of Poland with Austria and Prussia—the other partitioning Powers—probably anticipating the refusal of Austria to separate herself from England and France. Finally, she declined to accept any foreign interference whatever in her domestic affairs. Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell meekly submitted to this rebuff, and concurred with France and Austria in remonstrating with Russia, on the grave responsibility she incurred in haughtily rejecting their good offices.

The speech of the Emperor Napoleon at the opening of the French Chambers has already been referred to. The sentences alluding to the Treaties of 1815, and to the summoning of a European Congress, not only to settle the Polish Question, but other questions affecting nationalities struggling to be free, soon received a practical comment, for in Paris the Funds fell with startling rapidity. A few days after the speech was delivered the Emperor addressed a circular to the Powers which fully justified the warnings that the Queen had given to her Ministers, from the day the Polish Question was raised. Napoleon, in fact, invited the Sovereigns of Europe to meet in Congress and settle the affairs of the Continent, and the tone of the circular, combined with the veiled threat of war in his speech, really transformed the invitation into a summons. Italy and Prussia accepted the proposal, the former because she saw in it an opportunity for wresting Venice from Austria. As for Lord Russell, he met the project with a refusal couched in terms that stung the French Emperor to the

quick. Writing on the 29th of November, Lord Malmesbury, in his "Diary," says, "Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald arrived from Paris, where he says the refusal of our Government to attend the Congress proposed by Napoleon, and especially the rude tone of Lord Russell's despatch, has created great irritation. The correspondence between the English and French Governments respecting the Congress is published in to-day's papers. Lord Russell's despatch is published in the *Gazette*, and I am not surprised that the French are angry; for not only is it very rude, but it was sent without the least delay, and published in the *Times* before it was delivered to Drouyn de Lhuys." * The despatches, however, merely reveal the customary combination of dogmatic argument with a supercilious affectation of infallibility, which gives a distinctive mark to all Lord Russell's diplomatic correspondence. Napoleon, too, had laid himself open to a rebuff by not sounding England on his proposal, before he sprang it on the world. Count Vitzthum says that the despatch was approved at a meeting of the Cabinet on the 19th of November, after which it was submitted next day to the Queen at Windsor, who, according to Lord Russell's statement to the Count, "had given her assent with pleasure to the refusal to take part in the Congress." † Still Napoleon was not without his consolations. In Mexico Forey's victories enabled the French to bring together a Mexican Assembly of their partisans, who recommended the establishment of a mimic Bonapartist Empire under the Archduke Maximilian. This unfortunate Prince consented to take the Crown, provided the Mexicans sanctioned his dynasty by a *plébiscite*.

Much more serious for the Queen was the rapid development of the Sleswig-Holstein Question, as to which her opinions were known in Society to be in undisguised conflict with those of her Ministers. The death of Frederick VII. and the succession of the father of the Princess of Wales to the Danish Crown rendered this question urgent.

* *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 308.

† *Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 261.

CHAPTER VII.

LORD PALMERSTON'S LAST CONTEST WITH THE QUEEN.

The Sleswig-Holstein Question—The Danish Succession—Palmerston's Partisanship—The "Danification" of the Duchies—The Letters-Patent of Christian VIII.—The Revolution of '48—The Sleswig-Holstein Treaty of Berlin—Salic Law in the Duchies—Palmerston's Intrigue with the Russian Ambassador—The Protocol of 1850—The Queen's Objections to it—Prince Albert's Advice to the Prince of Noër—The Treaty of London—Lord Malmesbury's Fatal Blunder—His Mistake as to the Mandate of the Diet—Letters-Patent of Frederick VII.—His Death—Accession of Christian IX.—Revolt of the Duchies—Proclamation of the Duke of Augustenburg as Sovereign—Mr. Gladstone's Popular Budget—Death of Sir George Cornwall Lewis—The Queen's Letter to Lady Theresa Lewis—The Dispute with Brazil—The Prison Ministers Bill—A South Kensington Job—Hoodwinking the Commons—A "Scene" in the House of Commons—A Ministerial Defeat—Sir George Grey and the City Police—The Civil War in America—Escape of the *Alabama*—Illegal Seizure of the *Alexandra*—Blockade Running—Proclamation Abolishing Slavery—Progress of the War—Net Results of the Campaigns.

LORD PALMERSTON is said to have declared that only one man in Europe knew all the history and details of the Sleswig-Holstein Question, and that his opinion about it seemed to be contrary to common sense. Since 1846 the problem had engaged the subtlest of European diplomatists and Jurisconsults in chronic controversy. The Kings of Denmark were also Sovereign Dukes of Sleswig-Holstein, and when they were absolute monarchs, the Germans in the Duchies were on the same footing as the Danes. They were equally in bondage. On the death of Frederick VI., in 1839, his great-nephew, Christian VIII., succeeded him as King of Denmark, and all the subsequent trouble rose from the fact that his only son, the Prince Frederick, was not likely to have an heir. The question of the succession was further complicated because the Salic Law which existed in the German Empire obtained in the Duchies of Sleswig and in Holstein—the latter, indeed, being actually one of the States of the Germanic Confederation. The Landgravine Louise of Hesse would, on the death of Prince Frederick, be the nearest heir to the Danish throne. But as the Salic Law excluded a woman from the Sovereignty of the Duchies, her succession must destroy the integrity of Denmark. It was of the utmost importance to Russia to preserve this integrity, because, in the first place, the Romanoffs had themselves claims to part of the Duchies, which, on the extinction of the Royal House of Denmark, might be extended over the whole country; and, in the second place, if the Duchies broke away from Denmark they would naturally be absorbed by Germany, which would thus gain not only a valuable seaboard, but the formidable naval station of Kiel, from which she might dispute Russian supremacy in the Baltic. Two leading ideas, therefore, are from this point seen to dominate diplomacy in treating the question of the Duchies. The first is the Teutonic idea, which was, by every legitimate means, to prevent the Duchies from being absorbed by Denmark, and to draw closer and closer their connection with Germany. The

second is the Slavonic idea, which was to maintain, at all costs, the integrity of Denmark, and as far as possible encourage the policy that promoted a closer union between her and the Duchies. In this conflict of diplomatic forces the policy of England was vacillating and inconsistent, and for an excellent



FREDERICK CHARLES, DUKE OF AUGUSTENBURG.

reason. Palmerston committed the fatal blunder of identifying British interests with the veiled designs of Russia, and he became a violent partisan of Denmark, whose policy was solely directed to what was called the "Danification" of the Duchies. On the other hand, the Queen had what Palmerston lacked—patience to master the complicated facts of the Danish question, and she became convinced that law and justice were on the side of the German Party in Sleswig-Holstein. The Prince Consort, again, was

perhaps the only eminent man of his time who detected the hand of Russia in the game of intrigue at Copenhagen, from which sprang the policy of absorbing the Duchies against their will. He had the sense to see that British interests could hardly depend on maintaining the integrity of a small State like Denmark against the will of its people, and against the public law of Europe, and with no other practical result than that of preventing Germany from establishing herself as a rival power to Russia in the Baltic. Prince Albert's death merely strengthened the Queen in her loyalty to his ideas—which in this instance were in harmony with her own conclusions. Hence, in 1863 and 1864, when the Danish Question became acute, the Queen and Lord Palmerston were in irreconcilable conflict, which explains why English policy seemed to the world at the time, a tissue of unintelligible inconsistencies. Happily for the English people, this conflict ended in the humiliating defeat of Palmerston—who, however, fought for his hand to the bitter end, with a courage and an obstinacy worthy of a better cause. No Tudor Sovereign ever strove more unweariedly and with more complete success than did the Queen at this time, to thwart the policy of her Minister, in the interests of peace, progress, and civilisation.

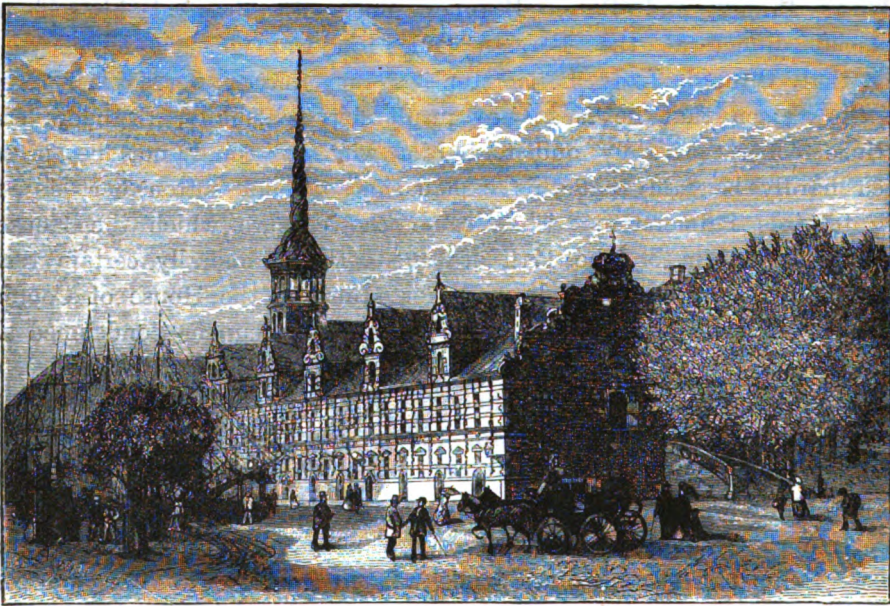
The first sign of trouble in the Duchies was given in 1846, when Christian VIII., as the Queen and Prince Consort knew, acting at the instigation of Russia, issued letters-patent extending the Danish law of female succession to all his dominions. These letters were a flagrant outrage on the public law of Europe, which excluded female sovereignty from his German provinces. Still Germany could only interfere on behalf of Holstein, which, as one of the States of the Germanic Confederation, was—as we have seen—under Salic Law. On the other hand, the German Party in the Duchies agitated against the letters-patent as an infringement of their autonomy; they demanded the union of the two Duchies, and their full and final absorption by the German Bund or Diet. The Diet, however, merely promised to defend their rights in Holstein, and vindicate the claims of all legal agnates in the succession to the Sovereignty of the Duchies. The death of Christian VIII. on the 20th of January, 1848, gave the German Party an opportunity for revolt. A Provisional Government was formed for the Duchies, and Prussia helped the Germans in Sleswig-Holstein to expel their Danish masters. The dispute dragged on till the 2nd of July, 1850, when a Treaty between Denmark and Prussia was signed at Berlin, vesting the Danish succession in Prince Christian of Sleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, and on his issue in the male line by his marriage with Louise, Princess of Hesse, heiress of the Crown of Denmark, who ceded to him all her rights. But the rights of the German Federation as regards Holstein and Lauenburg were not prejudiced by this Treaty. As for the heir to the Sovereignty of the Duchies under Salic Law—the Duke of Augustenburg—he sold his claims for 3,500,000 dollars. But obviously such a Treaty had no validity till it was sanctioned

by the German Diet, inasmuch as it changed the legal succession in Holstein. An acknowledgment of the principle of maintaining at all hazards the integrity of Denmark, to be of use, must therefore have European sanction. To pave the way for a Treaty embodying this sanction Russian diplomacy at once set to work, and, unfortunately, Palmerston's indiscretion at this juncture put him at the mercy of Baron Brunnow, the Russian Minister in London. It will be remembered that Palmerston's policy of coercing Greece to recover Don Pacifico's bad debts, had caused France to withdraw her Minister from London. But Russia took up the quarrel quite as fiercely as France, and Baron Brunnow not only absented himself from the official dinner at the Foreign Office on the Queen's birthday, but finding that, through Lady Palmerston's agency, means were taken to persuade the Queen that he meant to insult her personally, Brunnow called on Prince Albert privately and told him why he could not be present. It need hardly be said that this explanation did not soften her Majesty's feeling towards Palmerston. Then came the censure which the House of Lords passed on him on the 17th of June. It was morally certain that if Russia followed France in withdrawing her Minister, the House of Commons would have confirmed the censure of the Lords, whereupon—condemned alike by the Crown and by both Houses of Parliament, by the Tories, the Radicals, and the Peace Party—Palmerston's career must have ended. And every moment Brunnow's demand for his passports was expected. At this crisis Palmerston, says Count Vitzthum, "turned to the Russian Minister with the inquiry whether there were no means of reconciling the Cabinet at St. Petersburg. After some consideration, Brunnow proposed a bargain: 'Give us Denmark,' he said, 'and then we will give you Greece and forget the past.' Of course it was not a question of ceding the Danish Kingdom, but of converting it into a Russian dependency, and giving the Emperor Nicholas a prospect of obtaining the harbour of Kiel."* But how was this to be done? The first step was to get the integrity of Denmark affirmed as a European interest. Playing on Palmerston's ignorance, Brunnow invented Russian claims to the Duchies based on those rights to the Gottorp portion, which the Emperor Paul had surrendered. These claims, Brunnow said, would be revived by the Czar Nicholas when the Danish line of kings became extinct with the death of Frederick VII. At such a suggestion Palmerston entered quite eagerly into the project of settling the succession to the Danish Crown on the basis (1), of recognising the integrity of Denmark as a European interest; (2), of passing over all male heirs to the sovereignty of the whole Danish Kingdom, in favour of Prince Christian of Glücksburg, the husband of the female heir. The points in the game which Russian diplomacy scored were three. The bargain kept Kiel out of German

* Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 221.

hands, which were alone strong enough to hold it against Russia. By getting the integrity of Denmark recognised, Russia rendered it easy for her to demand the whole kingdom whenever the time came to revive the Czar's so-called claims to the Duchies as heir to the House of Gottorp. By getting the sovereignty of Denmark vested in Christian of Glücksburg, Russia contrived to seat on the Danish throne a Prince whose line of succession was not unlikely to fail.

When the bargain was struck France and Sweden recognised it. The



THE EXCHANGE, COPENHAGEN.

Czar, as usual, "answered" for Prussia and Austria, and it was embodied in the Protocol of the 4th of July, 1850. The Queen, however, objected most strenuously to the whole arrangement. She warned her Ministers that it arbitrarily set aside the legal rights of nineteen agnates nearer in succession to the childless Frederick VII. than Christian of Sleswig-Holstein-Glücksburg. The Prince Consort declared in one of his letters to Stockmar that it violated law, equity, and honour, and predicted that trouble would spring from it. "But," writes Count Vitzthum, "though he alone saw through the Russian game, he shrank from bringing the direct pressure of his influence to bear on the English Ministry in a matter which might expose him to the charge of sympathising too strongly with his Fatherland." Yet he seems to have taken very strong means privately to neutralise the policy of Palmerston and Brunnow. He advised the Prince of Noër, one of the nineteen agnates who were set aside, to protest formally against the settlement of the Danish succession, so that the idea of challenging it was at all events kept alive in

Germany. The Prince of Noër warned the Powers that he would only acquiesce in the new order of succession on condition of its being stipulated by an International Treaty, similar in principle to that of Utrecht, that the Czar of Russia should in no case be permitted to wear the Danish Crown. After the intrigue between Palmerston and the Russian Minister, it was of course impossible to put this condition, which would alone have protected



THE HARBOUR, COPENHAGEN.

British interests, into the Protocol, which was subsequently expanded into the Treaty of 1852 and signed by Lord Malmesbury. This Treaty was known as the Treaty of London (8th of May, 1852), and so completely did Palmerston in 1863-64 feel that his policy and prestige were bound up with it, that he dragged the country to the verge of war to uphold its provisions. When the Treaty of London was signed, an inexplicable blunder was made by the Tory Government. The document was legally worthless unless ratified by the German Diet. But Lord Malmesbury permitted himself to believe that Austria and Prussia signed it as mandatories of the Diet, whereas, as a matter of fact, they took care merely to sign it in their individual capacities, as independent States.

Other German States afterwards gave their sanction to it, but most of them with the reservation that the ratification of the Diet—that is, of Germany in her corporate capacity—should be obtained. Thus Palmerston's settlement of the Danish succession was a Treaty which settled nothing, because he and Lord Malmesbury had been reckless enough to take it for granted that Austria and Prussia, in signing it, acted on a mandate from Germany, which they had neither sought nor obtained.

The arrangement of 1852 not only changed the Danish succession, but before it was made Denmark pledged herself to fulfil all her obligations to the Diet in regard to Holstein, to respect the old autonomy and privileges of both Duchies, to maintain their union, and never to incorporate them into Denmark proper. Frederick VII., under the influence of the Democratic party and a meddlesome mistress, repeatedly violated these engagements. He was perpetually attempting to undermine the independence of the Duchies, and the Diet was perpetually protesting against his policy.* At last, in March, 1863, he issued decrees dissolving the union of Sleswig and Holstein, and practically incorporating them in Denmark. Frederick VII. died on the 15th of November, 1863, and the father of the Princess of Wales succeeded him as Christian IX. His first act, done under Democratic menaces at Copenhagen, was to decree that legislative power in respect to the common affairs of Sleswig and Denmark, was to be vested in the King and the Danish Rigsraad, and that no law passed by the Rigsraad was to be dependent upon the passing of a similar law by the legislatures of either Sleswig or Holstein. This completed the subjection of the Germans in the Duchies to the Danes, and the very day after Christian IX. ascended the throne they accordingly retaliated by disputing his right to rule over them. The young Duke of Augustenburg thereupon claimed the sovereignty of the Duchies. True, his father had surrendered his rights. But, it was argued, a hereditary sovereign cannot surrender hereditary rights without the consent of his heir-apparent—just as the owner of an entailed estate cannot sell it, without the consent of his heirs in tail. On the 21st of November the Holstein Legislature refused to swear allegiance to Christian IX., after which Saxony, Bavaria, Hesse, and other German States resolved to support the claim of the Duke of Augustenburg to Holstein, and the Prussian Chambers passed a resolution in favour of vindicating the rights of the Duchies and of the Augustenburg family. On the 27th of December the Duke of Augustenburg was proclaimed Sovereign of Sleswig-Holstein, and on the 30th he made his entry into Kiel. On the 31st the Danish Cabinet resigned, and a new Ministry was formed by Bishop Monrad. The question of the Succession, so far as the German Diet was concerned, was simple enough. For the Diet the Treaty of London had no existence. Therefore the Landgravine Louise of Hesse

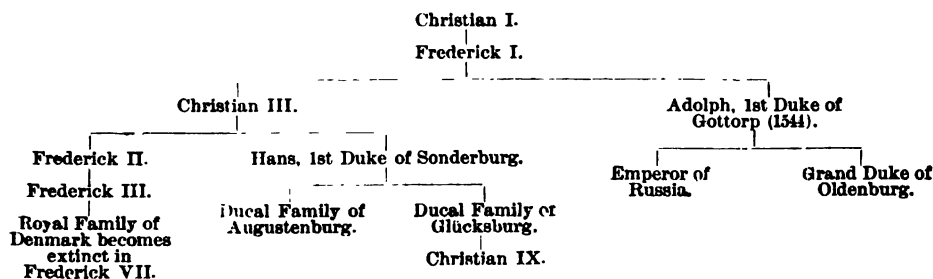
* Lowe's Life of Bismarck, Vol. I., p. 322.

was Queen of Denmark. As the Salic Law excluded her from the sovereignty of the Duchies, it was for the Diet purely an open question who had the best right to them.*

The domestic policy of the Government was not of much interest in 1863. Very early in the Session Mr. Gladstone introduced his Budget. The American War had sent the price of cotton up from 7d. to 2s. 1d. a pound, and trade was prostrate and stagnant in Lancashire. The agricultural wealth of Ireland from 1856 to 1860 had been, on the average, about £39,437,000 † a year. But in 1863 it had fallen to £27,327,000—a decrease of £12,000,000, a sum not far short of the established annual valuation of the country, which was but £13,000,000. Ireland and Lancashire ought therefore to have made havoc with Mr. Gladstone's estimates for the past year. So far from that being the case, the revenue, under the expansive influence of Free Trade, had risen to £67,790,000, or £805,000 over the estimates. ‡ The expenditure had been £69,302,000, or £806,000 less than the estimates. For the coming year Mr. Gladstone accordingly estimated a revenue of £71,490,000 on the existing basis. Hence he had in view a surplus of £3,741,000, so that he saw his way to lessen the pressure of taxation on the people. He therefore reduced the Income Tax from 9d. to 7d. in the pound, readjusting its incidence so as to give more relief to small incomes. He reduced the tea duty to 1s. in the pound, and equalised the duties on chicory and coffee, but his attempts to levy Income Tax on public charities and trust corporations were defeated § after a somewhat acrid controversy. Mr. Gladstone's argument was that their corrupt management really deprived most of the rich incorporated charities of a right to an appeal *ad misericordiam*. He, however, pressed his point too far. His lurid picture of their administrative abuses tempted people to doubt whether the penal imposition of a sevenpenny Income Tax was the best means of dealing with such gigantic evils.

The lamented death of Sir George Cornwall Lewis in April not only brought confusion into the Cabinet, but it deprived the Queen of a valued

* The position of the chief claimants in the Succession may be illustrated in this way.



† This is calculated on the basis of the oats, wheat, and potato crop, with one-third the actual value of the total: the live stock added to represent the value of stock for the given current year.

‡ Customs and Income Tax showed an increase, but there was a decrease on Excise.

§ This cost the revenue a loss of £216,000.

friend, whose services she could ill afford to lose. "To me, dear Lady Theresa," the Queen says in a letter to Sir George's widow (15th April), "this is a heavy loss, a severe blow! My own darling had the very highest esteem, regard, and respect for dear Sir Cornwall Lewis; we delighted in

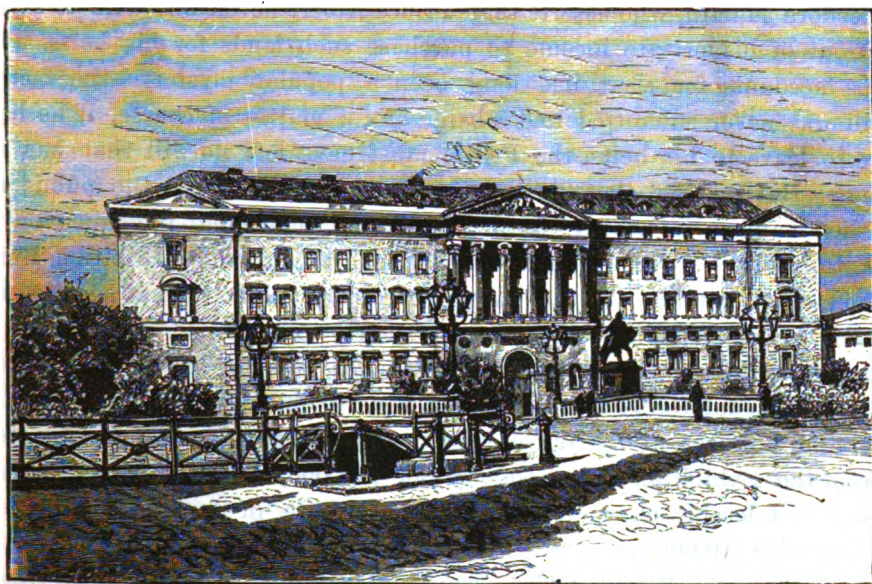


GENERAL GRANT.

his society; we admired his great honesty and fearless straightforwardness. We had the greatest confidence in him, and since my terrible misfortune, I clung particularly to characters like his, which are so rare. I felt he was a friend, and I looked to him as a support, and a wise and safe counsellor. He is snatched away, and his loss to me and to the country is irreparable. How little did I think, when I talked to him the last time here, and he spoke so kindly of my popularity, as he so kindly expressed it, that I should never

see his kind face again.”* He was leader of “the Court Party” in the Cabinet, and was succeeded at the War Office by Earl de Grey.

Only one question provoked anything resembling a party division during the Session, and that was the Prison Ministers Bill. The object of the measure was to allow prisoners to be attended by clergy of their own denominations and persuasions. As the Roman Catholics would derive most benefit from the Bill, it was opposed warmly by a powerful body of the Tory Party. The Liberals naturally supported the measure, and on this occasion they were joined by a few of the more enlightened Conservatives,



CHRISTIANSBORG CASTLE, COPENHAGEN.

such as Lord Derby, Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Henley, and Sir John Pakington. As Mr. Disraeli was at the time favouring an intrigue for detaching the Roman Catholic Party from the Liberals, it was with ill-concealed chagrin that he listened to the bigoted attacks of his followers on the Bill, which was, however, passed. The suspension of amicable relations with Brazil,† the vote for the purchase of the Exhibition Buildings, the reorganisation of the London

* Quoted by Sir T. Martin in his *Life of the Prince Consort*, Ch. CVIII.

† When the British ship *Prince of Wales* was wrecked in June, 1861, on the coast of Rio Grande, it was reported that the crew had been murdered. A demand was made by the English Foreign Office on Brazil for compensation. Mr. Christy, the British Minister, happened to be an imitator of Palmerston's hectoring manner of negotiating with weak Powers. His demands were rejected by Brazil because the compensation claimed was monstrous, and because he sought to impose conditions which were not compatible with the dignity and honour of an independent State. Reprisals were then ordered to be made. In the first instance it seems the Brazilian Government had been guilty of negligence. But Mr. Christy's high-handed action soon put England in the wrong.

police, and the attitude of the Government to the belligerents in the American Civil War, were the only other topics that created serious or practical Parliamentary discussion.

The vote for the purchase of the Exhibition Building of 1862 was extremely unpopular, and but for the Queen's influence it would probably have been rejected by the House of Commons. The country even then viewed with strong suspicion the tendency to centralise all National collections in the distant Court suburb of Kensington. It was also insinuated that the Royal Family had pecuniary interests in building land, the value of which would be enhanced by creating a Science and Art Department in this quarter. That insinuation is contradicted by Sir Theodore Martin, who asserts that Prince Albert never was able to save any money out of his private income to purchase such lands for his heirs.* This perhaps accounts for what has long been a popular mystery—the fact that his will was never submitted to Probate. As a matter of course, if he had no money to leave to his heirs, the Prince must have left no will that was worth proving. But in 1863 these insinuations had sunk deep in the public mind, and the manner in which Lord Palmerston managed the question gave colour to them. He knew that the proposal to buy the Exhibition Building of 1862 was hateful to the taxpayers. The edifice was architecturally unfit for the reception of a permanent national collection of paintings, and its distance from London rendered all schemes for transferring to it the pictures from the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square objectionable in the extreme. Palmerston, however, at the outset disarmed his critics by proposing merely to buy from the Exhibition Commissioners, for £67,000, the site of the Exhibition, and it was tolerably cheap for a metropolitan site, in days when land in the City fetched £119,000 an acre. This site, he said, was wanted for a building to house the new Patent Office, some natural history collections from the British Museum, and for a National Portrait Gallery. Then he asked the House of Commons to vote £120,000 for the purchase of another "lot" of seventeen acres belonging to the Commissioners adjacent to the Exhibition site, and, finally, he desired it to vote £80,000 for the building itself. Very artfully he had the votes put separately, and Mr. Gladstone aided him by positively assuring the House that the project of buying the building—which was universally unpopular—was one quite apart from the other projects. By a vote of 267 to 135 the House agreed, but grudgingly, to the purchase of the ground, intending to fight the taxpayers' battle on the question of buying the building. When, however, they came to the vote for the building, Mr. Gladstone informed them they had no option but to purchase it, for the contractors were under no obligation to remove it—a fact which Lord Palmerston had carefully concealed from the House. Members were thus in possession of a site burdened with a useless building which it was nobody's business to

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXI.

remove. If the Government pulled it down, and then put up another structure in its place, the operation would cost much more than the £105,000 which were needed to buy and adapt it to public uses. The House was furious at finding itself trapped by Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone. Bitter complaints of Courtly jobbery were heard on all sides, and a Ministerial defeat was the result. Lord Malmesbury, writing on the 5th of July in his "Diary," says:—"Several people called, who told me that the scene in the House of Commons when the division took place on the vote for the purchase of the Exhibition Building was extraordinary. Sir Stafford Northcote's speech* was the signal for a storm, and he was forced to sit down. Disraeli had canvassed his supporters, telling them that he had a letter in his pocket from the Queen. This had a disastrous effect, and when he got up the hooting was so terrific that he could not be heard. Gladstone's speech had already excited great indignation, for it showed how completely the Government had deceived the House when Lord Palmerston had induced them to vote for the purchase of the land, leaving them under the delusion that the contractors for the Exhibition were bound to remove the building if it was not sold within a certain time. Gladstone had told them that there was no engagement of the sort, and that he believed they were not obliged to remove it at all. This, whether true or not, was taken as a menace to force them to buy the building, and infuriated the House of Commons the more, as Lord Elcho proved that the purchase would be a most disadvantageous one, entailing an enormous expense. So the House rose *en masse*, and, after a scene of the utmost confusion and excitement, defeated the Government by more than two to one, Gladstone and Disraeli looking equally angry."† It need hardly be said that Mr. Disraeli's indiscreet use of the Queen's name in this questionable transaction was unwarranted and unwarrantable.

The inefficiency displayed by the City Police at the entry of the Princess Alexandra into London tempted Sir George Grey to propose that the Metropolitan and City Forces should be amalgamated under the control of the Home Office. This was hotly opposed. The Lord Mayor and Mr. Alderman Sidney protested against a scheme for giving the Home Secretary control of what might become a large standing army in the City of London.‡ Other members raised the cry of "centralisation," and denounced the measure as an attack on the principle of local self-government. It was now the turn of London to be assailed, but Manchester and Birmingham and all other powerful cities would soon share the fate of the Metropolis. All over England municipal bodies naturally made common cause with the City of London, and it was soon apparent that the Government must either bend or break. Luckily it was

* Sir Stafford was denounced as one of the Exhibition clique. He moved the reduction of the vote by £25,000—the amount estimated for altering the building—as a compromise.

† Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., pp. 299—300

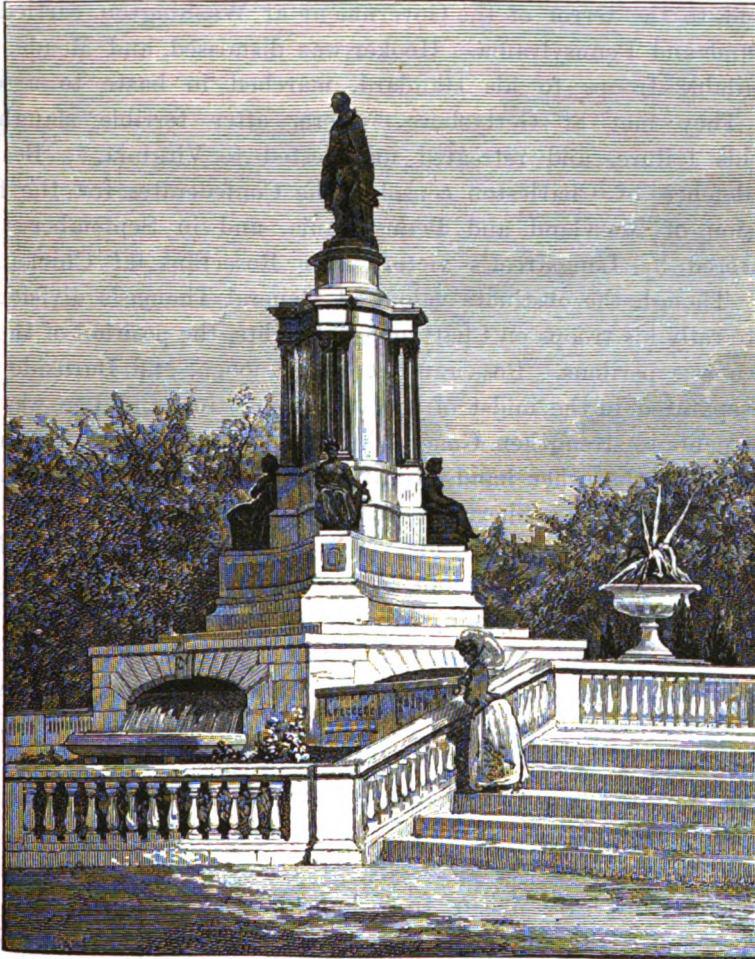
‡ The strength of the City Police was 1,000 men.

discovered that the Bill was not a public but a private Bill, and, as such, subject in respect of notices to certain Standing Orders which had not been obeyed. This omission gave Sir George Grey a technical excuse for withdrawing it.

Vigorous efforts were made during 1863 to induce the Government to recognise the Southern Confederacy, but they were made in vain. Mr. Roebuck, in the House of Commons, proposed a motion in favour of recognition, alleging that in an interview with Napoleon III. he had discovered that France would co-operate with England for that purpose — nay, he warned Lord Palmerston that France might recognise the South without waiting for our co-operation. The Tory Party, though strongly sympathising with Mr. Roebuck's views, were restrained by their leaders from harassing the Cabinet, and it was the general feeling that Ministers should be left quite free to act. As for the Government, through Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell, it repeatedly declared that it was bent on adhering to a policy of scrupulous neutrality. But this was a matter of some difficulty. Many Englishmen had engaged in the lucrative trade of blockade - running. When their vessels failed to pass the Federal cordon round the Southern ports, and were seized, their owners, as Lord Russell said, "put on an air of injured innocence, and came to the Foreign Office demanding redress." In Parliament, too, their friends attacked Ministers for meekly submitting to violations of International Law by officers of the Federal Navy, and the investigation of these cases, especially when the seizures were of doubtful legality, raised many irritating controversies between the two Governments. Swift - armed cruisers were built in English ports for the Confederate States, and then taken out to sea, and fitted with their guns and armaments. The difficulty of preventing their escape — at all times serious — was aggravated by the uncertain state of English law on the subject. One of these cruisers, the *Alabama*, had been allowed to sail from the Mersey, and had committed fearful depredations on Federal commerce. The American Government alleged that her escape was due to Lord Russell's culpable negligence. The truth was that the Government meant to arrest the *Alabama*, but owing to the temporary mental derangement of the Judge Advocate-General there was delay in going through certain legal formalities, and before this was overcome the ship had put out to sea. On the other hand, when another vessel of the same class—the *Alexandra*—was seized, her seizure was pronounced illegal by the English Law Courts. Lord Russell's action was either too slow or too quick, and in each case it served to irritate both North and South. But the country gave the Government a generous support, recognising their sincerity in endeavouring to maintain a neutral policy, in spite of the pressure which was put upon them by Southern partisans.

In America the war dragged slowly on. On the 1st of January Mr. Lincoln's Proclamation abolishing slavery in the rebel States took effect, but without producing a servile insurrection, as was anticipated. After

the drawn battle of Murfreesborough, with which the year 1862 closed, and the Federal defeat at Fredericksburg, the efforts of the North were chiefly directed against Charleston. In April Admiral Dupont was repulsed in an attack on the harbour, and in summer Admiral Dahlgren resumed siege operations, but without success. In May General



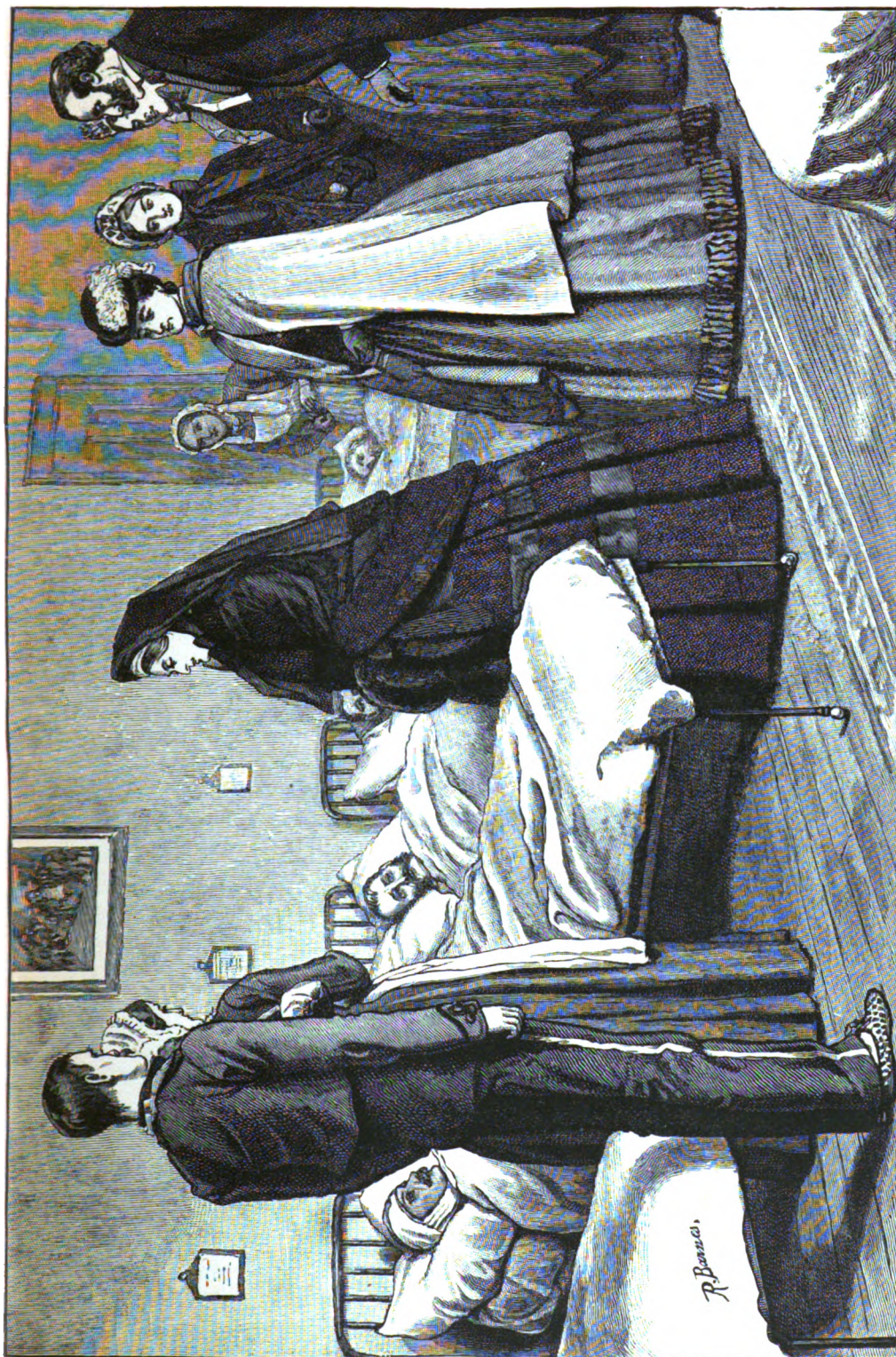
MEMORIAL OF THE GREAT EXHIBITION IN THE ROYAL HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY'S GARDENS, SOUTH KENSINGTON.

Hooker led the Army of the Potomac across the Rappahannock, and took up positions above and below that held by the Confederates at Fredericksburg. Lee, by a rapid movement westward, crushed Hooker's force at Chancellorsville, and then suddenly doubling back easily defeated Sedgwick's division which had occupied Fredericksburg. The Army of the Potomac retraced its steps across the Rappahannock, and Richmond was no longer menaced. On the 4th of July Grant captured Vicksburg after a series of

brilliant operations, and then Port Hudson surrendered to Banks. This was a great gain for the Federals, for not only did they clear the Mississippi of rebels, but the powerful garrisons, with their material of war, which President Davis had, by an inconceivable blunder, shut up in the river forts, fell into their hands. At the beginning of summer Lee outflanked Hooker, defeated Milroy on the Shenandoah, and then, by a daring movement, crossed the Potomac, and, to the terror of the Government at Washington, carried the war into Maryland and Pennsylvania. Hooker was dismissed, and Meade, summoning all available troops to his standard, marched in haste to arrest Lee's progress. They met at Gettysburg, where, after terrible slaughter, Lee confessed his failure, and retreated unmolested to Virginia.* Beauregard's successful defence of Charleston consoled the Confederates for the failure of Lee's invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania, and in September they were further cheered by Longstreet's victory over Rosecrans at Chickamauga in Tennessee. Though the obstinate valour of General Thomas's division enabled Rosecrans to rally his troops on Chattanooga heights, the position of the Federals in Tennessee was perilous. Rosecrans at Chattanooga, and Burnside at Knoxville, were separated in the midst of a hostile population, and Lee was hurrying on reinforcements to strengthen General Bragg, who was threatening the Federal Commanders. On the other hand, Grant, who had the chief command in this region, was reinforced by Sherman, and he determined to attack Bragg as the easiest way of relieving Burnside. This he did on the 23rd of November at Missionary Ridge, his plan being to overwhelm Bragg's right by hurling masses of Sherman's troops against it till he broke it up. When Sherman was repulsed, the Federals then attacked the left centre of the Confederate position, compelling Bragg to retreat to the frontier of Georgia. Grant then fell back on Chattanooga, Burnside holding his entrenchments at Knoxville, from which Longstreet drew off his forces. Thus, though the Northern campaign in Virginia was unsuccessful, the Federals were masters of the Mississippi and of Tennessee when the year closed. The Confederate Government, failing to induce Lord Russell to recognise the Southern States, withdrew their envoy, Mr. Mason, from London.

In early summer (8th May) the Queen and the Princess Alice paid a visit rather unexpectedly to Netley Hospital, the foundation-stone of which had been laid seven years before by the late Prince Consort. She visited ward after ward, conversed with the invalided soldiers in a soft, low voice, questioning

* Sir Francis Hastings Doyle tells a curious story which he obtained from an American officer, whose authority he vouches for as good, which throws some light on Lee's failure, which was one of the turning-points of the war. One of his subordinate generals — "a hot-tempered, impetuous man" — received a document from Lee containing the plan of invasion, and giving him orders to carry it out. Something in these irritated him. He tore up the letter in a rage, and flung the pieces on the ground. The moment his troops moved on, the pieces were all picked up by a Northern partisan, pasted together, and conveyed to the enemy.—*Reminiscences and Opinions of Sir F. H. Doyle*, p. 340.



VISIT OF THE QUEEN TO NETLEY HOSPITAL. (See p. 179.)

the officials about their cases, and even penetrated to the married men's quarters, where she carefully inquired into the comfort of the soldiers' wives and their families. One of the men, in whose case she had interested herself, was dying, and in broken accents exclaimed, as she went away, "I thank God that He has allowed me to live long enough to see your Majesty with my own eyes." On the 9th of June the Queen and the younger members of her family came to town from Windsor to inspect privately the memorial of the Great Exhibition—which also took the character of a memorial to the late Prince Consort—in the Royal Horticultural Society's Gardens at Kensington. It was inaugurated next day by the Prince and Princess of Wales, attended by a company of ladies and gentlemen from the Court.

On the 12th of June the Queen received an extraordinary address on the birthday of the late Prince Consort from the ballast-heavers of the Port of London, which touched her very deeply. In it they said, "Before he (Prince Albert) came to our aid we could only get work through a body of riverside publicans and middlemen, who made us drink before they would give us a job, made us drink while we were at it, and kept us waiting for our wages, and drinking after we had done our work, so that we could only take half our wages home to our families, and that half too often through a drunkard's hands." The Prince, it seems, on getting an appeal from them, privately persuaded the Government to insert a clause in the Merchant Shipping Act putting these men under the control of the Corporation of Trinity House. Then he used his influence in the Corporation to pass rules for the employment of ballast-heavers, which met most of their grievances, and he even gave them a house where they might wait for work, supplied it with papers and books, and helped them to start a benefit society. The men said in their address that they were in the habit of celebrating their deliverance from bondage by an annual treat on the Queen's birthday, and they added, "Your Majesty will not wonder that we then think with equal gratitude of our deliverer. He year by year asked after us, and rejoiced to hear of our improvement while he lived on earth." They were, however, desirous of having a portrait of the Prince to hang in their room, and begged the Queen to give them one. "We hope," they said, "your Majesty will excuse our boldness in asking this favour, but we feel we may speak to our Prince's wife; and, therefore, praying you to grant our humble request, we are your Majesty's most obedient and faithful servants." The Queen's answer came from her heart. It was as follows:—

"WINDSOR CASTLE, June 12.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have had the honour to lay before her Majesty the Queen the address from the ballast-heavers of the Port of London, which you have forwarded to me for presentation. Her Majesty has been deeply touched by this spontaneous testimony to the active benevolence of her beloved husband, and amongst all the tokens of sympathy in her grief, which she has gratefully received from all classes of her people, no one has been more gratifying to the Queen, and no one more in harmony with her feelings, than the simple and unpretending tribute from these honest, hard-working men. I am commanded to request that

you will assure the ballast-heavers that the interest in their welfare, so especially displayed by him whose life was employed in endeavouring to benefit the people of this country, is fully shared by her Majesty, and that her Majesty rejoices to hear of the happy change in their moral and social condition. The Queen has the greatest pleasure in complying with the request contained in the address, and has ordered two prints of the Prince Consort, one in uniform and one in ordinary dress, to be framed and presented, to be hung in the room in which the ballast-heavers wait; to these her Majesty has added one of herself, as the Queen would wish, in the remembrance of these grateful men, to be associated with her great and good husband, whose virtues they have so highly and justly appreciated.

"Fredk. J. Furnivall, Esq."

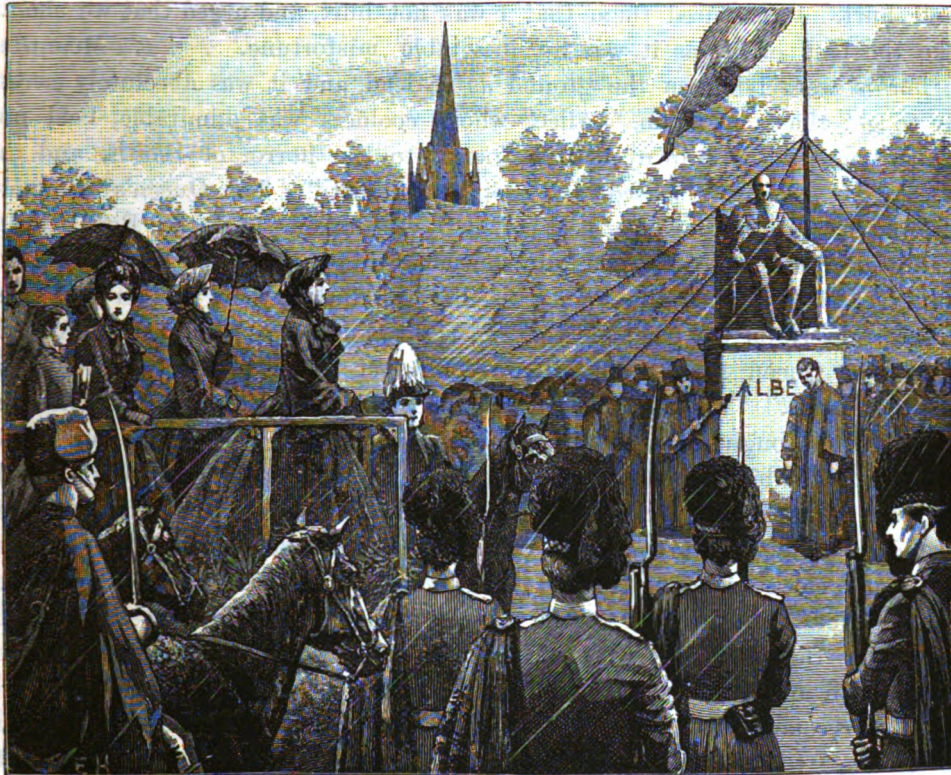
"Believe me, sincerely yours,

"C. B. PHIPPS."

Nor was this the only occasion during the year on which the Queen manifested her vigilant interest in the lot of her poorer subjects. In July a wretched woman named Geneive had been forced by her husband to walk on a rotten tight rope, suspended thirty yards above the ground, at a Foresters' Fête in Aston Park, Birmingham. The rope broke, and the poor creature, who was far advanced in pregnancy, was dashed to pieces in the most shocking manner. Yet the fête was continued, the Committee callously determining "to go on with the programme, omitting the dangerous parts." On the 25th of July the Mayor of Birmingham was somewhat startled to receive from Sir C. B. Phipps a letter in the following terms:—"The Queen has commanded me to express to you the pain with which her Majesty has read the account of a fatal accident which has occurred during a fête at Aston Park, Birmingham. Her Majesty cannot refrain from making known through you her personal feelings of horror that one of her subjects—a female—should have been sacrificed to the gratification of the demoralising taste, unfortunately prevalent, for exhibitions attended with the greatest danger to the performers. Were any proof wanting that such exhibitions are demoralising, I am commanded to remark that it would be at once found in the decision arrived at to continue the festivities, the hilarity, and the sports of the occasion after an event so melancholy. The Queen trusts that you, in common with the rest of the townspeople of Birmingham, will use your influence to prevent in future the degradation to such exhibitions of the Park which was gladly opened by her Majesty and the beloved Prince Consort, in the hope that it would be made serviceable for the healthy exercise and rational recreation of the people." The Mayor explained that when he became a patron of the fête he did not know that a dangerous exhibition was contemplated, and though Aston Park was outside his jurisdiction, he promised to use his influence to prevent such exhibitions from being held there in future.

On the 11th of August the Queen left London for Antwerp, from which she proceeded to Laeken with the King of the Belgians. From Belgium she went on to Gotha, where she stayed at the Castle of Rosenau till the 7th of September. On the 8th of the month her Majesty journeyed to Kranichstein, near Darmstadt, and spent the day with the Princess Louis of

Hesse. Leaving at night, the Queen was in Antwerp early next morning (9th), and on the 10th at Greenhithe, whence the *Fairy*, steam tender to the royal yacht, conveyed her to Woolwich. Driving to Nine Elms, she took train to Windsor, greatly pleased by the hearty greetings she received from crowds of people at the chief stations on the way. The autumnal holiday was, as usual, spent at Balmoral, where a kindly and sympathetic family party



THE QUEEN UNVEILING THE STATUE OF PRINCE ALBERT AT ABERDEEN.

gathered round the Queen. Prince Louis of Hesse and the Princess (Alice) stayed with her at the Castle. The Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia, with their family, were lodged hard by at Abergeldie. The Princess Louis of Hesse devoted herself to her mother, and with characteristic energy endeavoured to dispel the heaviness of heart which was again settling on her. For this purpose she urged the Queen to resume the old open-air life among the mountains, from which she had derived incalculable benefit in times past. The Princess therefore organised an expedition to Clova, which her mother was induced to join. The party consisted of the Queen, the Princess Louis of Hesse, the Princess Helena, the Queen's coachman, Smith, and her gillie, John Brown, and "Willem," a little black page-boy in the service of the Princess Louis. The excursion was marred by an alarming accident which

befell the party on the way home. The coachman lost his way in the dark, and about two miles from Altnagiuhasach the carriage was upset—the Queen being flung violently on her face to the ground. “Alice,” writes the Queen in her “Journal,” was “soon helped up, by means of tearing all her clothes to disentangle her; but Lenchen (Princess Helena), who had also got caught in her dress, called out very piteously, which frightened me a good deal, but she was also got out with Brown’s assistance, and neither she nor Alice was at all hurt. I reassured them that I was not hurt, and urged that we should make the best of it, as it was an inevitable misfortune. . . . Meantime the horses were lying on the ground as if dead, and it was absolutely necessary to get them up again. Alice, whose coolness was admirable, held one of the lamps while Brown cut the traces, to the horror of Smith, and the horses were speedily released, and got up unhurt.” The Queen’s common-sense advice to “make the best of it” was taken, and the Royal party encamped in this desolate mountain solitude, while Smith was sent on to get another carriage. Then the Princesses discovered that their mother had been bruised severely on the face, and that her right thumb was sprained. “A little claret,” the Queen says, “was all we could get either to drink or wash my face and hands.” Luckily, the groom, who had gone on in front with the “shelties,” or rough little mountain ponies, which the Queen and her family use for hill climbing, got alarmed at their long absence, and he very sensibly rode back to see if any accident had happened. When he came up the Queen insisted on mounting at once and riding all the way home, which she reached after ten o’clock at night, to find the Crown Prince of Prussia and Prince Louis of Hesse at the door of the Castle anxiously looking out for her. A week after this accident (13th of October) the Queen was present at the inauguration of Marochetti’s statue to the Prince Consort at Aberdeen. “I could not reconcile it to myself,” she said, in replying to an address from the subscribers, “to remain at Balmoral while such a tribute was being paid to his (Prince Albert’s) memory, without making an exertion to assure you personally of the deep and heartfelt sense I entertain of your kindness and affection, and at the same time to proclaim in public the unbounded reverence and admiration, the devoted love, that fills my heart for him whose loss must throw a lasting gloom over my future life.” It was a mournful ceremony for the Queen, whose emotion was so great that she had to depute Sir George Grey, the Minister in attendance, to read her reply. Dense crowds of people filled the streets, but forbore to cheer, greeting the Royal widow merely with silent and respectful sympathy. In a letter to the Lord Provost of the city, the Queen, on her return to Balmoral, assured him how fully she appreciated the consideration which was shown for her feelings, not only by those who took part in the ceremony, but by the townspeople generally, “on an occasion which was one of severe and painful trial” for her. During the months of September and October the Princess Louis of Hesse was in attendance on the

Queen, who was much cheered and benefited by her affectionate companionship. But her visit came to an end in October, when the Princess, in a letter to her Majesty written from Buckingham Palace, on her way to Darmstadt, says of her sojourn, "It was such a happiness to speak to you, and in return to hear all you had to say, to try and soothe you, and try to make your burthen lighter. . . . I can only say again, trust, hope, and be courageous, and every day will bring something in the fulfilment of your great duties which will bring you peace and make you feel that you are not forsaken, that God has heard your prayer, felt for you as a loving Father would, and that dear papa is not far from you."* The 14th of December—the anniversary of the Prince Consort's death—was passed in deep seclusion by the Queen at Windsor. As the year closed the country was relieved of all anxiety as to the Cotton Famine in Lancashire. The crisis had, indeed, passed early in summer, and the nation no longer feared that the calamity would prove unmanageable. The history of the Cotton Famine may be termed a history of agreeable disappointments. It was predicted that the prostration of trade in Lancashire would deal a mortal blow at English commerce—that the revenue would dwindle to a vanishing point—that the problem of sustaining vast masses of pauperised labour, whose pauperism must be but the harbinger of general bankruptcy among their employers, would prove insoluble—that their starvation would breed pestilence and lead to outbreaks of violence and crime, ending with seditious attacks on the Government and all institutions that upheld law and order. Already it has been shown that commerce, so far from declining, flourished apace during 1862-63, and that the revenue increased so rapidly that Mr. Gladstone actually remitted taxes.

The problem of relieving the distress was solved with ease and simplicity. There were no epidemics of pestilence, and, save in Stalybridge, no riotous disturbances. The noble resignation, the heroic patience of the sufferers, and their perfect confidence in the sympathy and the helpfulness of their countrymen, in fact compelled the admiration of the civilised world. In the month of December, 1862, there were 500,000 cotton operatives receiving relief in Lancashire, and the loss in wages from lack of employment was estimated at £168,000. Cotton then came in, though in small quantities, and some mills were able to run. Emigration and the transference of labour to other employments also relieved the pressure, so that in June, 1863, only 256,000 persons were receiving relief in the afflicted districts. At the end of the year this number was reduced to 180,000. So far from the health of the people suffering, it rather improved. There was less infant mortality than usual in the cotton districts, possibly because female operatives, being thrown out of work, were able to devote more attention to their children.† Enforced

* Alice: Grand Duchess of Hesse, Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 58.

† The Registrar-General, in his Quarterly Report of 30th April, 1863, says: "On comparing the returns of the deaths in the eleven divisions. with one exception the deaths were more numerous last

sobriety gave the people more power to resist disease, and sanitary precautions which, at the instance of the Executive Committee in Manchester, were taken by local authorities also tended to keep the villages wholesome. The funds by which distress was relieved came from special local rates levied by consent of Parliament in the unions; from loans raised by local authorities



SIR CHARLES PHIPPS.

under Parliamentary sanction, and spent on public works which gave employment to the operatives; and, last of all, from voluntary subscriptions, which were sent from all quarters of the world. At first it was thought that little could be expected from the cotton districts themselves. "Lancashire," said Mr. Cobden to Lady Hatherton, "with its machinery stopped is like a man in a fainting fit. It would be as natural to attempt to draw money

quarter than in the March quarter of 1862; and the single exception is found in that division where the staple industry, on which half-a-million of persons are dependent, is overthrown, and for a twelvemonth four-fifths of that number have subsisted, unless the pittance has been aided by previous earnings, or sale of household stock, on less than 4d. a day."

from the one as blood from the other."* But in one form or another, in voluntary contributions, rates, loss of wages, depreciation of fixed capital, business losses, Lancashire spent an aggregate of £12,445,000 in coping with the Cotton Famine. Lancashire, indeed, raised £1,400,000 of the voluntary contributions received up to April, 1863, which came to £2,735,000. The work of administration was chiefly centred in the Executive Committee at Manchester, the President of which was the Earl of Derby. The



THE ALBERT BRIDGE, WINDSOR.

voluntary labour at their command must have been very great, for the cost of administration came only to 15s. for every £100. What was afterwards called "the Conservative reaction" in Lancashire set in after this Fund was distributed, for in time, when the old generation of Radicals died out, their successors in the districts which had been saved from starvation by the almoners of the Fund, who were often zealous Anglicans, nearly all went over to the Tory Party. The Queen did her utmost to contribute to the success of the Fund, and her joy was unalloyed when she saw that its administrators had, in the beginning of 1864, averted the disaster that menaced her Northern Duchy.

* Morley's Life of Cobden, Chap. XXXI.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DANISH WAR.

Stagnant Politics—Excitement over the Danish War—Attitude of the Queen—Withdrawal of the Danes from Holstein—Lord Wodehouse's Mission—The *Quarterly Review* advocates War—Mr. Disraeli Repudiates a War Policy—Lord Palmerston's Secret Plans—The Case against Germany—The Queen's Warnings—Mr. Cobden's Arguments—Lord Russell's "Demands"—Palmerston drafts a Warlike Queen's Speech—The Queen Refuses to Sanction it—Lord Derby Summoned to Osborne—He is Pledged to a Peace Policy—Austria and Prussia in Conflict with the Diet—The Occupation of Sleswig—War at Last—Retreat of the Danes to Düppel—Palmerston's Protests Answered by German Victories—The Invasion of Jutland—Storming of the Düppel Redoubts—Excitement in London—Garibaldi's Visit to London—Garibaldi and the Dowager Duchess of Sutherland—Anecdotes of Garibaldi's Visit—Clarendon's Visit to Napoleon III.—Expulsion of Garibaldi by Palmerston—Napoleon III. Agrees to Accept the Proposal for a Conference—Triumph of the Queen's Peace Policy—Palmerston's Last Struggle—His Ministry Saved by Surrender to Mr. Cobden—The Treaty of Vienna—End of the War.

THE year 1864 gives one a vivid illustration of the stagnant condition of politics in England under Lord Palmerston. The mind of the country was absorbed in one question, and one only, namely, whether England should make war in Prussia and Austria to maintain the integrity of Denmark and uphold the Treaty of London. Ten years before, England had rushed head-long into war for a cause that was more shameful, and for "British interests" that were much more visionary than those which were now at stake. But great progress had been made during these ten years. The disasters and disgrace which had fallen on the nation during the Crimean struggle had not been endured for nothing. Englishmen had no longer boundless confidence in the aristocratic war party, whose clumsy diplomacy and military incapacity had involved the country in the inglorious contest with Russia. Moreover, while the Court was neutral in that struggle, latterly leaning, if to any side, to the side of the war party, in 1864 the Queen was obstinately determined to keep out of war, and Palmerston found in her a much more formidable antagonist than either Mr. Cobden or Mr. Bright. Mr. Morley, in his "Life of Cobden," asserts that it was his (Cobden's) influence, and the pressure brought to bear on the Ministry by Lancashire, that thwarted Palmerston at the end of the struggle. Count Vitzthum, on the other hand, credits the Queen with the honour of defeating the Premier. The truth is that neither the Queen nor Mr. Cobden, acting alone, could have saved their country from a fate as melancholy as that which smote Austria to the dust at Sadowa.*

* Lord Malmesbury, who, like most of the Tories, did his best to urge the Government to go to war, at this time makes an observation in his "Diary," which is refreshing in its frigidity. "It is," he remarks, "perhaps as well that we did not enter into this contest, as our army was not armed at that time like the Prussians, with the breechloader, and we should probably have suffered in consequence the same disaster as the Austrians did two years later."—*Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., pp. 3—5

But, acting together, though quite independently of each other, they represented a combination of social and political forces, which would have crushed not only Palmerston, but his Cabinet, had he continued to resist them with blind oppugnancy.

At the beginning of the year the Danes, acting on English advice, had withdrawn from Holstein, where Prussia and Austria had put in Federal execution on behalf of the Diet. Danish and German troops therefore faced each other on the Eider, which divided Sleswig from Holstein, and Europe waited with almost breathless excitement for the first shot that would kindle the far-darting flames of war. Councils of moderation had been pressed by Lord Russell on the Danish Government, but in vain. They were urged by Lord Wodehouse, who had been sent on a special mission to Copenhagen, to withdraw the Constitution of November which had provoked the intervention of Germany. His mission was a failure. Politicians at home and abroad were alarmed by an extraordinary essay known to be from the pen of Lord Robert Cecil, which appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, advocating war against Germany on behalf of Denmark, and it was supposed to represent the policy of the Tory Party. It, however, did not represent the views of Mr. Disraeli, who, in a confidential conversation with Count Vitzthum, disowned it, and as for Lord Derby, he had no well-defined views on the subject. Had it been otherwise, Lord Palmerston could have easily frightened his Cabinet into war. "Any doubt," writes Count Vitzthum, "as to the validity of the Treaty of 1852 offended so deeply the *amour propre* of the Prime Minister that he was capable of going any lengths. The plan which he devised, to save his work, was to attack with one portion of the British ironclad fleet the North Sea and Baltic coasts of Germany, and with another portion, Trieste and Venice, to support with English gold Mazzini and Garibaldi in Italy, and Kossuth in Hungary, and thus kindle a general conflagration."* This might have been Palmerston's plan at the beginning of the year. A few week's reflection, however, toned it down, for in a private letter to Lord Russell, dated the 13th of February, it seems that, though his *animus* against Germany had not abated, he was of opinion that "it would be best for us to wait a while before taking any strong step; though," he adds, "it is very useful to remind the Austrians and the Prussians privately of the danger they were running at home."† A few days after that, in a private letter to the Duke of Somerset, Palmerston's plan is found to be still further modified, but this time in a mischievous direction. It now took the form of sending the Fleet to Danish waters, with orders to prevent the Germans from attacking Zealand and Copenhagen.‡ Every word

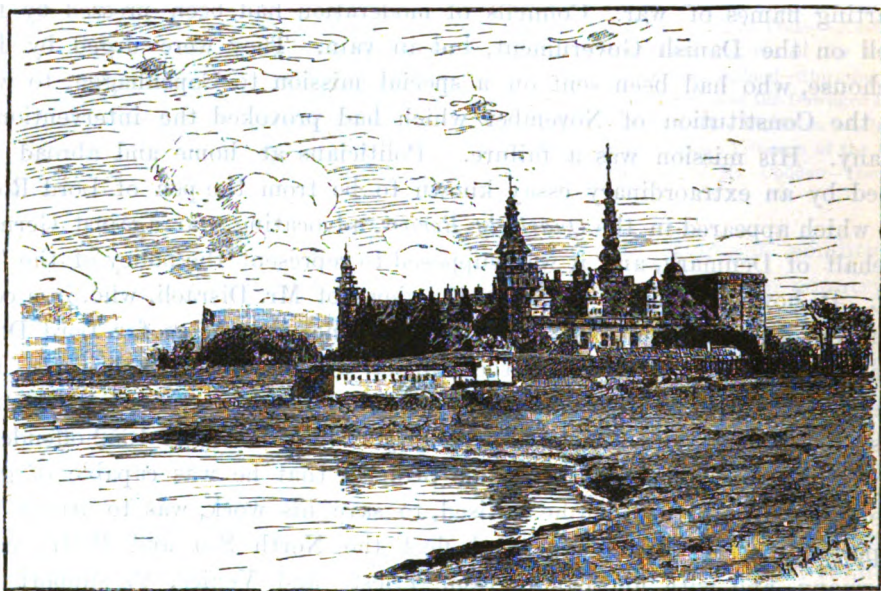
* Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 235.

† Ashley's *Life of Palmerston*, Vol. II., p. 248.

‡ In criticising Palmerston's policy of intervention, it is but just to remember that he was fatally encumbered by his imprudent declaration in the House of Commons on the 23rd of July, 1862, that if the Germans attacked the Danes "it would not be with Denmark alone they would have to contend."

spoken and every line written on the Sleswig-Holstein Question by Palmerston and Russell at this juncture, deluded the Danes into the belief that the British Government were prepared to defend by force of arms the integrity of Denmark as a British interest. But for this delusion Denmark would not have obstinately resisted even the most moderate demands which were made for concessions to the Germans in Sleswig-Holstein.

The case against Austria, Prussia, and the Diet was capable of easy statement in a popular form. Hence it is not surprising that the large class of



KRONBORG CASTLE, ELSINORE.

Englishmen who act on what may be called the public schoolboy theory of high politics took the side of the Danes. Denmark was a small Power, whereas Austria and Prussia were two large Powers, who were "bullying" Denmark. Austria, Prussia, and most of the minor States of Germany did not come into court with clean hands. They had individually sanctioned the Treaty of London, to which they now objected, because the German Diet, of which they were members, had not ratified it. They refused to be bound by it because Denmark had violated antecedent engagements, made independently of it, and on another subject than the Danish Succession, with which the Treaty dealt. Austria and Prussia could hardly be disinterested in coming forward as the champions of Constitutionalism, and "the doctrine of nationalities" in Sleswig and Holstein. The Treaty of London of 1852 was the work of England, and to uphold it by arms was a debt of honour which Englishmen ought to pay. The big-boy-and-the-small-boy argument was founded on a strange misconception of the facts. In Holstein and Sleswig the

Danes played the part of the big boy who was bullying the little one. When they were asked to hold their harsh hand by stronger Powers they pleaded their weakness as an excuse for their tyranny. The bad motives of the champions of the Sleswig-Holsteiners, however, did not affect the rights or wrongs of



CHRISTIAN IX., KING OF DENMARK.

their clients. Moreover, Englishmen quite mistook the German argument, which was this: The German Powers who sanctioned the Treaty of London did not allege that it was null and void because Denmark had not kept the engagements of 1851. They said that Frederick VII. had died before he had lawfully established in his kingdom the order of succession which the Treaty sanctioned, and which, had Denmark stood by her engagements, they would have had no difficulty in supporting. This being the case, they were, they said, entitled to repudiate a Treaty which was illegal in the eyes of

international law, till ratified by the German Diet, by the Sleswig-Holsteiners, and by the heirs to the Duchies who had been set aside by it.

So far as the Queen was concerned, Palmerston's arguments had no effect on her mind. She had warned him that the change in the Danish succession, effected by the Treaty of London, was illegal, and would one day be disputed. It might have been legalised by a *fait accompli*—that is to say, if the Germans in the Duchies had been induced to accept the change by a conciliatory policy. On the contrary, the policy of the Danes had been so offensively anti-German, that the Sleswig-Holsteiners were more opposed to the Treaty than ever. Moreover, Germans all over the Fatherland were with them, and it was therefore idle to ask German Sovereigns to risk revolution by forcing on Germans in the Duchies an oppressive foreign government. To propose English intervention was equally objectionable to the Queen. She was firmly convinced that the English people wanted peace and not war, and that the integrity of a petty Northern State was not, in their opinion, essential to their Imperial existence. Her Majesty laid her finger at the outset on the point of folly in Palmerston's policy, which was the maintenance of the Treaty of 1852. Would Englishmen consent to levy war on the German race to uphold an instrument which the carelessness of English diplomatists, in refusing to obtain legal ratifications, had rendered invalid? And then what would men of business say when asked to bear the burden of such a war, to uphold a Treaty that thrust dynasty on a people who did not want it? Curiously enough, the same line of argument was subsequently taken by Mr. Cobden, though he did not know the secret history of the Treaty of London. "In 1852," said he, "by the mischievous activity of our Foreign Office, seven diplomatists were brought round a green table in London to settle the destinies of a million of people in the two provinces of Sleswig and Holstein without the slightest reference to the wants and wishes, and the tendencies or interests, of that people. The preamble of the Treaty which was then and there agreed to, stated that what those seven diplomatists were going to do was to maintain the integrity of the Danish monarchy, and to sustain the balance of power in Europe. Kings, emperors, princes, were represented at that meeting, but the people had not the slightest voice or right in the matter. They settled the Treaty, the object of which was to draw closer the bonds between those two provinces and Denmark. The tendency of the great majority of the people of these provinces—about a million of them altogether—was altogether in the direction of Germany. From that time to this year the Treaty was followed by constant agitation and discord; two wars have sprung out of it, and it has ended in the Treaty being torn to pieces by two of the Governments who were prominent parties to the Treaty."* Still, the Queen was so desirous of peace that she did not refuse her sanction to proposals of

* Cobden's Speeches, Vol. II., p. 341.

compromise which were from time to time made by Lord Russell, but which proved abortive. In one of these, addressed to the German Diet on the 31st of December, 1863, Lord Russell said that England "*demand*s, in the interests of peace," (1), a Conference of the signatory powers in London to compose the dispute, and (2), the establishment of the *status quo* till this Conference finished its labours—one of those "*demand*s" which, according to Sir Alexander Malet, Herr von Bismarck treated with "*disdain*."*

Anxious Cabinet meetings were held in January, and reports of Ministerial dissensions flew round. Projects for giving the Danes material support seem to have been broached, but, according to Lord Malmesbury, writing on the 29th of January, the Ministry found "*great difficulties in the opposition of the Queen*."† In these circumstances Lord Palmerston, knowing that the Tory Party were ready to support him in defending Denmark, began to look to Lord Derby for aid. To his colleagues he said, "*If we do not begin the war, the Tories will turn us out in order to do it themselves*."‡ But here he was again foiled. The Queen had an interview with Lord Derby at Osborne, which ended in the leader of the Opposition becoming convinced that the integrity of the Danish Kingdom was a mere phrase involving no British interest which justified a war—an opinion which Mr. Disraeli enforced in private when he scornfully described the "*integrity of Denmark*" not as "*a phrase*," but as "*humbug*." He told Count Vitzthum, that he believed if Denmark ever again possessed a fleet she "*would fight in the next war not for England, but for Russia and France*."§ As for making war with France for an ally—another Palmerstonian idea—Lord Derby was asked whether that did not mean sacrificing Antwerp to save Copenhagen? There thus remained for Palmerston but one more chance of committing the country before Parliament met, and that was by inserting a bellicose paragraph into the Royal Speech. Again he was thwarted by the Queen's opposition. Her Majesty refused to sanction a threatening speech, and her objections were sustained by a majority of the Cabinet, much to Palmerston's chagrin. "*It was not*," says Count Vitzthum, "*till the day before Parliament opened, that her Majesty approved the colourless speech which was read on her behalf. Every one*," he adds, "*was waiting with the keenest anxiety for the debate on the Address, and the House of Lords was crowded when Lord Derby (February 4) rose to make his three hours' speech. I stood on the steps of the throne, close by the front railings. It so chanced that Lord Palmerston, who had been fetched by the Duke of Argyll, was standing next to me, and thus I was able to watch the impression produced on the Prime Minister by the eloquence of his opponent. The House listened with breathless silence to Lord Derby's solemn admonitions on behalf of peace,*

* Sir A. Malet's *Overthrow of the Germanic Confederation*, p. 96.

† *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 315.

‡ Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 296.

§ Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 297.

in which he enlarged with statesmanlike tact and rare skill on the proposition that a war with Germany would be the gravest calamity to England. A perfect storm of applause was the orator's reward, and Lord Palmerston left the House in evident uneasiness."* And no wonder. He knew that his colleagues would now be all the more disposed for peace, for it was only too obvious that the result of Lord Derby's interview with the Queen at Osborne had been a pledge that he would not permit his party to aid the Prime Minister in goading the country into war. "That particular danger," writes Count Vitzthum, "was over. Twice more, however, in the course of that Session did Lord Palmerston attempt to drag the Cabinet along with him and carry his project of a war. Each time he was outvoted. Thrice did the Queen gain a victory over the would-be Dictator in the bosom of his own Cabinet."† The criticism of the Tory chiefs was, however, directed to raise general distrust in Palmerston's foreign policy as a whole. Lord Derby described it as one of "meddle and muddle." "*Nihil intactum reliquit*," observed Lord Derby, laughingly, "*nihil tetigit quod non conturbavit*." In the meantime the whole question was passing out of the sphere of diplomacy.

On the 14th of January, Austria and Prussia asked the Diet to sanction the occupation of Sleswig, pending the withdrawal of the obnoxious Constitution incorporating Sleswig in Danish territory, and all fulfilment by Denmark of her engagements to respect the civic privileges of all Germans in the Duchies. The Diet considered that the Danes might comply with the German demand, and thus recover the Duchies. Hence the Austro-Prussian proposal was defeated, the ostensible reason given by the Diet being that it had no jurisdiction beyond Holstein. Prussia and Austria then intimated that they would themselves occupy Sleswig. The Prussian Chamber, adopting the view of the Diet, refused to grant the Government supplies, because, as Herr Schultze-Delitzsch said, this policy could only lead to the restoration of the Duchies to Denmark. Von Bismarck's retort was "*Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo*."‡ If you refuse supplies, the Government will take them in spite of you." Austria, eager to recover the military *prestige* she had lost in Italy, and alarmed at the progress which democracy was making every day in the Duchies, perhaps also somewhat afraid lest Prussia might win all the glory of a strong and resolute pan-German policy, joined Prussia, thereby striking a mortal blow at the authority of the moribund Germanic Confederation among the German-speaking race. On the 1st of February the Austro-Prussian Army of occupation crossed the Eider, which was the answer the allies gave to Lord Russell's "demand" for a Conference and the establishment of the *status quo*. Within a week the Danes were driven northwards behind their fortifications in Düppel — their last line of defence in Sleswig. Lord

* Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 286.

† Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 286.

‡ Speech of the 21st of January, 1864.

Palmerston, who had imagined that they could gain time for him by holding the Dannewerk, now found that he had made a sad mistake. The English Government accordingly implored France and Russia to join England in giving moral and material support to Denmark. But Von Bismarck, though still opposed by the Prussian Chamber, laughed at Palmerston's efforts to roll back the tide of German conquest. "He had," as his biographer says, "already



THE PRUSSIANS STORMING THE REDOUBTS OF DÜPPEL.

taken care to be sure of his men, in expectation of such a contingency. Russia, as we have seen, had been laid under a counter-obligation to Prussia by the services of the latter in the matter of the Polish insurrection."* As for France, she had been propitiated by a favourable Commercial Treaty, and Napoleon III. was reminded that it was not Prussia, who had accepted, but England, who had refused to accept, his project for an European Congress of Sovereigns in 1863, who had dealt a cruel blow at his *prestige*. Palmerston now awoke to the painful fact that there was another obstacle in the way of carrying out a war policy. He and Lord Russell had left England without a single ally in Europe. In vain did the two Ministers struggle with their

* Lowe's Life of Prince Bismarck, Vol. I., p. 335.

fate. Their protests and their proposals were answered by German victories. At last, when Jutland was invaded—territory so sacred that Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell had resolved to resent its invasion by naval intervention—the Danes offered to negotiate for peace on the basis of the *status quo*, as established by the Treaties of 1851-52. Von Bismarck's answer was that the offer came too late, for Prussia no longer considered herself bound by Treaties which war had cancelled. Still, Prussia would not object to a Conference, but it must be a Conference without a basis or an armistice—England having insisted on both. The proposal of an armistice soon had no practical interest. On the 18th of April, after a destructive cannonade, the Prussians stormed the redoubts of Düppel, and captured them after half-an-hour's fighting. The excitement now became intense in London. Was it possible that the hitherto invincible diplomacy of Palmerston was destined to fail whenever it was met by an antagonist who, as Sir A. Malet says, treated "cajolery and menace" with equal disdain?

"At this juncture," writes Count Vitzthum, "Lord Palmerston thought fit to offer a spectacle to the London mob, which was calculated to inflame still more their revolutionary passions. Mindful of the *panem et circenses* of the Roman Emperors, the veteran Premier sought to please the people by showing them Garibaldi. The latter, who had been released from his imprisonment after the affair at Aspromonte, was to be employed, if Palmerston succeeded in carrying through his scheme, against Venetia, and, if necessary, against Rome. Ovarions were showered on the guerilla leader from the moment of his landing.* In London he was met at the railway station by the Duke of Sutherland, and conducted in pomp through the leading thoroughfares to Stafford House. Countless multitudes thronged the streets, and hailed this triumphal procession with acclamations. There had scarcely been such crowds at the entrance of the French Emperor and Empress in 1855, or at that of the Princess of Wales.† Garibaldi was lodged like a prince at the Duke of Sutherland's mansion. Thither came the most distinguished ladies of the Whig aristocracy to court the favour of a look or a smile from the fêted champion of freedom. The Ministers and the leaders of the Opposition met together at the banquet given in his honour at Stafford House.‡ London

* At Southampton on the 3rd of April.

† As a matter of fact, there was no comparison possible between the crowds in either case. The receptions of the French Emperor and the Danish Princess were poor and cold compared with that extended to Garibaldi. It will enable readers of the rising generation to understand what his welcome was when it is stated that as regards street crowds and popular enthusiasm, it far surpassed that given to the Queen on the 21st of June, 1887, when she celebrated her Jubilee in London.

‡ Lord Malmesbury, in his Diary, has the following entry:—"We dined at Stafford House to meet Garibaldi. The party consisted of the Palmerstons, Russells, Gladstones, Argylls, Shaftesburys, Dufferins, &c., and other Whigs, the Derbys and ourselves being the only Conservatives, so I greatly fear we have made a mistake, and that our party will be disgusted at our going. Lady Shaftesbury told me after dinner, in a *méchante* manner, that we had fallen into a trap, to which I answered "

society filled the splendid apartments in the evening, and thronged round the lion of the day. . . . Among those most profuse in their attentions was the Duchess of Sutherland, late Mistress of the Robes, who gave a luncheon party at Chiswick to the adventurer, and received him like a king at the door of her mansion dressed in full attire. Lord Clarendon, not to miss this festivity, postponed his journey to Paris, where he was to make the last fruitless attempt to induce Napoleon to take action.* There was something indescribably comic in this exaggerated display of British hero-worship. The only man who was unaffected by it was Garibaldi himself. The old sailor was not the least imposed on by it all—not the least impressed. He made his appearance in the gilded saloons without coat or waistcoat, and paraded in his red flannel shirt. In the streets he wore his black felt hat, with a red feather. Festivities and attentions bored him intensely. He made no secret of his aversion to old women, even though they wore the ermine of duchesses. After the banquet at Stafford House he said that he was not accustomed to sit so late and so long at his meals. He called for his pipe of tobacco. The Dowager Duchess [of Sutherland] overcame her dislike to tobacco smoke, took Garibaldi into her boudoir, lit his pipe with her own hands, and never left him till he had finished it.† This strange episode did not impose on the Queen either, who had reason to believe that nobody concerned was deceived, except the good-natured British populace, whose honest hero-worship was being exploited by Palmerston for diplomatic purposes. The reception of Garibaldi was meant as a warning to Austria that if invincible in Denmark she was vulnerable in Venice; to France, that if through pique she thwarted Palmerston's diplomacy in Northern Europe, there would soon be trouble brewing for her at Rome; and to Russia, that if she deserted England she would find that the spirit of revolution could yet be roused in Poland. How far the Tory leaders were parties to the imposture is not clear. Lord Malmesbury tries to persuade us that they took part in it merely from motives of childish curiosity. A fashionable lion was reported to be in Stafford House, and so he and his colleagues went there to hear him roar.

One of the most curious projects broached by Lord Palmerston's satellites was that of raising a subscription among "the gentry of England" to furnish Garibaldi with funds for attacking Austria in Venice, and France in Rome. This scheme, says Lord Shaftesbury, who euphuistically describes it as one for "furthering his [Garibaldi's] Italian purposes," was quashed by

was very much obliged to those who laid it, as I should be very sorry not to have seen Garibaldi." And on the 15th of April Lord Malmesbury adds:—"Our party are furious with us and Lord Derby for dining with the Sutherlands last Wednesday, and Lord Bath has written to Lord Colville to resign his office of Whip, and says he will not spend a farthing upon elections. Lord Derby has written him a very temperate letter."—*Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., pp. 320, 321.

* With Palmerston in favour of Denmark.

† Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 289.

the patriot himself, happily in time to save his credit as well as the credit of "the gentry of England." After "many sittings of committees," writes Lord Shaftesbury, who was one of the most active of Lord Palmerston's agents in this business,* "myriads of letters and private requests, we had in two months obtained payments and promises for a sum considerably under three thousand pounds." Whether Lord Shaftesbury was, like Garibaldi, a tool in



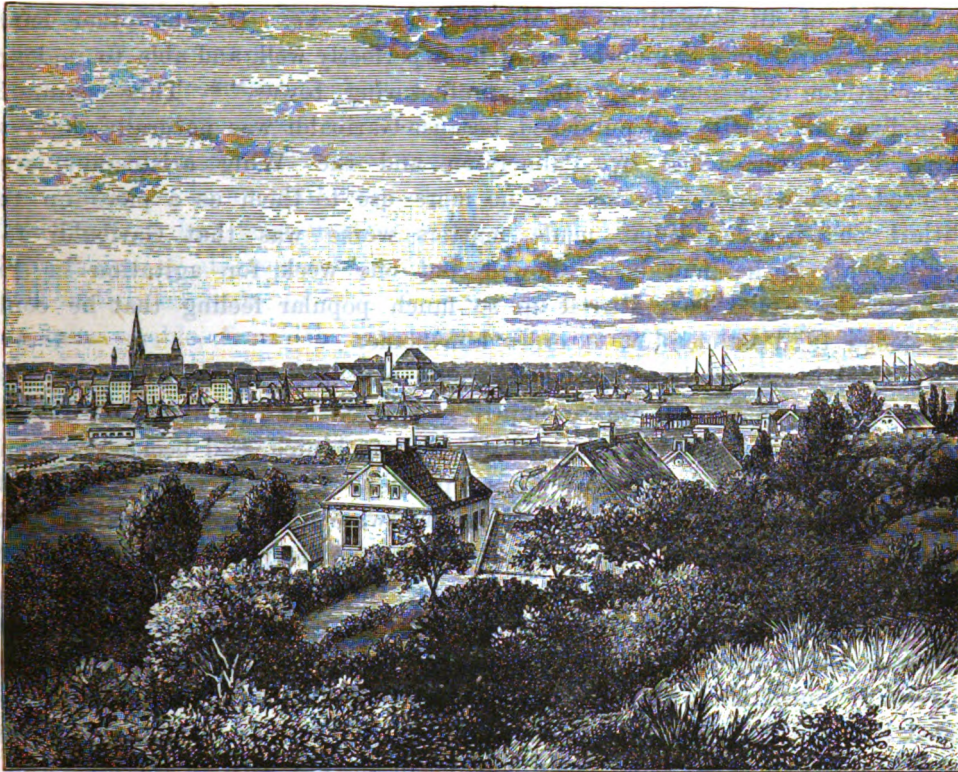
GARIBALDI'S RECEPTION IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE, LONDON.

Palmerston's hands it is impossible to say. But it is a singular fact that we find him writing to the Duc de Persigny on the 8th of April assuring him "that there is not in it [Garibaldi's visit] a notion of politics." On the other hand, he himself discloses, in a posthumous Memorandum unearthed by the industry of his biographer, the whole story of his abortive attempt to raise subsidies for Garibaldi's revolutionary designs. Nay, when the Tory chiefs went to Stafford House to dine with the hero, Lady Shaftesbury, who was Lady Palmerston's daughter, appears on the scene laughing at them for having fallen into a trap.†

* Lord Shaftesbury, says his biographer, became Garibaldi's most constant companion in London, "never leaving him, in fact, except when Garibaldi *would* go to the Opera."—Hodder's *Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury*, Vol. II., p. 172.

† It is curious to note that five days after Lord Shaftesbury assured the Duc de Persigny that there was no "notion of politics" in Garibaldi's visit, and that "had Garibaldi's appearance here

But after the lion had roared loud enough to wake the echoes of the Tuileries, Lord Clarendon was sent to Paris on a private diplomatic mission. His object was to induce the Emperor Napoleon to support Lord Palmerston's proposal for a Conference of the Powers on the Sleswig-Holstein Question, a scheme which France as yet did not sanction. It must be allowed that if the German Powers scoffed at the attempt to frighten them by a Cockney



KIEL.

demonstration in favour of Garibaldi, Lord Palmerston and his envoy seem to have made it serve their turn in Paris. Napoleon III. agreed at last to support the Palmerston-Russell scheme of a Conference, provided Palmerston would send Garibaldi out of England as quickly as possible. This was an embarrassing condition to fulfil, as the guerilla chief was becoming far too popular to be treated in such an unceremonious fashion. He had entered into an

anything to do with touching that alliance [the alliance between France and England], I am sure that the people of England would refuse to give him a welcome," Garibaldi was entertained at a magnificent popular demonstration at the Crystal Palace. A sword of honour was presented to him, of which he said, "I will never unsheathe it in the cause of tyrants, and will draw it only in support of oppressed nationalities. *I hope yet to carry it with me to Rome and Venice.*" Lord Shaftesbury was one of the brilliant company of Palmerstonian partisans under whose auspices this unique non-political ceremony was conducted.

engagement to proceed to Manchester, and from thence on a provincial tour of agitation, which greatly disquieted Napoleon III., and which must therefore be stopped. The end of the farce may be told in Lord Malmesbury's words. In his Diary on the 20th of April he writes:—"Garibaldi leaves England on Friday. . . . Certainly there must be some intrigue, as Mr. Ferguson, the surgeon, writes a letter to the Duke of Sutherland—which is published—saying it would be dangerous for Garibaldi's health if he exposed himself to the fatigue of an expedition to Manchester, &c. &c. On the other hand, Dr. Basile, Garibaldi's own doctor, says he is perfectly well, and able to undergo all the fatigue of a journey to the manufacturing towns."* This communication from Dr. Basile was published, because Garibaldi was naturally angry at having been overreached by Palmerston and the Whig aristocracy, who sacrificed him whenever he was of no more use to them as a piece on the political chessboard. What made matters worse was that Garibaldi felt certain that, if he had been allowed but one week for agitation in the provinces, he would have stirred up so much popular feeling that he could have defied Lord Palmerston to order him home.

As usual in cases where Lord Palmerston was forced to do something that displeased the populace, it was promptly insinuated far and wide that he was again the victim of the Court. Garibaldi, it was hinted, had been expelled in deference to the Queen's pro-Austrian sympathies. It is but right to vindicate her Majesty from the absurd suggestions that were then current, and for that reason it has been deemed expedient to tell the true story of Garibaldi's visit to London in 1864. Let it be admitted, however, that at least one member of the Whig aristocracy refused to turn against the hero when the *mot d'ordre* went forth from Cambridge House that he must be dropped. This was the Dowager Duchess of Sutherland, who carried the discarded lion away to Cliefden, and tended him faithfully till he left Plymouth on the 25th of April. It was her enthusiasm that inspired one of the diners-out of the day with an anecdote which rendered the wonderful party at Stafford House on the 13th of April almost as memorable as Garibaldi's presence there. "She" (the Dowager Duchess), said one of the company, "is noble, richly jointured, romantic, and a widow—why, then, does she not marry her hero?" "Ah," was the reply, "but you forget he has a wife living." "That," said another guest—alleged to have been Lord Palmerston—"is of no consequence; I have Gladstone here, and can easily get him to explain her away." Yet, though the duchess and the mob alike forgot to mourn for their hero after his expulsion had ceased to be a nine days' wonder, it is pleasing to know that their fidelity to his cause was unwavering, and that their admiration of the man himself was absolutely untarnished by sordid and selfish calculations.

The project of the Conference on the Sleswig-Holstein Question, now that

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 322.

France accepted it, was fairly started, and it gave Palmerston a chance of extricating his Ministry without much ignominy from the complication in which they had become enmeshed. The Queen favoured it, as she favoured any arrangement that seemed likely to make for peace; but, as the Conference was to meet without a basis and without an armistice—indeed, as the capture of Düppel had made Prussia and Austria masters of the situation, an armistice was of little consequence—her Majesty's view of the issue was not so sanguine as that of her Prime Minister. "Austria and Prussia," says Count Vitzthum, "were not sorry to take advantage of it (the Conference) in order to escape from a false position, in which they had placed themselves as belligerent Powers and cosignatories of the London Treaty. Both of them declared their readiness to attend the Conference, on condition that the German Bund received, as such, an invitation also. It was the first time since its existence that the Diet had been invited to attend and vote at a European Conference. The choice of its representation fell on the Saxon Minister of State, the most active advocate of the Federal standpoint. He accepted the choice, but was unable, from the haste with which the matter was arranged, to reach London on the 20th of April, the day fixed by the impatient Lord Russell for the opening of the Conference."*

As might be expected, this led to a hitch in the proceedings. Austria and Prussia alleged that they could not take part in the Conference until Count Beust appeared on the scene, so that the first meeting of the diplomatists was ominously abortive. It was not till the 25th of April that the Conference met for work, and the story of its transactions is somewhat painful for Englishmen to recall. It soon became apparent that the real object of the German representatives was to thwart the policy of the English Government, and tear up the Treaty of London under the very eyes of their English colleagues. Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell speedily discovered why the Diet had been invited for the first time to take part in a European Conference. Austria and Prussia, being cosignatories of the Treaty of London, found it a little embarrassing to take the initiative in "denouncing" that futile instrument; but they put forward Count Beust, as the representative of the Diet, to repudiate it, and he, on behalf of corporate Germany, declared that no solution of the problem could be accepted which did not provide for the complete separation of the Duchies from Denmark. In vain did Palmerston and Russell resist a demand that was utterly irreconcilable with the policy of maintaining the integrity of Denmark which was formulated in the Treaty of London. Russia and France abandoned them, and it became evident that continued victory would render the Germans, not more moderate, but more exacting in their demands. "Lord Clarendon," writes Count Vitzthum, in his bright but brief account of the secret history of the Conference, "who,

* Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., pp. 289—290.

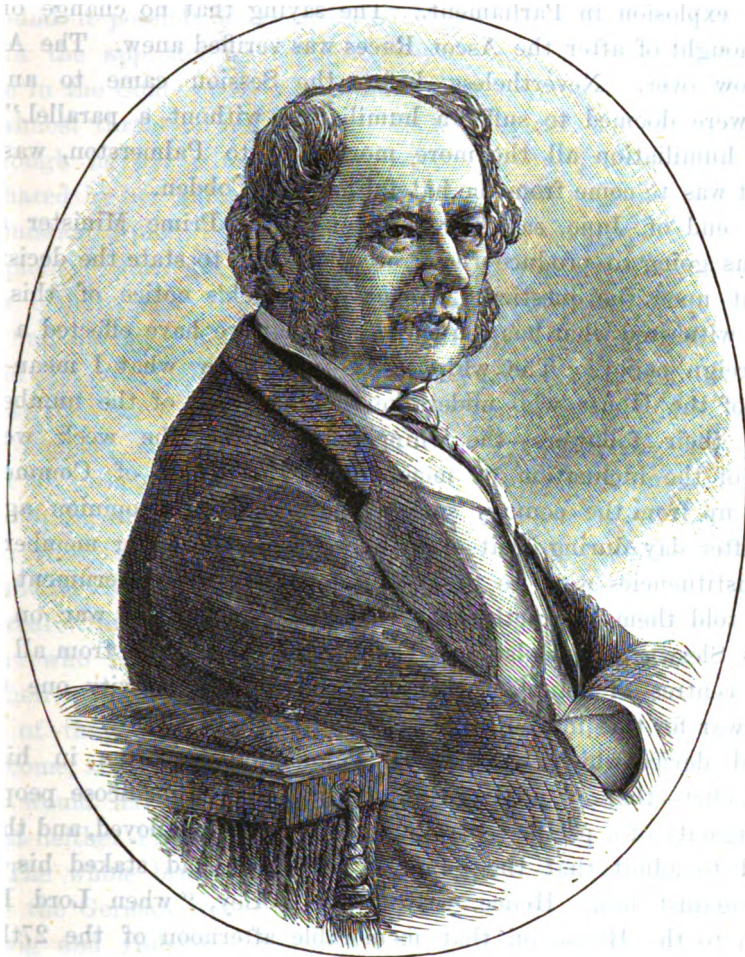
though nominally second, was in reality the first British plenipotentiary, induced Lord Russell, with a view of checking the bloodshed, to propose the separation of Holstein, Lauenburg, and South Sleswig. The neutrals—Russia and France—agreed to this, but the Danish representatives declared that their instructions were exhausted, and thus the matter remained to be settled by the sword.”*

Count Vitzthum's narrative does not seem quite fair to Denmark. The Danes, it must be noted, have always alleged that they agreed to a frontier proposed by Lord Clarendon, and accordingly they assumed that after such a surrender of their position England would defend them and stand by her own proposition. Lord Russell, however, in his statement of the 27th June, denied that England had, through Lord Clarendon, committed herself to maintain this frontier. The fact is that Austria and Prussia, at a meeting of the Conference on the 17th of May, brought the proceedings to a deadlock by declaring that they would no longer recognise the King of Denmark as Sovereign of the Duchies. The neutral Plenipotentiaries then met privately at Lord Russell's house and concocted a compromise by which Denmark should cede Holstein and Sleswig as far as the Schlei, and that the European Powers should then guarantee the rest of the Danish Dominions. Denmark accepted this proposal, but the German Powers, whilst eagerly accepting the principle of separating the Duchies from Denmark, objected to the frontier. According to a statement made by Bishop Monrad in the Danish Rigsraad, it is clear the compromise was not distinctively an English project, though it originated in Clarendon's suggestions. But, according to Bishop Monrad, “Earl Russell promised that neither would he make a proposal himself nor support the proposal of any other Plenipotentiary which would be less favourable for Denmark, unless Denmark herself should consent to such new proposals.” Yet after the boundary of the Schlei had been suggested, Earl Russell, at a meeting of the Conference, proposed that the question of the frontier should be submitted to arbitration—the King of the Belgians being mentioned as arbiter—although Denmark did *not* consent to such a proposal. This proposition, partially accepted by Austria and Prussia, was rejected by Count Beust on behalf of the Diet. France then proposed that, while Germany should take German and Denmark should keep Danish Sleswig, the intervening part, with a mixed population, should by a *plébiscite* determine its own destiny. This was also rejected by Denmark, and so the Conference, which met at the request of England without a basis, separated without a result.

The obstinacy of the Danes, who seem to have built their hopes of English succour on Lord Palmerston's marvellous power over a servile House of Commons, secured the triumph of Austria and Prussia—who up to this point were encumbered by their signatures to the Treaty of London. Lord Clarendon's

* Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., pp. 289—290.

proposal marked the abandonment of that instrument by the only Power desirous of abiding by it. The Conference, by its abortive attempts at solving the Danish problem, therefore, extricated Austria and Prussia from their false position, for when it broke up the ill-starred Treaty of London was there and then consigned to what Carlyle calls "the limbo of dead dogs."



COUNT BEUST.

And the curious thing is that Palmerston and Russell seem to have almost courted a defeat, which shattered the diplomatic *prestige* of England for more than a decade. "The Treaty of London," writes Count Vitzthum, "might, perhaps, have been saved, had the British Minister acknowledged from the first that the value of a Treaty, intended to settle a *questio de futuro*, an eventuality of the future, depended on the circumstances under which that eventuality occurred. A very different importance attaches to treaties which, like those of 1815, deal with *faits accomplis* and establish the final results of a war

lasting over many years. Palmerston and Russell committed in their zeal a political blunder when they declared that to cancel the Treaty of London was tantamount to unsettling everything else. Had not Napoleon been then so seriously occupied in Mexico he would have taken the British Ministers at their word.* But be that as it may, the Treaty was now dead. The Conference had not only united Germany, but also served as a safety-valve against an explosion in Parliament. The saying that no change of Ministry is to be thought of after the Ascot Races was verified anew. The Ascot meeting was now over. Nevertheless, before the Session came to an end, the Ministers were doomed to suffer a humiliation without a parallel.† What made this humiliation all the more mortifying to Palmerston, was that the punishment was to come from the hateful hand of Cobden.

At the end of June, says Mr. Cobden, "the Prime Minister announced that he was going to produce the Protocols,‡ and to state the decision of the Government upon the question. He gave a week's notice of this intention, and then I witnessed what has convinced me that we have effected a revolution in our Foreign policy. The whippers-in—you know what I mean—those on each side of the House who undertake to take stock of the number and the opinion of their followers—the whippers-in during the week were taking soundings of the inclination of members of the House of Commons. And then came up from the country such a manifestation of opinion against war, that day after day during that eventful week member after member from the largest constituencies went to those who acted for the Government in Parliament, and told them distinctly that they would not allow war on any such matters as Sleswig and Holstein. Then came surging up from all the great seats and centres of manufacturing and commercial activity one unanimous veto upon war for this matter of Sleswig and Holstein."§

The old device which had served Palmerston so often in his contests with the Court—that of pitting the infatuation of a bellicose people against the calm sagacity of a pacific sovereign—could not be employed, and the Minister was forced to admit that the game on which he had staked his reputation had gone against him. Hence, writes Mr. Morley, "when Lord Palmerston came down to the House on that memorable afternoon of the 27th of June, it was to make the profoundly satisfactory but profoundly humiliating announcement that there was to be no war." He admitted that the Government "felt great sympathy for Denmark," although "she had in the beginning been in the wrong." But under a new sovereign she had shown some

* Perhaps this consideration had something to do with the curious reluctance of France to cooperate with England in the Conference—a reluctance hitherto attributed to Lord Russell's curt refusal to take part in the Napoleonic Conference of 1863.

† Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 291.

‡ Of the Conference.

§ Cobden's *Speeches*, Vol. II., p. 341.

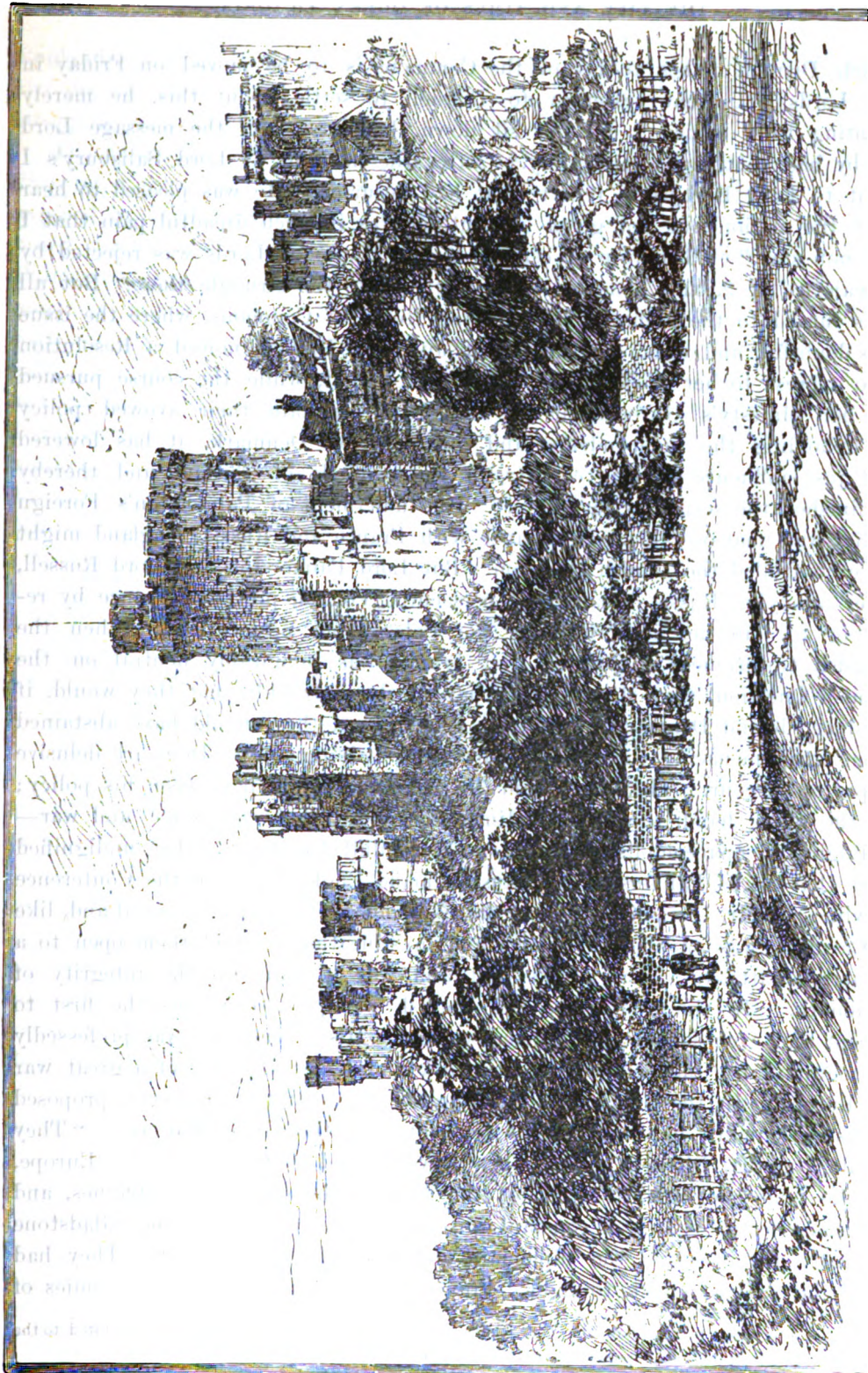
desire to act properly, and so, said the Prime Minister, "we felt that from the beginning to the end of these events she [Denmark] had been ill-used, and that might had overridden right." With jaunty audacity he added that Ministers also knew that the sympathies of the British nation were in favour of Denmark—for he made no allusion to the confidential reports of the Ministerial "whips"—and he frankly said "we should therefore have been glad to have found it possible to recommend to our Sovereign to take part with Denmark in the approaching struggle." But then Denmark had rejected a compromise in the Conference—a compromise which, however, he did not state, had been almost thrust on her by Lord Russell, in violation of his own pledges to her—though he did admit that in rejecting this proposal, her fault was "equally shared by her antagonists." Yet other considerations must be looked to—an admission which illustrated the revolution that had been effected in English diplomacy since the Crimean War. It did not appear, observed Lord Palmerston blandly, that the matter in dispute "was one of very great importance," (an amazing statement from the author of the Treaty of London) for "it did not affect the independence of Denmark, and it went very little beyond what she herself had agreed to." Now, Lord Russell had pledged himself not to support any arrangement that went "beyond what she [Denmark] had agreed to" when she accepted the compromise arrived at in his house by the plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers, and Lord Palmerston's additional explanation that it turned "simply on the question to whom a portion of territory should belong," provoked a contemptuous titter in the House. But the real truth had to be confessed at last. Ministers, said Lord Palmerston—who had led the War Party in Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet—in advising their sovereign to levy war, "could not possibly lose sight of the magnitude of the object—the magnitude of the resistance which would have to be overcome, and the comparative means which England and its supposed antagonist would have to bring to bear upon the contest." They had discovered that neither France nor Russia would help England in supporting Denmark. "The whole brunt, therefore," said Lord Palmerston, "of the effort to dislodge the German troops, and those who might come to their assistance, from Sleswig and Holstein, would fall upon this country alone." Hence, he continued, "we have not thought it consistent with our duty to give our Sovereign advice to undertake such an enterprise."

The whole scheme of Palmerstonian diplomacy seemed revealed, as if by a lightning-flash, in all its impotent meddlesomeness. In a matter of no very great importance concerning a foreign country, England was to talk daggers, but use none, if her antagonist chanced to be too strong to be cowed by menaces. The House of Commons instinctively felt that this was not a policy worthy of a great nation. It received the Prime Minister's statement in a manner that convinced him that his spell over it was broken. He made one final effort to regain his influence by appealing to its foibles. He

accordingly uttered dark and terrible threats of vengeance if Austria and Prussia attacked "the existence of Denmark as an independent Power in Europe," and did other things which everybody knew they had no temptation to do. "If," said he, "we should see at Copenhagen the horrors of a town taken by assault—the destruction of property, the sacrifice of the lives, not only of its defenders but of peaceful inhabitants, the confiscation which would arise, the capture of the Sovereign as a prisoner of war, or events of that kind—I do not mean to say that if any of these events were likely to happen, the position of this country might not possibly be a fit subject for reconsideration." Then he paused to see if his old trick of rhetoric would do its work. It failed him, however, and, instead of the cheers for which he waited, his declamation was greeted with shouts of contemptuous derision. The cheers did not come till Mr. Disraeli condemned the utterance as "a continuation of those senseless and spiritless menaces by which her Majesty's Government had lowered the influence of England in the Councils of Europe." And they came again and again from every quarter of the House when the Tory leader declared "he should prefer that the foreign policy of this country should be conducted by Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, for the result would have been the same as in the hands of her Majesty's Government, while they would not have lured on Denmark by fallacious hopes, and exasperated the German Powers by exaggerated expressions of menace and condemnation of their conduct." As for Lord Russell, he seemed to feel his humiliation so keenly that it was with difficulty he made his statement audible in the House of Lords. "I heard enough," writes Lord Malmesbury in his terse summary of it, "to know that the Government were for peace at any price, and meant to desert the Danes."

Of course the Opposition felt bound to challenge the policy of the Ministry by a vote of censure, though they were far from being unanimous as to their tactics. Writing on the 3rd of July, Lord Malmesbury says:—"Lord Derby is so ill with the gout, that he cannot bring on the question of the correspondence between Denmark and Germany next Friday, and he has deputed me to do it in his place, and Lords Salisbury,* Donoughmore, Colville, Hardwicke, Carnarvon, and Chelmsford came this afternoon at one o'clock to consult with me respecting the motion to be made in the House of Lords. Lord Derby is nervous in consequence of some objections made by the Duke of Buccleuch and Lord Stanhope, who talk of a collision between the two Houses, and he fears the Party will not be unanimous. I am for going on with it, and so were the rest. We adjourned at two o'clock, when a large meeting took place, I being in the chair. The two above-named Peers, with Lords Winchester and Bath, made some difficulties, but ended by giving way, and it was settled unanimously that the same resolution

* Father of the present Lord Salisbury.



WINDSOR CASTLE. FROM THE DEVKSHIRE SHORE.

which Disraeli makes to-day in the Commons is to be moved on Friday in the Lords. I went yesterday to Disraeli to settle about this, he merely pointing to a chair. I did not sit down, but gave him the message Lord Derby had sent, and went away.* After the meeting at Lord Salisbury's I went to Lord Derby's to report what had occurred. He was pleased to hear that the motion was not given up, but he was in such dreadful pain that I did not stay."† The vote of censure in the House of Lords was rejected by a majority of 9, and little attention was paid to the struggle there. But all eyes turned to the arena of strife in the House of Commons, where the issue was doubtful, and where on the 4th of July Mr. Disraeli moved a Resolution "to express to her Majesty our great regret that, while the course pursued by her Majesty's Government has failed to maintain their avowed policy of upholding the independence and integrity of Denmark, it has lowered the just influence of this country in the councils of Europe, and thereby diminished the securities for peace." His indictment of Palmerston's Foreign Policy was unanswerable. In alliance with France and Russia, England might have controlled the Danish Question. But Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell, after annoying Russia because she persecuted Poland, provoked France by refusing to join her in protecting the Poles from persecution. When the English Government discovered that France was immovably neutral on the Danish Question, they should either have declared frankly that they would, if need be, defend Denmark by force, or, like France, they should have abstained from either menacing the German Powers, or holding out to Denmark delusive hopes of succour. The latter, said Mr. Disraeli, would have been his policy; on the other hand, the British Ministers wavered between peace and war—indulging in unaccomplished threats and unfulfilled promises. The undignified part that Lords Palmerston and Russell made England play at the Conference—which, as Mr. Disraeli observed, "lasted about as long as a Carnival and, like a Carnival, was an affair of masks and mystifications,"—laid them open to a disastrous attack. Palmerston's first aim was to maintain the integrity of Denmark. In the Conference the English plenipotentiary was the first to accept and even suggest her dismemberment. His second aim was professedly to maintain the independence of Denmark and lessen the risk of a great war in Europe. In the Conference the English representative, however, proposed to put Denmark under the joint guarantee of the Great Powers. "They would," as Mr. Disraeli pointed out, "have created another Turkey in Europe, in the same geographical situation, the scene of the same rival intrigues, and the same fertile source of constant misconceptions and wars." Mr. Gladstone virtually acknowledged the diplomatic defeat of the Government. They had tried, he said in effect, to induce France and Russia—the natural enemies of

* It is interesting to note how the Tory leaders in the House of Lords at that time dictated to the whole Party its strategy and policy at critical moments.

† Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., pp. 327, 328.

England—to join them in going to war with Germany—her natural ally. But having failed they ceased to menace the German Powers, who were too strong to be intimidated by Lord Palmerston.

The resolution was only a party device to drive Ministers from office by drawing a sensational picture of the degradation to which England had been exposed by Ministerial diplomacy. Mr. Kinglake, however, interfered, and proposed a resolution drafted by Cobden evidently for the purpose of humiliating Palmerston, and yet offering a loophole of escape from a vote of censure that must, if carried, have cut short his career, and brought a Tory Ministry with violent anti-German sympathies back to power. This resolution ironically expressed the satisfaction of the House that the Queen had been advised not to aid Denmark by force of arms. Mr. Kinglake then showed Lord Palmerston a list of the Liberals who intended to vote for Mr. Disraeli's motion, in the event of the Government declining to accept what Count Vitzthum calls Mr. Cobden's "humiliating absolution," so that the Prime Minister had but little choice. "He was bound either to retire from office, or swallow the bitter pill offered to him by the Manchester School and pledge himself to maintain the strictest neutrality."* He agreed to swallow the pill, which Mr. Cobden refused to gild; for in his speech of the 6th of July Cobden delivered a scathing attack on the futility of Lord Palmerston's whole scheme of foreign policy, which had subjected England to humiliation in all parts of the world. The final demonstration of its failure, he argued, was the complete justification of those principles of non-intervention which he and Mr. Bright had preached for many long and weary years. It was admitted that he laid down with a masterly hand the foreign policy which future Governments, whether Whig or Tory, would be compelled by the people to follow. "Our country," said Cobden, amidst cheers from every part of the House, "requires peace. Some people think it is very degrading and very base that an Englishman should speak of his country as requiring peace, and as being entitled to enjoy its blessings; and if we allude to our enormous commercial and industrial engagements as a reason why we should avoid these petty embroilments, we are told that we are selfish and groveling in our politics. But I say we were very wrong to take such measures as were calculated to extend our commerce, unless we were prepared to use prudential precautions to keep our varied manufacturing and mercantile operations free from the mischief of unnecessary war." England had no armies to spare for Continental interference. She had 79,000 troops locked up in India. In China she had two little armies separated by thousands of miles; she had another detachment in Japan; she had 10,000 men "fighting somebody's battles" in New Zealand; she had from 10,000 to 15,000 troops in North America, "committed as a point of honour to defend a frontier of

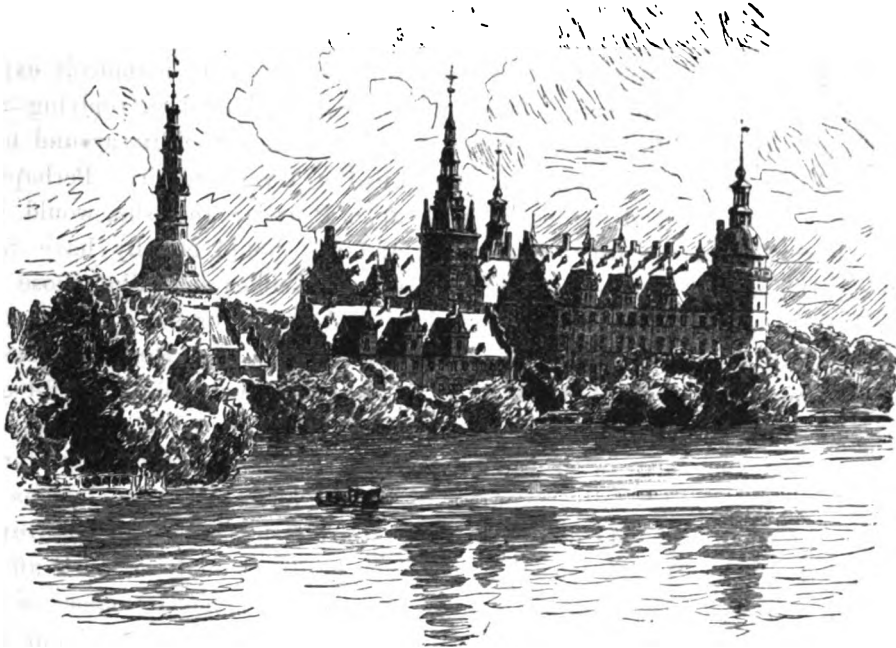
* Count Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 292.

1,500 miles against a country which can keep 700,000 men on the field;" she had also troops at the Cape, the West Indies, West Africa, Malta, and Gibraltar. Surely the world never saw, said Cobden, such a dispersion of force as this by a Power that attempted to interfere with Continental affairs. Hence the time had come for the new departure in foreign politics, for, with the failure of Lord Palmerston's Danish policy, it was clear our whole system of conducting our relations with foreign countries had broken down. The Foreign Office had lost its credit abroad. Foreign Governments now knew that its threats and its pledges were vain and empty, because the real power now lay, not in the Foreign Office, but in the House of Commons. It was not the Ministry he desired to change, but the system; so that, though he was prepared to vote against Mr. Disraeli's censure, Mr. Cobden, as Lord Robert Cecil observed, was about as true a friend to the Ministry, as the Ministry had been to Denmark. The only difference was, that whilst the Government gave Denmark fair words and no succour, Mr. Cobden had given Lord Palmerston valuable succour, but no fair words. It was past midnight on the 9th of July when Palmerston rose to defend his position, but he added nothing to the debate. As Mr. Evelyn Ashley, his adoring biographer, says, "he had, in truth, a difficult task. There had been a conspicuous failure; of that much there could be no doubt. Allies, colleagues, and circumstances had proved adverse; yet the excuses for failure could not be laid on any of them. So, with the exception of a dexterous allusion to the words of the resolution as 'a gratuitous libel upon the country by a great Party who hoped to rule it,' he did not detain the House for long on the points immediately at issue, but, dropping the Danish matter altogether, went straight into a history of the financial triumphs of his Government."* After all, for these he was indebted to Mr. Gladstone with whom he was rarely in agreement on matters of general policy; and his obvious evasion of the matter in dispute was resented by the House, which interrupted him with angry cries of "Question!" His defence certainly had no bearing on the issue; but, as Mr. Ashley observes, with unconscious cynicism, "it had all to do with the Party question, for it decided the votes of doubting men, who, caring little about Sleswig-Holstein, cared a great deal about English finance. Anyhow, it commanded success, for the Government got a majority of eighteen, and thus renewed their lease of power." Lord Palmerston had expected only a majority of three, but several Tories had voted with the Liberals, and eleven abstained from voting at all. "This," writes Count Vitzthum, "is explained by the fear of a Roman Catholic intrigue. The Vatican had been anxious to make use of the opportunity for overthrowing the hated Premier. Some Monsignori especially sent from Rome are said to have been busily engaged in the lobby in inducing the Irish Members to

* Evelyn Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*, Vol. II., pp. 254, 255.

vote with the Opposition. Be that as it may, a majority of eighteen votes was a godsend so unexpected, that the Premier begged some young ladies, who had no notion of what had happened, to congratulate him. Lady Palmerston was delighted at the hand-shakings lavished on the Prime Minister by the crowd that thronged the lobby."

The result of the division was hailed with great delight by the country. To have turned out Palmerston would have brought Lord Derby back to office,



FREDERICKSBORG CASTLE, ELISINORE.

whose followers, it was suspected, would have finally driven him into war with Germany. To retain Palmerston in power, but by a vote that humiliated him and destroyed his personal *prestige*, was felt to be in every way safer for the country than the transference of its Government to an Opposition which was at once weak and warlike. "However the dice may fall," writes Count Vitzthum, "the Prime Minister is disarmed, and his secret schemes of anger and revenge are condemned. The victory of the Peace Party is a victory of the Queen. Maligned, insulted, and reproached for German sympathies, her Majesty has checked the dictatorship of her Prime Minister, and beaten him three times in his own Cabinet on the question of war and peace. The Queen has recognised the true interests, the true wishes of her people, and not allowed herself to be misled by the gossip of the drawing-rooms, or the declamations of the daily Press."* As for Lord Palmerston, his biographer

* Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p 370.

has published some letters which show how bitterly he resented his defeat. In one of these, addressed to the King of the Belgians, he rails at Austria and Prussia for taking advantage of the weakness of Denmark, at Denmark for obstinately putting herself in the wrong, and at France for not cooperating with England. "One consequence," he says, "is clear and certain, that if our good friend and neighbour at Paris were to take it into his head to deprive Prussia of her Rhenish provinces, not a finger in England would be stirred, nor a voice raised, nor a man or a shilling voted, to resist such a retribution upon the Prussian monarch." As the Power which seized the Rhine would have Belgium at its mercy, it would be difficult to imagine an English Minister addressing to a Belgian Sovereign a more *maladroit* expression of impotent discomfiture. Then, in autumn, Palmerston, replying to a letter from Lord Russell, writes, "You say that with less timidity around us we might probably have kept Austria quiet on the Danish affair. Perhaps we might; but then we had no equal pull upon Prussia, and she would have rallied all the German Powers round her, and we should equally have failed in saving Denmark.* As to Cabinets, if we had colleagues like those who sat in Pitt's Cabinet, such as Westmoreland and others, or such men as those who were with Peel, like Goulburn and Hardinge, you and I might have our own way on most things; but when, as is now the case, able men fill every department, such men will have opinions, and hold to them; but, unfortunately, they are often too busy with their own department to follow up foreign questions so as to be fully masters of them, and their conclusions are generally on the timid side of what ought to be the best."† The further development of the Danish Question need not be dwelt on here, as it affected the policy neither of the Cabinet nor of the Court. The Germans resumed the war as soon as the Conference broke up. Uninterrupted victory put them in complete possession of the Duchies, to which Denmark finally renounced all claim by the Treaty of Vienna, which was signed on the 18th of October.

* As a matter of fact, while the Conference was going on and the war party was rampant in London drawing-rooms, the Germans were greatly alarmed lest England should interfere. Count Vitzthum, writing on the 5th of May, says: "A peer who is very favourably disposed to Germany, said to me yesterday, 'Take care, for God's sake, to secure an armistice as soon as possible. If the question of war or peace were put to-day in the House of Commons to vote, three-fourths of the members would vote for war.' Similar hints have been given to the Prussian Ambassador from a less unprejudiced quarter. We must not forget that England, by a blockade of the German and Austrian coasts, at a comparatively small expense, could exert a serious pressure on Vienna and Berlin, particularly if the revolution were let loose at the same time in Italy and Hungary." Vitzthum's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 357. See on this point Palmerston's own account in his letter of 1st of May to Lord Russell of the interview, in which he menaced Count Apponyi with naval intervention. Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*, Vol. II., p. 249. It is only just to say, that if Palmerston was eager to strike at the German Powers, he knew perfectly well where to plant a telling blow on a vulnerable point. Cobden's argument was that a blockade of the German coast would be futile because railways had rendered blockades innocuous, unless, as in America, the blockading Power could command the internal communications of the enemy.

† Ashley's *Life of Palmerston*, Vol. II., p. 258.

CHAPTER IX.

THE HEIR-PRESUMPTIVE.

Disputes with American Belligerents—The Southern Privateers—Uneasiness of the Queen—Federal Recruiting in Ireland—Mr. Gladstone's Budget—Revival of the Reform Agitation—Mr. Gladstone Joins the Reformers—"Essays and Reviews"—A Heresy-Hunt in Convocation—A Ribald Chancellor—The Parliamentary Duel between Wilberforce and Westbury—The Vote of Censure on Mr. Lowe—The Five Under-Secretaries and the House of Commons—Prorogation of Parliament—The Strife in the United States—Gambling in Cotton—A Commercial Panic in England—The Battle of Chancellorsville—Sherman's March through Georgia—The Canadian Raiders—The Presidential Election—Birth of the Heir-Presumptive—Baptism of the Heir-Presumptive—The Queen's Gift to her Little Grandson—The Queen and the Floods at Sheffield—The Murder of Mr. Briggs—The Queen Refuses a Reprieve to the Murderer—The Queen's Letter to the Princess Louis—John Brown and the Queen's Pony—Dr. Norman McLeod's Message from the Queen—An Anniversary of Sorrow and Sympathy.

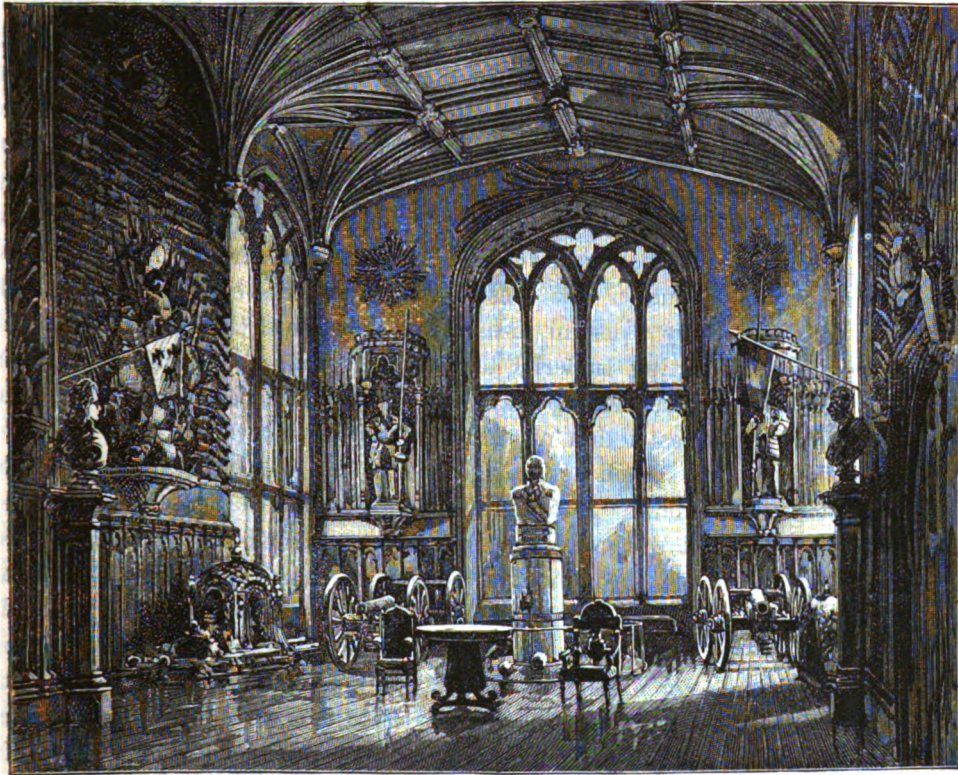
NEXT in importance to the Danish Question in 1864, were disputes which rose out of the relations of England to the belligerents in the American Civil War. The Southern States having no navy fit to cope with that of the Federal Government, had equipped swift steam cruisers which swept American commerce from the seas. They ran no risks in scuttling unarmed merchantmen, and their speed protected them from capture by men-of-war. The most formidable of these cruisers or privateers, such as the *Alabama* and the *Georgia*, had been built in English yards, usually under the pretence of being destined for some Foreign Power which was at peace. When they escaped to sea and got their armament on board, they hoisted their true colours, and set forth to prey on American commerce. It has been shown how the precautions which the authorities had taken to prevent the Southern cruisers from escaping were evaded. The authorities, however, were more successful in arresting certain steam-rams—which were being built at the yard of Messrs. Laird in Birkenhead—the sailing of which Mr. Adams warned Lord Russell would be taken by the Federal Government as an act of war. Lord Monck, then Viceroy of Canada, in a letter to the late Mr. A. Hayward, says that the arrest of the rams had produced a good effect in favour of the English Government on the *official* mind in America. On the other hand, the ship-building trade supported Messrs. Laird in denouncing the action of the authorities; and the Tory Opposition, and the sympathisers with the Slave States joined the shipbuilders in attacking the Government. These attacks were futile, but to avoid the annoyance of litigation, the Government virtually bribed Messrs. Laird into silence by buying the rams for her Majesty's service. On the other hand, the partisans of the Northern States blamed the Government for being too generous in extending hospitality to the Southern cruisers, or "pirates," as they were termed by the extreme Radicals of the period.

When the *Georgia*, a Confederate cruiser, which had been built on the Clyde, and secretly equipped by a Liverpool firm, put into Liverpool, it was pointed out that she ought not to be treated as a ship of war. She had been preying on the commerce of a friendly Power. Like a pirate, she had never taken her prizes to be condemned in a Prize Court, but had scuttled them on the high seas. She had never once been in any of the ports of the belligerent Power under whose flag she sailed, and altogether a very unpleasant precedent for a great Maritime State was being created by her reception at Liverpool. The Queen was understood to be somewhat uneasy on the subject, and Mr. Thomas Baring, on the part of the commercial community, expressed a similar feeling of discomfort. It was admitted that the Government had the power to exclude these vessels from English ports, but Ministers contended that it would be inexpedient to act so conspicuously in favour of one of the belligerents, between whom they desired to stand absolutely neutral. The Government could not be induced to go further than promise to remonstrate with the Confederates on account of the conduct of their agents in this country.* Complaints were then made that the Federal Government were surreptitiously carrying on a system of recruiting in Ireland. Of this no proof could be obtained, because of the cloak which emigration gave to the proceedings of the American agents. It was well known in Ireland that any able-bodied labourer who emigrated to New York could get a bounty of nearly £100 if he joined the colours. Hence, it is difficult to believe that the American "crimps" had any inducements to effect the enlistment of Irish recruits at Cork, rather than at New York. There is reason to think that the "crimps" infested passenger ships and cajoled emigrants during the voyage to enlist when they arrived at New York. But public opinion was satisfied that the Government could not effectually stop proceedings of this sort—especially on imperfect evidence.

In 1864 finance was again the mainstay of Lord Palmerston's Administration. Mr. Gladstone had come to be regarded as a kind of fiscal magician. He rose superior to every reverse of fortune, and he had an expedient ready to meet every emergency. In spite of monetary panics, cotton famines, lavish military expenditure, and large remissions of taxation, the elasticity of the revenue under his fostering care supplied every deficit almost as soon as it was created. The public credit of England had never been higher; her finances had never been more stable or productive. On the 7th of April, when the Budget was introduced, he spoke to an overflowing House, and

* The Confederate cruisers that had escaped from British ports—the *Florida*, *Alabama*, *Virginia*, and *Rappahannock*—had taken 187 ships and destroyed property exceeding in value £3,000,000. There was only one thing distinguishing them from English privateers—namely, that their chief officers carried Confederate commissions. Some of them got away because the Courts, from the ambiguous state of our law, could not condemn them. Others escaped through the delay and negligence of the authorities.

princes, peers, foreign envoys, and men of distinction in all ranks gathered together to listen to the orator. The year had been uneventfully prosperous, and again the balances were on the right side of the national ledger. The revenue had produced £70,208,000, or £2,037,000 above the estimates; the expenditure had been £67,056,000, or £1,227,000 below the estimates. On the existing basis of taxation, Mr. Gladstone estimated for the coming year a revenue of £69,460,000; but his estimated expenditure was only £66,890,000,



THE GUARD ROOM, WINDSOR CASTLE.

so that there was a large margin for financial readjustments. He got rid of £20,000 by modifying the duty on corn and grain and the tax on small licences; he devoted £1,330,000 to reduce the sugar duties, and by taking a penny off the Income Tax he sacrificed at once £800,000, though ultimately £1,200,000; he reduced the duty on fire insurances on stock-in-trade from 3s. to 1s. 6d. per £, which involved a loss of £283,000. The net result of his scheme was a loss of revenue of £2,332,000, while the relief from taxation amounted to £3,000,000. This left him with an estimated surplus for the coming year of £238,000. The Budget was popular, not only on its own account, but on account of the masterly exposition of the financial state of England which accompanied it. Englishmen read with swelling pride the

figures in which Mr. Gladstone congratulated them on a steady increase of £1,000,000 every year to their revenue—an increase due to its “inherent vigour.” As for the movement of trade, it was marvellous, the value of exports and imports having increased from £377,000,000 in 1871, to £444,000,000 in 1874. Nor was the Queen capable of concealing her satisfaction at the results of the great fiscal policy, the responsibility for initiating which, she and her husband had anxiously shared with Peel. It was the justification, not only of his foresight, but of their unswerving faith in his insight and ideas, that since 1842 the trade of her people had simply been trebled—that what men of business called their “turnover” had now reached the enormous sum of £1,500,000 for every working day of the year. It was not surprising that, with such mighty interests at stake, her Majesty cast her personal influence into the scale against Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell, who led the War Party in the Cabinet, and shrank from putting such a vast fabric of industry in jeopardy, merely to gratify the wounded vanity of a Minister who, having signed an invalid Treaty, was enraged because it was torn up under his eyes. Mr. Gladstone carried his Budget, though he failed to carry a useful measure to substitute the Scottish for the English system of collecting Imperial taxes.* He was successful, however, in spite of the clamour of the private companies, in passing a beneficial measure removing the restriction on Government life insurances.†

Lord Russell in his speech at Blairgowrie, in the recess of 1863, had told Reformers that they should “rest and be thankful.” In 1864, however, they not only refused to follow the advice, but were rewarded for their enterprise by taking captive no less prominent a personage than the Chancellor of the Exchequer. There had been the usual debate on the ballot, in which the old arguments for and against it were set forth in the old way. Mr. Locke King had revived his scheme for extending the £20 franchise to counties. But both projects had been rejected, and everybody felt that the cause of reform was once more shelved, till suddenly the whole question was quickened into life by Mr. Gladstone’s unexpected declaration of policy. Mr. Baines, one of the members for Leeds, had brought in a Bill substituting a £6 for a £10 rental in boroughs, and it was met by Mr. Cave moving the previous question, on the ground that the

* In England the Queen’s taxes are collected by sending petty local officials round from door to door. In Scotland the Collector of Taxes is a high Imperial official, and the people on a specified date go to his office and pay their taxes. The result is, that though defalcations are too common in England, they are unknown in Scotland. Whilst in England a vast fabric of arrears accumulates from year to year and the revenue comes in dribblets, the whole Imperial taxation of Scotland, including that of the poor Islanders, is paid promptly to the Treasury within the first fortnight of every January. There are no arrears except from poverty, and these are trivial.

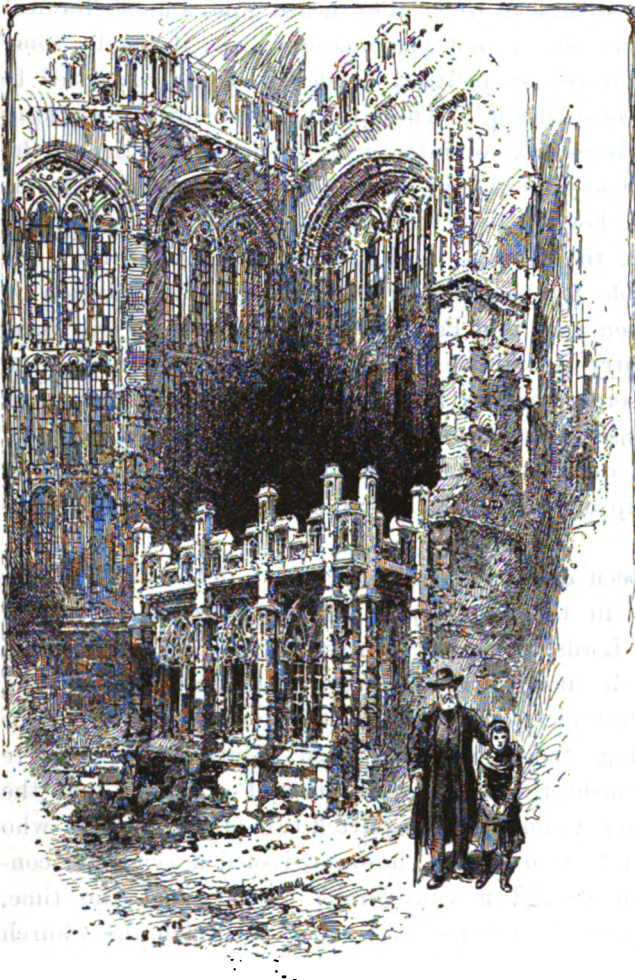
† As the law stood, Government could only grant life insurances to the amount of £100 to persons who purchased deferred annuities. Mr. Gladstone abolished that restriction. It is curious that, though the Bill met with much opposition in the House of Commons, in the Lords it was welcomed as a boon to the working-classes, who urgently desired the measure to pass.

working classes did not need or want any better representation of their interests than they enjoyed already. Mr. Gladstone, however, to the consternation of the Whigs and Tories, intervened in the debate, and declared that he thought there ought to be "a sensible and considerable addition" to the infinitesimal portion of the working classes then in possession of the franchise. This he defined to be such as would have been made by the Government proposal of 1860. The Whigs grew pale with fear when they heard him, amidst Radical cheers, declare "that every man who is not presumably incapacitated by some consideration of personal unfitness or political danger is morally entitled to come within the pale of the constitution." The upper stratum of the working class which was deprived of votes was not inferior to the lower stratum of the middle class, which had votes—indeed, the one section of society was as worthy as the other. As Mr. Forster observed, this speech from the leading member of the Government in the House—Lord Palmerston was absent on the occasion—rendered it impossible for the Ministry to set aside the question of Reform much longer. All men saw that Parties would soon have to join issue and decide whether the country was to be governed by a Tory Ministry on Tory principles, or by a Liberal Ministry acting on Conservative ideas and in secret league with the Conservative Leaders. Mr. Baines's Bill was got rid of by carrying the "previous question"—but from that day it was settled that the reversion of the leadership of the Liberal Party in the Commons must fall to Mr. Gladstone.

The Session would have been dull and leaden save for a debate with which the Peers diverted the town in the dog days. On the 15th of July Lord Houghton, in the House of Lords, protested against Convocation issuing a synodical condemnation of a now forgotten book entitled "Essays and Reviews," in which seven clever clergymen discoursed with mild and timorous heterodoxy on seven burning theological questions. Current views were challenged in the light of modern German research and criticism, and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had acquitted two of the authors who had been prosecuted for heresy.* Convocation, however, issued a synodical condemnation of the book which created a considerable sensation at the time, as it was the first occasion during a century and a half on which the Church of England asserted her claim to pronounce authoritatively in controversies of faith. Lord Houghton challenged the legality of the condemnation, and pressed the Government to take action in the matter. Lord Chancellor Westbury disposed of the subject in a provokingly contemptuous statement. There

* One was Dr. Rowland Williams, whose essay on Bunsen's Biblical Researches—affirming that the Bible was "an expression of devout reason, and therefore to be read with reason in freedom"—was supposed to deny that it was the actual word of God. It also affirmed that "the doctrine of merit by transfer is a fiction." The other defendant was the Rev. H. B. Wilson, whose essay on "Séances Historiques de Genève" was said to deny that the Holy Scriptures were written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and to challenge the doctrine of final judgment and eternal punishment.

were, he said, three modes of dealing with Convocation. The first was to take no notice of its proceedings when they were harmless; the second was, when it was likely to do mischief, to prorogue it and put an end to its power; the third was to bring its members to the bar of justice. To pass such a judgment as had been pronounced on "Essays and Reviews," Lord Westbury held



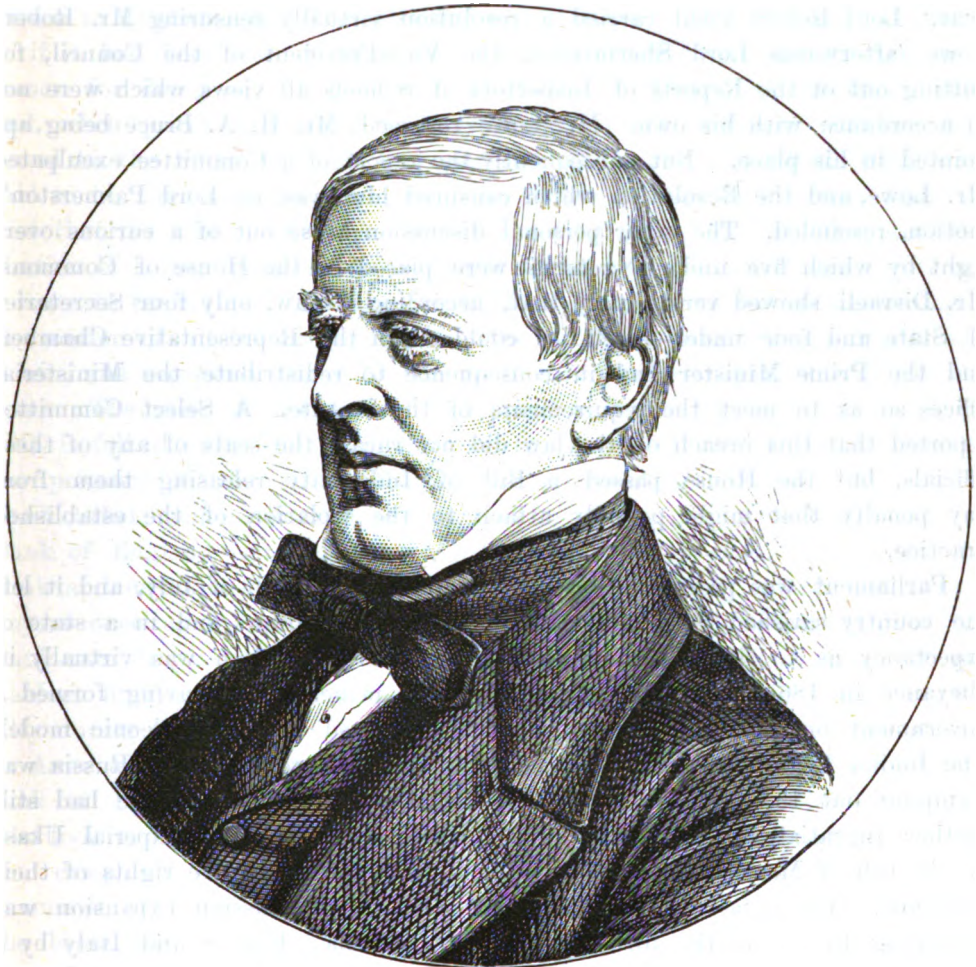
OLIVER KING'S CHANTRY, ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR.

was technically a usurpation of the prerogative of the Crown as the head of the Anglican Church. Hence members of Convocation had rendered themselves liable to the penalties of *præmunire*, and to appear as penitents in sackcloth and ashes. Something like £40,000 in fines, he declared, might be exacted from them, but still the Government in the circumstances meant to take no action. *Solvuntur risu tabulæ*. Westbury's mincing sneering tones would have sufficed to stir the old Adam in militant ecclesiastics, but it happened that in describing a synodical judgment he directed a personal attack with biting wit and bad taste against the Bishop of Oxford. Such a sentence could not conveniently be dealt with, said Westbury,

because "it was a set of what he might call well-lubricated words, but it was a sentence so oily, so absurd, and so saponaceous* that no one could grasp it, but, like an eel, it slipped through the fingers. It must mean something or nothing, and he was glad to be able to tell his noble friend (Lord Houghton) that it had literally no signification whatever." Wilberforce

* Wilberforce's popular nickname was notoriously "Soapy Sam"—hence the malignity of Westbury's attack.

lifted the gage of battle with the spirit of a trained gladiator of debate, and he certainly had not the worst of the duel. "If," said he, "a man has no respect for himself, he ought at all events to respect the tribunal before which he speaks, and when the highest representative of the law of



MR. LOWE (AFTERWARDS LORD SHERBROOKE).

England in your Lordships' Court, upon a matter involving the liberties of the subject and the religion of the Realm, and all those high truths concerning which this discussion is, can think it fitting to descend to a ribaldry in which he knows that he can safely indulge, because those to whom he addresses it will have too much respect for their character to answer it in like sort. I say that this House has ground to complain of having its high character unnecessarily injured in the sight of the people of this land by one occupying so high a position within it."* The edifying spectacle of a

* Life of Wilberforce, Vol. III., p. 143.

Bishop and the Keeper of the Queen's Conscience waking the funereal echoes of the House of Lords with acrimonious personalities naturally enlivened the London season of 1864. Quite a year elapsed before the Bishop of Oxford and Lord Westbury resumed anything approaching friendly relations.

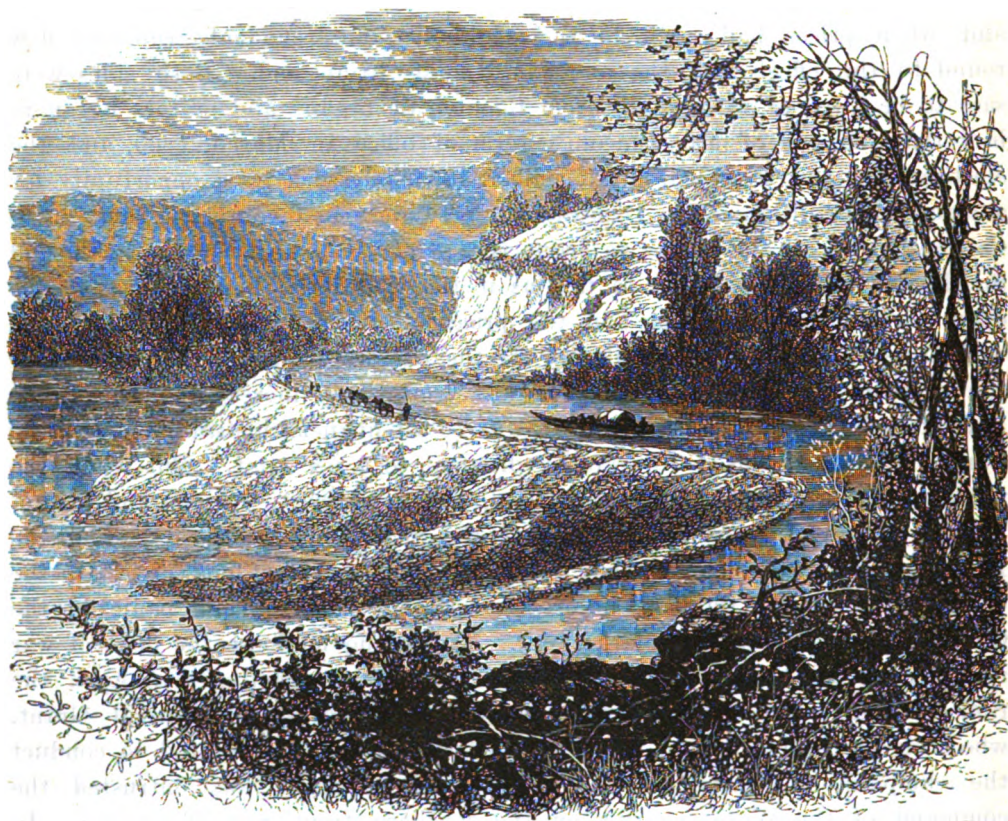
Two other personal questions marked the history of Parliament during the year. Lord Robert Cecil carried a resolution virtually censuring Mr. Robert Lowe (afterwards Lord Sherbrooke), the Vice-President of the Council, for cutting out of the Reports of Inspectors of Schools all views which were not in accordance with his own. Mr. Lowe resigned, Mr. H. A. Bruce being appointed in his place. But subsequently the report of a Committee exculpated Mr. Lowe, and the Resolution which censured him, was, on Lord Palmerston's motion, rescinded. The other personal discussion arose out of a curious oversight by which five under-secretaries were placed in the House of Commons. Mr. Disraeli showed very clearly that, according to law, only four Secretaries of State and four under-secretaries could sit in the Representative Chamber, and the Prime Minister had in consequence to redistribute the Ministerial offices so as to meet the requirements of the Statute. A Select Committee reported that this breach of the law did not vacate the seats of any of these officials, but the House passed a Bill of Indemnity releasing them from any penalty that might possibly attach to the violation of the established practice.

Parliament was prorogued by Commission on the 29th of July, and it left the country satisfied with its relations to Foreign Powers and in a state of expectancy as to domestic reforms. The Eastern Question was virtually in abeyance in 1864, the ruler of the Danubian principalities having formed a government on the basis of a revolution organised on a Napoleonic model. The Ionian Islands were formally ceded by England to Greece. Russia was stamping out the last embers of the Polish insurrection, and she had still further ingratiated herself with the Polish peasants by the Imperial Ukase of the 6th of March, which released them from the oppressive rights of their landlords. Circassia was annexed, and the tide of Russian expansion was beginning to set in the direction of Central Asia. France and Italy by a convention signed at Paris, had come to an agreement, first, that French troops should quit Rome, and that Italy should pledge herself to respect the territory of the Holy See. At the same time Italy resolved to transfer her capital from Turin to Florence, the reason being that Florence was less exposed to an attack from France or Austria. The French Emperor had the good fortune in the course of the year to see his *protégé*, the Archduke Maximilian crowned in the Mexican capital, and the Latin Empire of the West recognised by the chief European Powers. The Government of the United States withheld its recognition, but the House of Representatives at Washington on the 5th of April passed a resolution declaring that the people of the United States would never recognise a Monarchy under the protection of a

European Power, which had been established in the Western Hemisphere on the ruins of an American Republic.

But the truth is, that after the defeat of the War Party on the Danish Question, the English people in 1864 felt little interest in any foreign affairs save the Civil War in the United States, which is, however, hardly a foreign nation to Englishmen. They followed every phase of that struggle as closely as if it had been one of their own. The commercial community had good reason for doing so. Cotton was the favourite article for gambling with, and, when prices had risen to their highest point, suddenly rumours flew round to the effect that the war was coming to an end. Both sides were said to be tired of strife, and even Republican organs and orators began to hint that the end of Mr. Lincoln's term of office in March, 1865, and the election of a new President in November, 1864, offered a good opportunity for a truce to hostilities. The Democratic Party were in favour of assembling a Convention of all the States to argue the points at issue between North and South, and everybody began to talk as if the Southern ports would soon be open. The price of cotton and the prices of other staples that had risen with it fell at once, and speculators for the rise were ruined. In September the pressure on the Money Market was enormously increased. The Leeds Bank failed; general distrust prevailed as to all financial institutions; and the Bank of England raised its rate of discount to 9 per cent. But when the weak and unstable firms were eliminated, low prices began to rule and attract buyers once again, and at the end of the year confidence revived, and the Bank rate dropped to 6 per cent. The wavering and tortuous policy of the Cabinet during the Danish Conference certainly produced one panic in the City during the early part of the year. Till spring let loose the dogs of war in America, the Northern and Southern armies were inactive. In April the rank of Lieutenant-General was conferred by Congress on General Grant, who took supreme command of all the Federal forces. He resolved to conduct the campaign in Virginia, while to General Sherman was entrusted the command of the Western army on the southern frontier of Tennessee. In the beginning of May both forces made their first move. On the 3rd of May Grant resolved to strike at Richmond, and he sent Meade with his main body over the Rapidan, so that he might gain the shelter of the wooded country south of Chancellorsville before General Lee, who covered Richmond, could attack him. Lee, however, foiled this movement by his prompt attack of the 5th and 6th of May, during which days the battle of Chancellorsville raged without ceasing. The Confederate Generals Longstreet and Jenkins fell in this fight, the result of which was not quite decisive. On former occasions, when Burnside and Hooker met with such an attack, they had shrunk from proceeding farther on the road to Richmond. But Grant was undaunted by the losses he had suffered, and persistently pressed Lee by flanking movements, which drove him back step by step. In Grant's

own words, he kept "pegging away" till, on the 19th of May, Lee, by an artful feigned attack on the Federal right, was able to effect a retreat with his main army to a position twenty miles in front of Richmond. Grant's losses during these ten days were enormous. On the 16th of May 33,800 of his wounded were under treatment in the hospitals in various parts of the country. Lee's position on the right was covered by a swamp, and on the



THE JAMES RIVER AND COUNTRY NEAR RICHMOND.

left by a rivulet. His front was defended by a curved line of works, the convexity of which projected forward. Grant's object was now to get between Lee and Richmond. Lee's object was to compel Grant to attack him before he could reach Richmond, and, as he could always move on a smaller arc than that on which Grant had to manoeuvre, the strategic advantage was with Lee. He could always keep his face to the foe, and have the lines of Richmond in his rear as a refuge. On the line of the Chickahominy, attack followed counter-attack, but it was observed that in every instance the attacking party failed, for the configuration of the country enabled troops to entrench themselves easily. In June Grant suddenly changed his plans, and

transferred his whole army to the south side of the James River.* He failed to surprise Petersburg on the 16th of June, and he then formed an entrenched camp on the angle between the James River and the Appomattox. Lee had now forced him to describe more than half the circuit of Richmond, and, in



GENERAL SHERMAN.

spite of all his sacrifices, he was no nearer his objective point. Concerted movements by Butler on the James River and by Hunter in the neighbourhood of Lynchburg were foiled by the Confederates, and Grant's next attack on Petersburg on the 26th of July was repelled. In September, however, he pushed his left wing across the Weldon Valley, and menaced the remaining

* It was said that at the outset he might have embarked his army from Washington and transported them without the loss of a single man to the point he had now reached, after prowling like a wolf for many weeks round the Confederate lines to the south of Richmond.

communications between Richmond and the South. The Confederate General Early about the same time effected a diversion by crossing the Potomac, and threatening Washington and Baltimore, but he was driven back by Sheridan. Richmond, however, was now invested by 100,000 enemies, and night and day the thundering of cannon broke on the ears of its inhabitants.

In the west the Federals were more successful. Sherman, starting with a splendid army from Chattanooga in May, drove Johnston before him towards Atlanta, which was evacuated by the Confederates on the 27th of September. The Confederate General, Hood, however, by a rapid movement passed round Sherman's right wing, and cut his communications with the North. Whenever Sherman attacked him, Hood turned towards Alabama. Then the daring and original idea occurred to Sherman to quit Atlanta—which could not be conveniently held while Hood hovered over his rear—and march straight onwards through Georgia to the sea. He left Thomas with 20,000 men to hold Hood in Tennessee, whilst he himself with 50,000 men proceeded to devastate Georgia by fire and sword. His march was marked by a track of desolation from forty to fifty miles broad. As the year closed he received the capitulation of Savannah, and demonstrated to the world by his marvellous strategy that the Southern Confederacy was like a nut with a hard shell, but no kernel inside. It is the mark of genius to convert defeat into victory, and this was the feat that Sherman achieved when Hood, by cutting his communications with the North, suggested to him the daring stroke by which he pierced the very vitals of the Confederacy. It need hardly be said that Sherman's march through Georgia was represented to the English people by many aristocratic organs as a retreat, and that his abandonment of Atlanta, when Hood worked round his right, was hailed by Society as a supreme disaster for "the bubble Republic." At sea the Federals were also fortunate. In June the United States ship of war *Kearsarge* sank the *Alabama* near Cherbourg, and the *Wachusett* captured the *Florida*, though by a violation of the laws of neutrality, in the harbour of Bahia. Confederate partisans from Canada had made futile raids on the territory of New York, thereby increasing the animosity of the Americans against England. The Canadian authorities no doubt arrested the raiders, but they also discharged them because of some technical flaw in their jurisdiction. President Lincoln in July called out a fresh draft of 500,000 men for service, and this did not tend to make the war popular at the beginning of the year. The enormous sacrifices of life which Grant's strategy involved, also strengthened the hands of the Peace Party or Democrats. When arrangements had to be made for choosing Presidential candidates there was a strange cleavage of Parties. The old Abolitionists nominated General Fremont. The Republican Party, however, at the Baltimore Convention, nominated Mr. Lincoln. The Democrats, on the other hand, selected General McClellan. His manifesto practically meant that he desired negotiations to be opened up for the purpose of

restoring the Union with slavery on the old footing—but the Union must be restored. This alienated a strong faction of Democrats, who were for peace at any price—even at the price of cutting the Slave States adrift—and dissolving the Union. General Fremont withdrew, and it was soon evident, especially when news of Sherman's successes came in, that Mr. Lincoln, as the representative of the national war policy, was the popular favourite.

Very early in the year, on the 8th of January, the Queen had the gratification of learning that a son and heir had been born to the Prince and Princess of Wales. The event was not expected by her Majesty till March, so that no preparations had been made by the Queen or her Household, at Frogmore—where the Princess was staying at the time—for the accouchement. "There was no nurse," writes Lord Malmesbury in his Diary, "no baby-linen, and no doctor, except Mr. Brown, the Windsor physician, who attended [the Princess] and brought the child into the world, for which it is said he will be made a knight and receive £500. Lady Macclesfield was fortunately in waiting, and as she has had a great many children, she was probably of use. Lord Granville was the only Minister in attendance, having come to dine with the Prince, and there was not time to summon the others, as the Princess was not ill more than three hours. She had been to see the skating, and did not return to Frogmore till four o'clock, soon after which she was taken ill."* A telegram was sent to the Queen at Osborne immediately after the birth of the little Prince, and next day Frogmore was a scene of busy excitement—Ministers of State and the chief members of the nobility thronging in large numbers to offer their congratulations to the Prince of Wales. All over the kingdom the birth of the Prince was hailed with demonstrations of joy, and in London, when the news was announced, the Tower guns fired a double Royal salute. On the 10th of March, the first anniversary of the marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales, their child was christened in the private chapel of Buckingham Palace, the Queen being present on the occasion. The King of the Belgians was also there, and among the company were the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Palmerston, many Ministers of State, and nearly all the representatives of Foreign Courts. The King of the Belgians and Princess Helena represented the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia, who were sponsors, the others being the Duchess of Cambridge; the Dowager Duchess of Sleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg; Prince John of Sleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg representing the King of Denmark; the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz representing the Duchess of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha; Prince Alfred and the Duke of Cambridge. Crimson velvet, panelled with gold lace, covered the altar of the chapel. The splendid church plate was displayed, and seats covered with crimson and gold were arranged within the rail for the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the officiating clergy. Over the

* *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 309.

altar was hung a rich piece of tapestry, representing the Baptism of our Saviour. A fluted white plinth, picked out with gold, supported the font, which was a tazza of silver-gilt, the rim representing the flowers and leaves of the water-lily, whilst a group of cherubs were shown playing round the base. The Queen, who was dressed in black silk and crape, formed a sombre figure in this brilliant assembly. The Lord Chamberlain and the Groom of the Stole conducted the infant Prince into the chapel, his Royal Highness being carried in the arms of his nurse, Mrs. Clark, and attended by the Countess of Macclesfield, one of the Ladies of the Bedchamber to the Princess of Wales. The little Prince wore the same robe of rich Honiton lace which had been used for his father at his christening. When the Archbishop came to that part of the service for naming the child, he asked how it should be named. The Queen answered quite audibly, "Albert Victor Christian Edward," and his Grace accordingly baptised it in these names. After the ceremony was over the company proceeded to the Green Drawing-room and the Picture-gallery, and shortly afterwards partook of a cold luncheon with the Royal Family in the supper-room. In the evening the Prince and Princess of Wales gave a banquet at Marlborough House, where some embarrassment was said at the time to have been caused by Count Bernstorff, the Prussian Minister, refusing to drink the health of the King of Denmark. This incident was for a few days eagerly canvassed by the gossips of clubland, but Bernstorff himself always denied the tale. In fact, he was so much annoyed by the persistency with which it was repeated in Society that he sent an official contradiction to Earl Russell.* Among the baptismal gifts one of the most striking was that which was presented by the Queen to her little grandson. It was a beautiful little statuette of the Prince Consort, made to the Queen's design, and with inscriptions written by herself. The Prince's figure is clad in gilt armour, copied from the effigy of the Earl of Warwick, in St. Mary's Church, Warwick, and he is represented as Christian in the "Pilgrim's Progress." Round the plinth is the verse from Timothy—"I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith." On the stump of an old oak behind the figure rests Christian's helmet, while hard by are the lilies of purity which one always associates with old pictures of the Pilgrim. Beneath the plinth and in front of the entablature of the pedestal is the inscription, "Given to Albert Victor Christian Edward on the occasion of his baptism by Victoria R., his grandmother, and godmother, in memory of Albert, his beloved grandfather." Appropriate verses written by Mrs. Protheroe, wife of the rector of Whippingham, the Queen's parish church at Osborne, are inscribed on three of the panels. Beneath the front panel, over the figures 1864, are inscribed in large letters the Prince's name, and the dates of his birth and baptism.

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 318.

Figures of Faith and Hope, in oxidised silver, stand at the right and left side of the work, and in a third niche behind is the figure of Charity. At the side of each figure are lilies in enamel, and on the frieze over the figure of Faith are the words, "Walk as he walked in—Faith," the last word being inscribed beneath the figure. This pretty conceit is carried all through. For in the same way one reads, "Strive as he strove in—Hope," and over the third group one reads, "Think as he thought in—Charity." To the right of



THE ROYAL NURSERY, OSBORNE.

(From a Photograph by Hughes and Mullins, Ryde.)

the Prince of Wales's shield is an infant boy looking up at a full-blown rose on a perfect stem, and beside it a white lily, whilst over the baby fingers droop a cluster of snowdrops, emblematic of the dawning flower-life of the year. The rose, shamrock, and thistle are worked into the background.

The day after the ceremony at Buckingham Palace was marked by a catastrophe which seriously shocked the Queen. The Bradfield reservoir of the Sheffield Waterworks burst, and the letting loose of its pent-up waters spread desolation far and wide all along the river from Bradfield to Sheffield. Whole villages were swept down the Valley of the Don, and places once populous were suddenly converted into a swamp of mud, with here and there a broken

mill wheel left to mark the site of what had once been a happy hive of industry. Some of the streets of Sheffield itself were flooded, and low-lying, open spaces were turned into lakes dotted with islands formed by rubbish heaps. Wreckage of all kinds and the corpses of the drowned marked the track of the current. The disaster was appalling in the suddenness of its occurrence. The first intimation that hundreds of people had of it was the lifting up of their beds by the water as they lay asleep in their homes. In Sheffield, during the stillness of the night, those who were awake said they suddenly heard an unearthly roar which increased in volume, that this was succeeded by a hissing noise, as of angry waves dashing on sharp and beetling crags, and then by weird shrieks, soon followed by the rush of a panic-stricken crowd, flying with their families from the neighbourhood of the river for safety, and crying, "Oh, God! the flood! the flood!" Some 270 lives were lost, and property to the value of £1,000,000 was destroyed. A relief fund was at once started both in Sheffield and in London, and on the 16th of January Mr. Roebuck, M.P. for Sheffield, received the following letter, which testified to the sympathetic interest with which the Queen had read the accounts of what had happened:—

"SIR,—I have had the honour to submit to her Majesty the Queen your letter received last night. Her Majesty had already directed me to make inquiry whether any subscription had been commenced for the relief of the sufferers by the fearful calamity which has occurred near Sheffield. The Queen has commanded me to inform you that it is her Majesty's intention to contribute £200 towards the objects advocated in your letter. Her Majesty has commanded me to add the expression of her deep sympathy for the poor persons thus suddenly overwhelmed with grief, and exposed to suffering of every description in consequence of this unexpected and dire calamity. As I am not aware of the name of the treasurer, I shall be very much obliged to you if you will take the trouble to forward the enclosed cheque to the proper quarter.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

"C. B. PHIPPS."

An official investigation was made into the cause of the disaster, in the course of which Mr. Rawlinson, the eminent engineer, said, "Several causes may have led to the catastrophe—a fractured pipe, a blown or drawn joint, a creep along the pipes, a pressing down of the pipes in the puddle-trench by the heavy material on both sides of it, or the washing away of the outer slope by a landslip, caused by undiscovered fissures and springs in communication with the interior of the reservoir, which fissures and springs, if they existed, would become active for mischief as the water rose in the reservoir." The general opinion was that a mistake had been made in laying pipes in the centre of the embankment upon an artificially compressible material—that the bursting of some of these pipes caused a great volume of water suddenly to blow a chasm in the embankment. The celebrated Telford was always opposed to laying pipes through the embankment of a dam, and there could be little doubt that the coroner's jury came to the right conclusion when they declared in their verdict, that the works had not been constructed with

the engineering skill and attention which their magnitude and importance demanded.

On the 30th of April the Queen appeared in public for the first time since the death of the Prince Consort. She visited the gardens of the Horticultural Society, where a flower-show was going on, but the weather was bleak and cold and sleety, and the company assembled to see her were fain to take shelter in the conservatory. She was dressed in deep mourning, yet the visitors all agreed that her appearance was less downcast than they had been led to expect, and she was observed to chat cheerfully with the ladies and gentlemen who were around her. This year, it may also be observed, the Queen's birthday was kept in London, with all the old ceremonies of high state, for the first time since Prince Albert's death. The Guards trooped their colours in presence of the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the church bells of the "three Royal Parishes" in London—Westminster, Kensington, and St. Martin's-in-the-Fields—rang out their most joyous chimes. There was a floral *fête* at the Horticultural Gardens, and the houses of Ministers of State, of the Clubs, the Government Offices, together with the shops of the Royal tradesmen at the West End, were illuminated as in old times. From May to August the Queen had enjoyed the company of the Princess Louis of Hesse, but when autumn set in and Parliament had been prorogued, the Court migrated to Scotland, and on the 28th of August the Queen broke her journey at Perth to inaugurate a statue to the Prince Consort. The Lord Provost and magistrates of the "Fair City," and all the local magnates of the county gave her a cordial welcome, and in her suite were the Princess Helena, the Princess Louise, the Duke and Duchess of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Princess Beatrice, and Prince Leopold, the Marchioness of Ely, Sir Charles Wood, and Sir Charles Phipps. After the Queen uncovered the statue, which was greatly admired, she conferred the honour of Knighthood on Lord Provost Ross.

The Prince and Princess of Wales left the Highlands in the beginning of September for Denmark, and the Queen's holiday was restful and quiet. The only incident that troubled it seriously was due to the pressure which was put upon her to save the life of Franz Müller, the murderer of Mr. Briggs, chief clerk of Messrs. Robarts and Co., the great bankers in the City. Müller had murdered Mr. Briggs in a railway carriage on the night of the 9th July, between Fenchurch Street Station and Hackney Wick, and after robbing his victim threw his body out on the line. He exchanged Mr. Briggs' watch-chain for another at the shop of a jeweller called Death in Cheapside, who identified his photograph. He left a hat in the carriage which was traced to him. He then fled to America. The crime was perpetrated with ruthless brutality, and for a time railway travelling was rendered an agony to nervous passengers. The detective police had displayed great skill in following up every clue that led them on the track of the criminal, and their exciting pursuit of him across the Atlantic, his arrest in New York, his return, his

trial, at which counsel fought for his life with great courage and audacity, his conviction, his stoical denial of guilt, till at the last moment as the hangman drew the fatal bolt he uttered his confession, with the halter tightening round his throat—all contributed to rivet public attention on this most melodramatic of atrocities. A clever attempt at proving an *alibi* had been made by his counsel, and there were some who believed in Müller's innocence. The German colony in England took up his case most warmly, and it was whispered that the Queen herself was among those who feared that a judicial murder would be committed if Müller were hanged. For many days nothing else but his chances of being reprieved were discussed, and the King of Prussia, not to mention several other German Princes, sent autograph letters to the Queen pressing her to pardon the assassin. But her Majesty had watched the case carefully. She refused to interfere with the course of justice, and her prudence was justified by Müller's strange confession, made just at the moment when he leapt into eternity.*

The Queen's correspondence with the Princess Louis of Hesse seems at this time to have become again overcast by the gloom of her great sorrow. Amidst the solemn silence of her mountain home, the Queen felt the loss of the Prince Consort more acutely than while immersed in the busy life of the political year at Windsor. Her younger children were growing apace, and she now felt the need of her husband's wise and kindly counsel in educating them for their high station. To the Princess Louis she confided her thoughts, and in one of her Royal Highness's letters to the Queen, bearing date 20th of September, the following passage on the subject occurs:—" . . . What you say about the poor sisters, and, indeed, of all the younger ones, is true. The little brothers and Beatrice are those who have lost most, poor little things! I can't bear to think of it, for dear papa, more peculiarly than any other father, was wanted for his children; and he was the dear friend and even playfellow besides. Such a loss as ours is indeed unique. Time only increases its magnitude, and the knowledge of the want is felt more keenly."† In November the birth of a little grand-daughter at Hesse (the Princess Elizabeth) gave rise to an affectionate interchange of letters between the Queen and the Princess Louis, and in one of these she refers to the efforts made by those round her Majesty to free her from the tyranny of her sad thoughts. "We are both much pleased," writes the Princess Louis to the Queen on the 20th of November, "at the arrangement about Brown and your pony, and I think it is so sensible. I am sure it will do you good, and relieve a little the monotony of your out-of-door existence, besides doing your nerves good. I had long wished you would do something of the kind, for indeed only driving is not wholesome." On the 18th of December Dr. Norman McLeod, writing in his Diary at Darmstadt, says:—"I was invited

* He was executed on the 14th of November, 1864.

† Alice: Grand Duchess of Hesse. Biographical Sketch and Letters, pp. 74, 75.



THE QUEEN AT OSBORNE.

(After W. Holt's Engraving of the Original Portrait by Graefle. By Permission of Mr. Mitchell, Old Bond Street, W.)

by Prince Alfred to spend the fourth anniversary of his father's death with him at Darmstadt. The Queen commanded me to see her before I went, so on Monday I went to Windsor. I told her that the more I was confided in, the more I felt my responsibility to speak the truth."* Dr. McLeod was charged with loving messages to the Princess Louis, who, on December 15, writes to the Queen in reply as follows:—"I had not a moment to myself to write to you yesterday, and to thank you for the kind lines you sent me through dear Dr. McLeod. He gave us a most beautiful service, a sermon giving an outline of dear papa's noble, great, and good character, and there were most beautiful allusions to you in his prayer, in which we all prayed together most earnestly for you, precious mamma! We talked long together afterwards about dear papa, and about you, and, though absent, were very near you in thought and prayer. Dear Vicky† talked so lovingly and tenderly of you, of how home-sick she sometimes felt. She was not with us on that dreadful day three years ago, and that is so painful to her. Dear Affie‡ was, as we all were, so much overcome by all Dr. McLeod said. Vicky, Affie, Louis, and myself sat in the little dining-room; he read to us there. Fritz had left early in the morning. The day was passed quietly and peaceably together, and I was most grateful to have dear Vicky and Affie with me on that day.§ My dear Louis wishes me to express to you how tenderly he thought of you, and with what sympathy on this sad anniversary. Never can we cease talking of home, of you, and of all your trials." If these trials were heavy, they were, even in the darkest hours of the Queen's life, lightened by the love with which her children cherished her.

* Life of Dr. Norman McLeod, Vol. II., pp. 176, 177.

† Crown Princess of Germany.

‡ Prince Alfred.

§ The anniversary of the Prince Consort's death.

CHAPTER X.

THE DEATH OF PALMERSTON.

Opening of Parliament—Lord Russell and the American Government—Catholicism and Conservatism—Mr. Disraeli angles for the Irish Vote—Palmerston on Tenant Right—Another Panic in Piccadilly—Death of Cobden—Failure of the "Manchester School"—A Prosperity Budget and a Round Surplus—End of the American War—Moderation of the Victors—Assassination of President Lincoln—Reorganising the South—Conflict between President Johnson and the Republican Party—The Mexican Empire and the United States—The Danish Question—The Convention of Gastein—Bismarck's Interview with the Duke of Augustenburg—The Mystery of Biarritz—Lord Chancellor Westbury's Fall—Death and Character of Palmerston—The New Ministry—Mr. Gladstone Leader of the Commons—The Rinderpest—The Fenian Conspiracy—The Queen's Letter on Railway Accidents—Laxity of Administration in the Queen's Household—Birth of Prince George of Wales—Majority of Prince Alfred—The Queen at Gotha—The Betrothal of the Princess Helena—The Last Illness and Death of King Leopold of Belgium—His Character and Career—Suppressing a Rebellion with a Carpet-Bag.

BRIGHTER prospects dawned on the year 1865 than could have been anticipated. England was at peace with all the world, and in spite of Lord Palmerston's irritation against the German Powers, it was certain that the country would not permit him to engage actively in Continental broils. The Civil War in America, so disastrous to Lancashire, was drawing to a close; and though a dubious and desultory conflict with the Maoris in New Zealand was going on, the scene of strife was far away, and the struggle but slightly affected the course of business. Trade was sound and healthy, and the cotton famine had almost disappeared. Lord Palmerston's Cabinet still held its ground, and though its aged chief had begun to show signs of physical decay, his high spirits and indefatigable energy gave no indication that the end of his career was at hand. Two of the four or five great ladies of fashion who had for forty years exercised a far-reaching, though unseen, influence on political life—Lady Tankerville and Lady Willoughby d'Eresby—had died in January, within a few days of each other. Lady Palmerston was thus left as almost the sole representative of those *grandes dames* of politics who were the flower and crown of the old order of society, soon destined to perish under the touch of democratic reform. Parliament was opened by Commission on the 7th of February. The Speech from the Throne, which was read by the Lord Chancellor, referred to the Treaty of Peace between the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the King of Denmark, and declared that no renewed disturbance of the peace of Europe was to be apprehended. It regretted the conflict with some of the native tribes in New Zealand, and rejoiced at the tranquillity of our Indian dominions. It spoke with confidence of the condition of Ireland. The Message from the Throne further promised the introduction of Bills for the amendment of the laws

relating to patents for inventions, and for conferring on the county courts an equitable jurisdiction in actions involving small amounts. A Bill for inquiring into English public schools was promised, and her Majesty directed that a commission should be issued to inquire into endowed and other schools in England. Lord Derby, though he bore traces of suffering from repeated attacks of gout, was able to speak with fluency and power, but the debates on the Address, it must be admitted, were not interesting, nor did they evoke any material opposition. Discussions took place upon the condition of the Irish peasantry, emigration, the tenure of land, tenant right, and the Established Church. The approaching triumph of the Northern States in the American Civil War was plainly foreshadowed by the increasing civility of Lord Russell's references to the Federal Government. In a discussion on our foreign relations, he vindicated the neutral policy which his Administration had pursued towards both belligerents, but towards the conqueror his neutrality was now obviously benevolent. He pointed out how Confederate agents were continually employed either in building vessels in this country, or in buying merchant ships which might afterwards be sent to France and other places that they might be fitted out as armed cruisers against the commerce of the United States, and this he now discovered gave rise to the "natural irritation" of the United States against England. The Americans, he said, saw a number of ships, which had come in some way or another from English ports or English rivers, afterwards equipped as men-of-war for the purpose of destroying their sea-borne commerce. It was to be expected that they should wax angry with us in consequence. Still, Lord Russell urged that the Government had done everything in their power to prevent this country from being made the basis of warlike operations against the Federal Government.

In those days Mr. Pope Hennessy was one of the most active and aggressive members of the Irish Party. He had been advanced in public life by the social influence of Cardinal Wiseman, and had attached himself to the Tories as one of Mr. Disraeli's partisans. His object was to revive, if possible, those Nationalist ideas which Mr. Disraeli had promulgated when bidding for the Irish vote in 1844. Mr. Disraeli's object in cultivating his enthusiasm was to use him as an agent in cementing "the natural alliance between Catholicism and Conservatism," which at the time he was most anxious to promote. Early in the Session, then, a lively discussion was initiated by Mr. Hennessy on Irish affairs, obviously with the intention of eliciting from the Ministry declarations that would tend to render Lord Palmerston's Cabinet unpopular in Ireland. Mr. Hennessy's motion was "that this House observes with regret the decline of the population of Ireland, and will readily support her Majesty's Government in any well-devised measure to stimulate the profitable employment of the people; and that an address to the Crown be prepared, founded on the foregoing resolution." The resolution was supported by a number of speakers, both Irish

and English, among whom were prominent Conservatives, like Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Robert Cecil, and prominent Whigs like Sir Patrick O'Brien and Mr. Monsell. It was opposed on the part of the Government by Mr. Gladstone, Sir Robert Peel, and Sir George Grey. Sir Stafford Northcote, in speaking on the motion, indicated very plainly that his leaders had already begun to angle for the Irish vote. Ireland, said he, had been



MIDHURST, SUSSEX: BIRTHPLACE OF CORDEN.

crippled by English legislation, and Parliament "ought to approach this question with a feeling of tenderness," and a desire to see how far it was possible to remedy that grievance. Lord Palmerston concluded the debate with a speech which has been rendered historic by one of its phrases. He said, "Until by some means there can be provided in Ireland the same remuneration for labour and the same inducements to remain which are afforded by other countries, you cannot, by any laws which you can devise, prevent the people from seeking elsewhere a better condition of things than exists in their own country. We are told that tenant right and a great many other things will do it. None of these things will have the slightest effect.

As to tenant right, I may be allowed to say that I think it is equivalent to landlord's wrong." In 1865 the idea that there was, and ever had been since the conquest of Ireland, a dual ownership in Irish soil—an ownership which naturally and equitably follows from the relations of an unimproving landlord to an improving tenant, had not yet dawned on the English mind.

One of the results of what Lord Russell called the "natural irritation" of the American people against England was a feeling of much uneasiness as to the safety of Canada. Confederate agents had attempted to make raids on Northern territory from Canadian soil. Threats of reprisals had proceeded from the organs of public opinion in the United States, and something approaching a panic was created in England, when the Federal Government gave formal notice that it was their intention to terminate the Convention under which England and the United States had mutually agreed not to fit out ships of war on the great lakes. It was also suggested that the American Government would soon "denounce" in similar fashion the Treaty of Commerce between the United States and Canada. In the House of Commons the Government was closely questioned on all these complications by Sir J. Walsh, who declared that the steps taken by the Federal Government were tantamount to a declaration of war. Palmerston tried to soothe these fears, and Earl Russell in the Upper House lavished conciliatory flattery on the United States, complimenting them on the patience with which they had endured the unsympathetic demeanour of England—the most unendurable element in which had been the tone of superfine insolence that marked his own despatches.* Yet all this time there was perfect tranquillity on the Canadian frontier. The Canadians did not seem to dread an American attack. The American Government, under Mr. Lincoln, in spite of the Irish War Party, was almost fanatically pacific. The truth was, as Mr. Bright said, that English anxiety as to the safety of Canada was due to a feeling "in our heart of hearts that we had not behaved generously to our neighbours; a twitching of the conscience that tended to make cowards of us at this particular juncture." As usual the people had to pay for this panic in Piccadilly. The Government demanded a vote of £200,000 for the defences of the Canadian frontier, of which Lord Hartington, on behalf of the War Office, proposed to spend £20,000 in fortifying Quebec. As against the

* Writing to Mr. T. B. Potter on the 23rd of February, Mr. Cobden says, "Shall I confess the thought that troubles me in connection with this subject? I have seen with disgust the altered tone with which America has been treated since she was believed to have committed suicide, or something like it. In our diplomacy, our Press, and with our public speakers, all hasten to kick the dead lion. Now in a few months everybody will know that the North will triumph, and what troubles me is lest I should live to see our ruling class—which can understand and respect *power* better than any other class—grovel once more, and more basely than before, to the giant of democracy. This would not only inspire me with disgust and indignation, but with shame and humiliation. I think I see signs that it is coming. The *Times* is less insolent, and Lord Palmerston is more civil."—*Morley's Life of Cobden*, Chap. XXXIV.

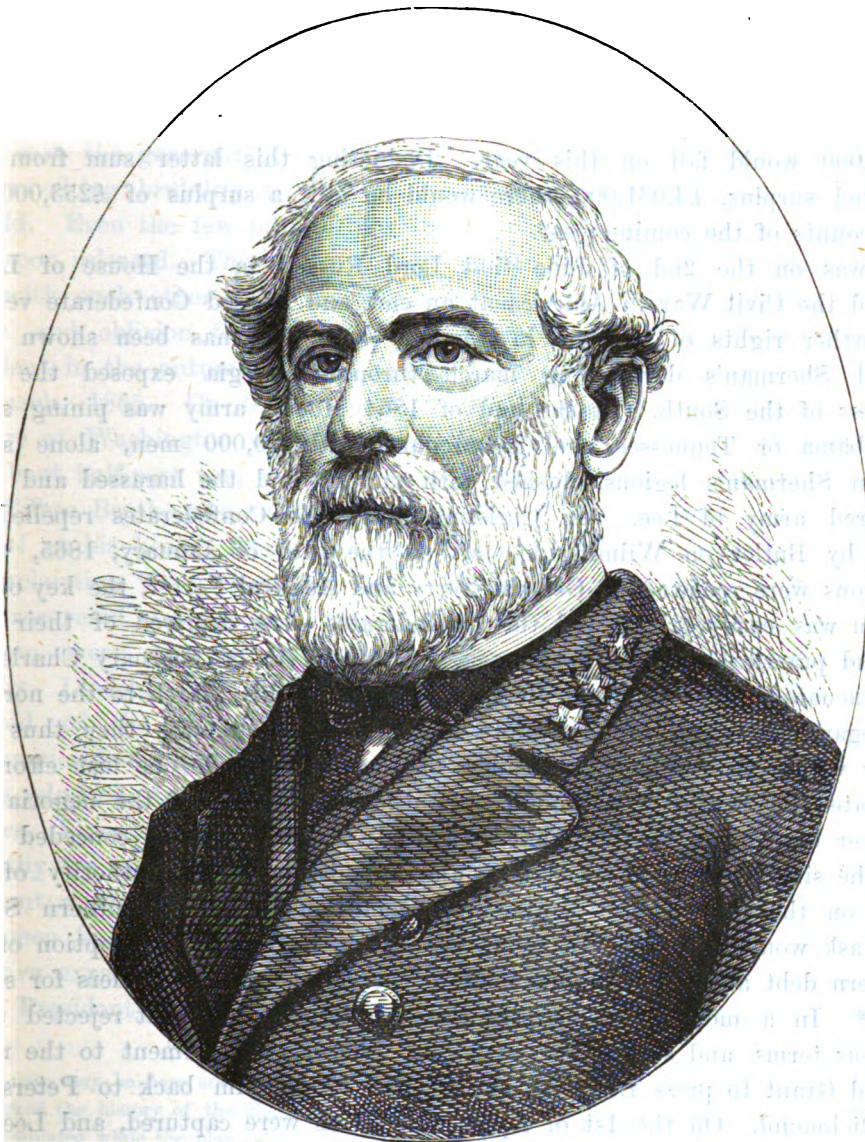
United States the frontier of Canada was of course practically indefensible. There was, therefore, reason in the contention of independent critics that such an expenditure might be regarded by the Americans as a provoking menace, rather than as a rational precaution.

By a sad coincidence, whilst these discussions were going on, the hand of death was being laid on the statesman who was of all men most competent to represent those who doubted the possibility of defending Canada. Richard Cobden, who declared that it would be just as possible for the United States to sustain Yorkshire in a war with England, as for England to enable Canada to contend against the United States, was sickening with his last illness. On the 2nd of April he died, and with him passed away the purest, most generous, and most chivalrous paladin of English Liberalism in the House of Commons. Men of all parties joined in doing homage to his memory. Mr. Disraeli vied with Mr. Bright in passing an eulogium on his public services. The Emperor of the French sent a letter of condolence to his widow. In the United States he was mourned by the American people as if he had been one of their own citizens. Mr. Bright said in the House, "I little knew how I loved him till I lost him," and it indeed seemed as if this feeling were universal throughout England. Cobden's disinterested honesty, the charm of his sweet and sympathetic nature, the fascination of his earnest, persuasive and transparently lucid eloquence, his buoyant courage, and his genuine devotion to the English people, all contributed to build up the fabric of his reputation and his popularity. His mission in life had been to beat down the power of the territorial aristocracy, which, in his youth, ruled England in the interest of a few rival groups of great families. In their place he imagined he could put a new order of merchant princes and Captains of Industry—an order of liberal-minded and highly-cultured men whose fortunes were bound up with the interest of Labour, and whose public spirit and civil capacity might recall the era of the Medici in Italy, and of the De Witts in the Low Countries. The leading ideas of the "Manchester School," which he was credited with founding, have long since ceased to influence the English mind, though some of them have had enough vitality to survive the caprice of circumstances and the course of time. Cobden's errors sprang from the fact that he believed that political power was to be finally centred in and wielded by the middle-classes. For example, it was for their interests to narrow as much as possible the Imperial responsibilities of England. Therefore, whilst he advocated Colonial autonomy it was not with a view to facilitate Imperial Federation, but to prepare the colonies for an independent existence, which should at once free us from the expense of defending them, and enrich us by the profits of their trade. On the other hand, the working classes regard the colonies as a heritage to be jealously preserved for their order, and the success of Federalism in the United States has induced them to dream of making a similar experiment within the British Empire. Obviously nothing

could be more completely at variance with Cobden's doctrines than these ideas. His scheme of policy was in fact faulty, because it was based on enriching a plutocracy, which, however, has not used its wealth for the purposes he had in view. It has, on the contrary, spent its resources in imitating and reproducing the worst qualities of the old feudal nobility, whose power Cobden desired to destroy. As the result of his policy, and the triumph of that part of it which accumulated wealth in the hands of the manufacturing classes, the country had a House of Commons in 1865, which was as much opposed to Reform as the House of Lords in 1832. For Cobden the irony of fate could hardly have been more cruel.

The financial statement of the year was preceded by motions in the House of Commons, for the purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary pledge for the remission of certain duties, which were considered a blot on the fiscal system. One was the Malt Tax, for the repeal or modification of which a desultory agitation had been promoted by the Tories for some years in the agricultural districts. The other motion was in favour of a further reduction of the duties on Fire Insurance. Though the Anti-Malt Tax agitators were beaten, the opponents of the Fire Insurance duties prevailed against the Government. The public had been informed by the Royal Speech that the receipts of the revenue had come up to the estimates; but this information rather understated the fact. The prosperity of the finances, in truth, had exceeded the most sanguine calculations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Remissions of taxation were consequently looked for, and speculation was busy with conjectures as to the quarter in which reductions would be proposed. The 27th of April was appointed for the financial statement, and on that day Mr. Gladstone presented his accounts and his plans. He had raised a larger revenue than had ever been raised in England by taxation at any period, whether of peace or war. In 1864—65 the actual expenditure had been £66,462,000, being £611,000 less than the estimate. Comparing the expenditure of the year with the revenue, he found that there was an apparent surplus of £3,231,000. The estimated revenue had been £66,128,000, whereas the actual revenue was £70,313,000. It had been expected that there would be a total loss on the year of £3,080,000, whereas there had been altogether a gain of £147,000. This showed how the prosperity of the country was advancing by leaps and bounds. Coming to the estimate of the income and expenditure of the ensuing year, Mr. Gladstone said he had to provide for an expenditure of £66,139,000, while he estimated the revenue at £70,170,000. This showed, on the basis of existing taxation, a surplus of £4,031,000. That surplus, he stated, he would dispose of as follows:—He proposed to equalise the stamp duty on scrip certificates and receipts in the case of English and Foreign transactions. The stamp on agreements for letting houses would be reduced to a penny. The tax on appraisements would be graduated, so that property amounting to £5 would not pay 2s. 6d. but

3d., and so on upwards. The stamp duty on charter parties would be reduced to 6d. There were also to be alterations in regard to Marine Insurance stamps, and stamps on insurances against accidental death, personal injury,



GENERAL ROBERT LEE.

and damages to plate-glass. He refused to reduce the Malt Tax, but he proposed to lower the Tea Duty by a remission of 6d. per lb. As to the Income Tax, he admitted that Ministers should do all they could for its reduction. It was, at present, at the lowest point, practically, at which it ever stood. It had never been lower than 6d. in the pound, but still he proposed to remove

one-third of it, thus reducing it to 4d. The final loss to the Exchequer by this reduction of 2d. would be £2,600,000, of which about £1,650,000 would fall upon the current year. Dealing with the Fire Insurance duty, he pointed out that it was desirable it should be reduced to a uniform rate of 1s. 6d., and to this would be added the substitution of a penny stamp in lieu of the 1s. duty on insurance policies. The relief given by the proposed reductions would be:—On tea, £2,300,000, on Income Tax, £2,600,000, and on Fire Insurance Duty, £520,000, making a total of £5,420,000, of which £3,778,000 would fall on this year. Deducting this latter sum from the estimated surplus, £4,031,000, there would be still a surplus of £253,000 on the accounts of the coming year.

It was on the 2nd of June that Lord Russell in the House of Lords declared the Civil War in America at an end, and refused Confederate vessels any further rights of harbour in English ports. It has been shown how General Sherman's devastating march through Georgia exposed the real weakness of the South. At the end of 1864 Hood's army was pining away in Alabama or Tennessee, and Beauregard, with 20,000 men, alone stood between Sherman's legions, flushed with victory, and the harassed and outnumbered army of Lee. On Christmas Day the Confederates repelled an attack by Butler on Wilmington, but on the 14th of January, 1865, when operations were renewed by General Terry and Admiral Porter, the key of the position was easily taken, and the Confederates were deprived of their only free and practicable outlet to the sea. On the 17th of February Charleston was evacuated. Sherman had already set forth on his march to the north—Beauregard retreating rapidly before him. And yet, though they thus had victory within their grasp, the leaders of the North made one last effort to conciliate the South. "Although no authorised version of the negotiations has ever been given to the public," says Mr. Sterne, "it was conceded that, with the single exception of slavery and submission to the authority of the Union on the part of the South, every condition that the Southern States could ask would be submitted to by the North, including the adoption of the Southern debt and the reimbursement to the Southern slave-holders for slaves lost."* In a moment of insanity the Southern Government rejected these generous terms, and so the war went on. Sherman's movement to the north enabled Grant to press Lee with effect. He forced him back to Petersburg and Richmond. On the 1st of April both towns were captured, and Lee was not only pursued but overtaken and beaten in his last fight. "General," wrote Grant to his fallen foe on the 7th of April, "the result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further

* Sterne's Constitutional History of the United States, p. 199.

effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States Army known as the Army of Northern Virginia." The capitulation was arranged on terms which were extremely generous to the vanquished. No prisoners were taken. The officers were paroled, and the troops were all permitted to return home on condition of submitting to the Federal Government. Within a few days Johnston surrendered to Sherman on the same terms, and on the 18th of April the war was at an end.

The victors astonished the world by their moderation. Not a single rebel, save the governor of a military prison, who was convicted of behaving with revolting brutality to Federal prisoners in the South, perished on the scaffold. Even the few prominent civilians who were arrested and imprisoned were soon released. The best men, both in the Northern and Southern States, vied with each other in promoting a policy based on conciliation for the future and oblivion for the past. Mr. Lincoln, who had been re-elected President in the autumn of 1864, began his second term of office on the 4th of March, 1865. On the evening of the 14th of April he visited Ford's Theatre at Washington with Mrs. Lincoln and another lady and gentleman, and about half-past ten, during a pause in the performance, he was shot by one Wilkes Booth, who suddenly entered the President's box and discharged a pistol at his head. Booth then leaped on the stage flourishing a dagger, and exclaiming "*Sic semper tyrannis!*" escaped from the theatre. Mr. Lincoln never recovered consciousness, and he died on the morning of the 15th.

From every part of the world expressions of sympathy were conveyed to Mrs. Lincoln and the American people, who had been thus cruelly deprived of the sagacious and upright statesman whose civic courage and unquenchable patriotism had saved the Union. The Queen, who had always admired Mr. Lincoln's character and career, sent an autograph letter to Mrs. Lincoln, expressing, with simple and womanly tenderness, her sympathy for the President's family.* Addresses on the assassination of the President were presented by both Houses of Parliament to the Crown, and the Queen in reply to these wrote: "I entirely participate in the sentiments you have expressed in your address to me on the subject of the assassination of the President of the United States. I have given directions to my Minister

* A note may be here added with some details of one of the most startling and tragic events that marked the history of the English-speaking race during the Queen's reign. President Lincoln was assassinated while the play called "Our American Cousin," memorable for the late Mr. Sothern's impersonation of Lord Dundreary, was going on. The assassin was John Wilkes Booth, a native of Maryland. He was an actor, and a relative of the celebrated American tragedian, Junius Brutus Booth. He was a half-crazy partisan of the Southern States, and had often threatened to kill the President. He fled to St. Mary's County, and was ultimately discovered hiding in a barn about three miles from Port Royal. He and his companions refused to surrender, and the barn was set on fire. Sergeant Corbet, of the 16th New York Cavalry, fired his carbine through one of the windows and shot Booth in the head. He died two hours and a half after he was wounded. His three companions were tried by court-martial and executed.

at Washington to make known to the Government of that country the feelings which you entertain in common with myself and my whole people with regard to this deplorable event." The miscreants who had conspired against Lincoln's life had also intended to assassinate his chief Ministers, and one of them inflicted severe wounds on Mr. Seward and his son, from which, however, they both recovered.

Mr. Lincoln was succeeded by the Vice-President, Mr. Andrew Johnson, who, in the first moments of excitement which followed Lincoln's murder, charged Mr. Jefferson Davis and the leaders of the South, with being Booth's accomplices. These charges, however, were not generally credited, because it was clear that the life of Lincoln, whose policy was notoriously one of clemency and moderation, was quite as precious to the conquered States, as to their conquerors. But undoubtedly the angry passions which Booth's crime had stimulated, increased the difficulty of reorganising the territory now held by the Federal troops. To admit the Southern States to the Union with their old rights of sovereignty and autonomy as if nothing had happened was impossible. The negroes, though free, were unenfranchised, and therefore at the mercy of their old masters. But the negroes had bled and suffered for the Union during the war, and they could not be abandoned now. Moreover, Lincoln's proclamation abolishing slavery gave them an implied promise of protection from subsequent oppression. But then the American Constitution contained no provision for dealing with the difficulty which the war had created. To enfranchise with a stroke of the pen a vast ignorant servile population, which had been demoralised by slavery, was fraught with the utmost peril, not only to American democracy, but to American civilisation. Again, the States themselves had always determined the conditions of enfranchisement. As sovereign communities they had the clearest right to organise their own internal administration free from all interference from the Federal authorities, who had no power over them, save that of seeing that they adopted a republican form of government. The first step taken was to organise the Freedman's Bureau with agents all over the South with the object of protecting the negroes from injustice and oppression. But President Johnson had spent his life in the Slave State of Tennessee, and he had many sympathies with the slave-owners. Taking his stand on the letter of the Constitution, he refused to sanction those methods of reconstruction which Congress adopted, and sent military governors to rule the conquered States, until their permanent government was organised. The fourteenth amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery in the United States was carried in June. But the President vetoed the Freedman's Bureau Bill and the Civil Rights Bill, his veto being overridden by the majority in Congress, in which, however, the Southern States were not yet represented. In a word, the President was soon in open conflict with the Republican majority that had carried the country through the long and bloody war.

This conflict* was eagerly canvassed in all its stages by Englishmen of all classes, who seemed at this time to take a keener interest in the fascinating problems of American politics than in their own domestic affairs. But perhaps nothing appealed more strongly to the imagination of the people than the ease with which the American people disbanded their armies, and absorbed a million unpensioned officers and soldiers at the very moment of victory into the mass of the peaceful civil population. The calmness, courage, and good sense with which the Americans set aside the menaces of the war party



BIARRITZ.

against England, and applied themselves to pay off the six hundred millions sterling of their war debt, further commanded the admiration of the world. Not even in Mexico could the United States be persuaded to interfere. Their Government simply refused to recognise that of the Emperor Maximilian, and accredited a minister to the President of the Mexican Republic, who still

* "The Civil Rights Bill," says Mr. Sterne, "declared freedmen citizens of the United States. The reasons against this declaration were sound in themselves, because it admitted to the rights of citizenship a large number of persons whose prior conditions of servitude and enforced labour made them dangerous citizens. As the right to vote implies not only the right of the voter to protect himself against the aggression of others, but also involves the power, through the instrumentality of taxation, which is placed in the official hands created by the voters, to confiscate the property of others, it was apprehended by many that demagogues and adventurers would win the freemen by illusory promises of personal benefits to give them their votes, and that by the creation of public debts and the exercise of the power of taxation, they would mercilessly confiscate the property of citizens subjected to their sway."—Constitutional History and Political Development of the United States, by Simon Sterne, of the New York Bar. Cassell and Co., pp. 202, 203.

waged a desultory struggle with the Imperial Government and its French allies. As France, however, had now thought it prudent to announce the withdrawal of her troops from Mexico, the United States could afford to wait for the inevitable issue.

The Danish Question, in which the Queen had so deeply interested herself during the previous year, was easily settled—for a time. Austria and Prussia agreed to share the spoils of war, and the Duchies were divided between them. This arrangement, formulated by the Convention of Gastein, in August, averted war between the allies. As for the views of the minor States and the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg, they were brusquely put aside. The Duke had made the fatal mistake of pretending to regard the services of Prussia in liberating the Duchies as uncalled for. He even hinted that his cause would otherwise have been much better managed by the Diet. When he came to Berlin to press his claims at the Prussian Court, he had an interview with Von Bismarck in the King's billiard-room, which ought to have warned him of what was coming.

"At first," said Bismarck once, "I wanted from him no more than what the minor Princes conceded in 1866. But he would not yield an inch (thank Heaven! thought I to myself, and thanks to the wisdom of his legal advisers). . . . At first I called him 'Highness,' and was altogether polite. But when he began to make objections about Kiel Harbour, which we wanted, and would listen to none of our military demands, I put on a different face. I now titled him 'Translucency,' and told him at last, quite coolly, that we could easily wring the neck of the chicken we ourselves had hatched."*

The French Government described the Treaty of Gastein as an act of political "highway robbery and attorneyism." Lord Russell condemned it as a mere expression of brute force, and the Fleets of France and England met and made a foolish demonstration at Cherbourg, by way of giving point to their diplomatic denunciations of the Convention. It was merely a temporary arrangement, which gave Prussia time to secure herself against France before she attempted to expel Austria from North Germany. At a mysterious interview between Napoleon and Bismarck at Biarritz, in October, it was supposed that, in return for vague promises to assist French schemes in Italy and Belgium, the Prussian Minister—now Count Von Bismarck—had obtained an equally vague pledge of benevolent neutrality from France.†

The last days of the moribund Parliament were enlivened by a grave personal scandal. Lord Chancellor Westbury was accused of having improperly and corruptly administered the patronage of his high office, and two cases were cited against him. One was that of Mr. Leonard Edmunds, who, though he had heavy defalcations in his accounts, was allowed to retire on a pension from the Clerkships of Patents and of the House of Lords, in favour of Westbury's son. The other case rested on certain appointments

* "Bismarck in the Franco-German War," quoted in Lowe's *Life of Bismarck*, Vol. I., p. 347.

† For the conflicting accounts of this interview, see Lowe's *Life of Bismarck*, Vol. I., p. 352.

which Westbury had made to offices, and on grants of retiring pensions in the Leeds Court of Bankruptcy. It was alleged that the Lord Chancellor, in making these appointments, had been influenced by family considerations detrimental to the public service. After receiving the Report of a Select Committee, the House of Commons censured Lord Westbury, who immediately resigned his office.* His Lordship, when he went to hand over the Great Seal to the Queen, had a somewhat painful interview with her Majesty. In his Diary, under date the 7th of July, Bishop Wilberforce writes:—"Going in to the Queen met Westbury coming out; his fallen look moved my compassion. Later I met him on the broad staircase looking quite down, as he wandered alone down to town. But Delane [the editor of the *Times*] told me that going up to London in the train he was quite uproarious in his jollity, professing such delight at being free from office, going to enjoy himself, foreign travel," &c.

Parliament died of old age. It had exhausted its allotted septennial span, and was prorogued and dissolved on the 6th of July. The General Election created little stir or excitement in the country, because no appeal was made by either party to the constituencies on any vital question. The election of Mr. John Stuart Mill for Westminster roused some popular interest. The defeat of Mr. Gladstone at Oxford University was due to the votes of the non-resident graduates among the country clergy; and there was a stroke of unconscious irony in the success of the Opposition at Tiverton, where they managed to give Lord Palmerston a Tory as a colleague. The Liberals claimed to have carried 367 seats, and the Tories 290. But all speculation as to what course the new Parliament might adopt was cut short by the death of Lord Palmerston on the 18th of October. He was within two days of completing his eighty-first year, and, as his biographer says, "the half-opened cabinet-box on his table, and the unfinished letter on his desk, testified that he was at his post to the last."† He had sat in sixteen Parliaments, and had been chosen to sit in a seventeenth. He had

* This scandal, which was one of the sensational events of the Session of 1865, was made the most of by the Churchmen, to whom Westbury had been studiously insolent. Some little time after his fall Westbury met his old antagonist, the Bishop of Oxford, in the lobby of the House of Lords. He held out his hand, saying, "My Lord Bishop, as a Christian and a Bishop, you will not refuse to shake hands." Wilberforce generously shook hands with him, but that did not put an end to the war of wit between them. Westbury said, "Do you remember where we last met?" "No," replied Wilberforce. "It was in the hour of my humiliation, when I was leaving the Queen's Closet, having given up the Great Seal. I met you on the stairs as I was coming out, and I felt inclined to say, 'Hast thou found me, O mine enemy?'" Wilberforce retorted, "Does your lordship remember the end of the quotation?" to which Westbury answered, "We lawyers, my Lord Bishop, are not in the habit of quoting part of a passage without knowing the whole." But, as Wilberforce used to say in telling the story, Westbury no doubt looked it out in his family Bible when he went home, and found that the end of the quotation was, "Yea, I have found thee, because thou hast sold thyself to iniquity."—See *Life of Wilberforce*, Vol. III., p. 144.

† *Life of Lord Palmerston*, by the Hon. Evelyn A-hley, Vol. II., p. 273.

been a member of every Administration that had ruled England since 1807, save those of Sir Robert Peel and Lord Derby, and the voice of the nation rightly decreed for him the funeral honours of Westminster Abbey. It will always be a mystery why Palmerston succeeded in establishing, towards the end of his life, a personal dictatorship over the England which was governed by the £10 householder. In home politics he took hardly any interest. One day, for example, at Balmoral, when the Queen asked him for some information about a serious strike in the North of England, he replied that he had none; but "Madam," said he, "I hear that the Russians have crossed the Pruth." He was an aristocrat to the core, and his ideas of England's mission in the world, and of her interests in the political forces and conflicts that shaped the destinies of nations, were those, not of a man of business or of affairs, but of a happy-hearted, reckless, pugnacious public-school-boy. To coolness, courage, and tenacity of purpose, he, however, added a dexterity in action that rendered him a successful as well as

"A daring pilot in extremity."

In one of his letters to Sir Stratford Canning he reveals the secret of much of his power when he says, "I believe weakness and irresolution are on the whole the worst faults that statesmen can have. A man of energy may make a wrong decision but, like a strong horse that carries you rashly into a quagmire, he brings you by his sturdiness out on the other side." Looking back on his career, it is hard to find one single stroke of his policy that can be justified by history, with the exception of the support he generously gave to the cause of Italian unity. The cornerstone of his policy in his last administrations was the Anglo-French alliance, and its worthlessness was attested not only by the enormous military expenditure which Palmerston himself extorted from the people to ward off a French invasion, but by the fact that the alliance itself always broke down to the disadvantage of England, whenever a strain was put upon it. His sympathy with democracy abroad brought him no credit, for it was insincere. It was displayed mainly in order to keep the Radical party quiet when the people began to demand reforms at home. His most wonderful practical achievement was that of reconciling both Tories and Radicals to the political supremacy of the extremely moderate Liberals—the Liberals who had been rendered Conservatives by the prosperity which Free Trade had conferred upon them. His cleverness in selecting serviceable subordinates, his personal loyalty to them, his geniality and cheerfulness, his singular gift of managing the House of Commons, all contributed to consolidate his influence in the country. His power over the House of Commons was probably greater than Peel's. He knew, as if by instinct, in any emergency the kind of argument that was sure to tell on that Assembly. He ruled it through its foibles, its prejudices, and its impulses. He could adapt his style to every passing mood

of its fickle temper, and alike in jest and earnest he was always on the level of its standard of good taste and fine feeling.

Lord Palmerston's funeral took place in Westminster Abbey, accompanied by every mark of respect and honour. The arrangements made for filling up the vacancies in the Cabinet which were caused by his death were simple. Earl Russell was called upon by the Queen to assume the post of Premier. The Earl of Clarendon, then Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Chichester Fortescue was made Secretary for Ireland in place of Sir Robert Peel, who had always warned his colleagues he would join the Tories after Palmerston's death. The



THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION, DUBLIN (1865).

office of Under-Secretary for the Colonies was conferred upon Mr. W. E. Forster, M.P. for Bradford. Mr. Heath resigned the Vice-Presidency of the Board of Trade, in which he was succeeded by Mr. Goschen. The important position of Leader of the Government in the House of Commons devolved upon Mr. Gladstone, who had found a seat in Lancashire. His financial genius had vastly added to the *prestige* of Lord Palmerston's Ministry, and his commanding intellect and fascinating oratorical power had long before marked him out for the leadership.

Two evil incidents marred the latter portion of the year. These were the outbreak of the cattle disease which became known as "rinderpest," in England and Scotland, and the development of the Fenian conspiracy in Ireland. Down to the middle of December 5,000 cases of "rinderpest" had occurred, and most of them had ended fatally. The plague, it is true, was disappearing in some districts, but in others its ravages were increasing, and a Royal Commission recommended that all movement of cattle in the country

should be stopped for a time. Local authorities in many cases suspended fairs and markets.

The history of Ireland after the resignation of Lord Aberdeen was summed up in the administration of Coercion Acts that were rendered necessary by outrages which a peasantry infuriated by land clearances and rack-rents, perpetrated. For a time the policy of eviction and emigration went on unresisted. In 1854 the rebels of '48 were amnestied, but when they came back they found that Irishmen regarded them rather as reactionaries than rebels. As had always been the case in Ireland, the pendulum of public opinion had now swung over from Anti-Unionism to Separatism. The failure of '48, the triumph of the evicting landlords, the progressive poverty of the people, the treachery of leaders like Sadlier and Keogh, who were bought up by the Whigs, disgusted Irishmen with Parliamentary agitation. The Fenian conspiracy was the outcome of this feeling. It originated among victims of the famine clearances, and among some of the men of '48. It was introduced into Ireland during the Indian Mutiny by Mr. James Stephen, when it was known as the Phoenix Society. One of his first converts was a Jeremiah Donovan, of Skibbereen, who afterwards dubbed himself O'Donovan Rossa. He in turn, induced ninety out of the hundred members of the Skibbereen Club to join his band. That Society could hardly have conducted its proceedings with much secrecy at this time, for it was soon denounced from every altar in the country. The Lord-Lieutenant, however, proclaimed it, and there and then elevated the Phoenix plotters to the dignity of national heroes. The leaders were arrested, and on pleading guilty were released with admonition. But over the Atlantic the Society had taken firmer root among the victims of evicting landlords, as the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood. Yet even there it would have probably perished from the opposition of the priests and the advocates of open agitation, but for the cleverness with which its leaders made capital out of the famous McManus funeral. McManus, one of the most amiable and highly respected members of the Young Ireland Party, had, after his escape from Van Diemen's Land, settled in California, where he died. It was resolved by his compatriots to exhume his body and convey it to Ireland for burial. The route of the funeral, from San Francisco to Dublin, was naturally at every stage the scene of a patriotic Irish demonstration, and by adroit management the Fenian leaders had contrived to get control of all the arrangements, so that the reflected *prestige* of this impressive and imposing demonstration of Irish nationalism went to their credit. In Ireland the Society was soon considered to be the only one that had any real power to help the people, and after the McManus funeral it grew apace. In 1862 it announced at Chicago its intention of establishing Irish independence by armed force, and its organ—the *Irish People*—was founded in Dublin by Messrs. John O'Leary, Thomas Clark Luby, and Charles James Kickham. For two years the Society was permitted to carry on its propaganda. Then in

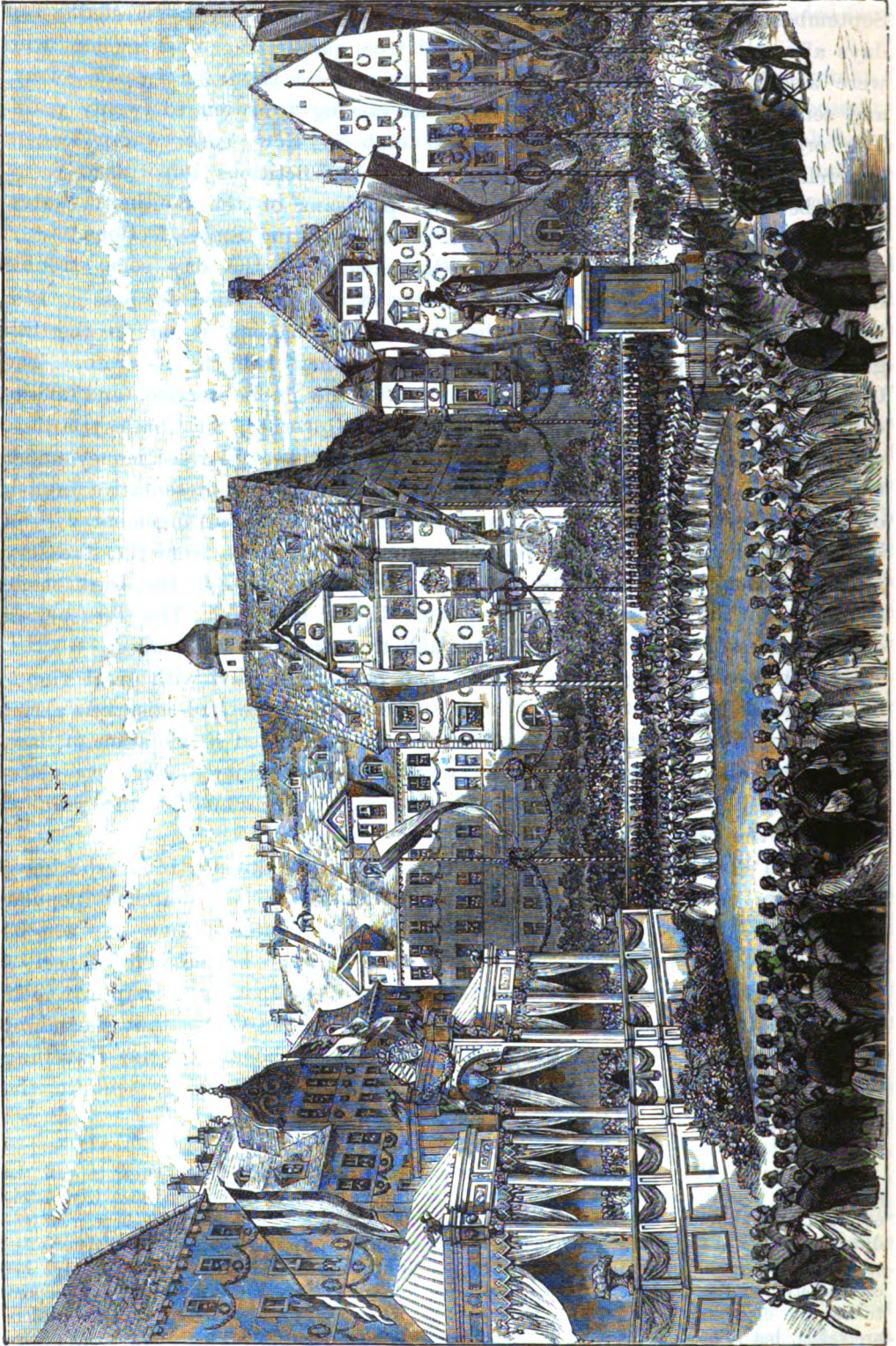
September, 1865, Luby, O'Leary, Kickham, and Stephens were arrested. Ten days after their capture Stephens escaped from jail by aid of his gaolers, who were also Fenians. In November the others were tried for treason-felony, and sentenced to penal servitude for terms varying from ten to twenty years. The organisation then became a small club in New York, whose leaders quarrelled amongst themselves. They enjoyed a fictitious importance for a time, because the Democratic Party and partisans of the Southern States, invariably professed Fenian sympathies when contesting State elections.

Two Colonial disputes gave the Government of the day some trouble before the end of the year. The Assembly of Victoria tried to pass a Protective Tariff over the veto of the Council, by tacking it on to the Bill granting the supplies for the year. The Council held to its veto. The Government was thus left without money for the public service, and affairs came to a deadlock. In the circumstances the Governor, Sir Charles Darling, cut the knot of the difficulty by allowing his Ministers to raise money under the sanction of resolutions passed by the Assembly, or representative branch of the Legislature. He also entered into an ingenious arrangement with a bank in Melbourne. The law forbade voluntary payments from the Treasury which were not authorised by an Appropriation Bill. But the bank made advances to the Treasury, and then sued it for recovery. The Treasury of course confessed judgment when sued, and thus the law was evaded.

An outbreak of negroes in Jamaica had been suppressed with great vigour by Governor Eyre. But it was soon suspected that he had mistaken a riot for a revolution, and that the local authorities had acted in violation of law, and with callous disregard of the dictates of humanity. Eyre was suspended, and a Royal Commission was sent out at the end of the year to report on the occurrence.

Though the Queen remained in close seclusion during 1865, she gave more than one token of the vigilance with which she watched popular interests. The year 1864 was famous for the number and the serious character of its railway accidents, and yet it was hopeless to expect a Palmerstonian Parliament to compel the railway companies to improve their management. In the circumstances, it occurred to the Queen that she might effect some good by using her moral influence on behalf of the travelling public, and she accordingly directed the following letter to be sent to the chief companies just as the year opened:—

“Sir Charles Phipps has received the commands of her Majesty the Queen to call the attention of the directors of the — to the increasing number of accidents which have lately occurred upon different lines of railroad, and to express her Majesty's warmest hope that the directors of the — will carefully consider every means of guarding against these misfortunes, which are not at all the necessary accompaniments of railway travelling. It is not for her own safety that the Queen has wished to provide in thus calling the attention of the Company to the late disasters. Her Majesty is aware that when she travels extraordinary precautions are taken, but it is on account of her family, of those travelling upon her service, and of her



THE QUEEN UNVEILING THE STATUE OF THE PRINCE CONSORT AT COBURG.

people generally, that she expresses the hope that the same security may be insured for all as is so carefully provided for herself. The Queen hopes it is unnecessary for her to recall to the recollection of the railway directors the heavy responsibility which they have assumed since they have succeeded in securing the monopoly of the means of travelling of almost the entire population of the country."

On the other hand, evidence was not wanting that her Majesty's retirement had led to laxity of administration in her household. On the 4th of March, for example, Lord Malmesbury writes in his Diary:—"All London is talking of the way in which the Corps Diplomatique has been invited to the Queen's reception. It was, as far as I could understand, in these terms:— 'That the Queen would graciously receive them, *male* and *female*, at a Court to be held at Buckingham Palace.' All those concerned are trying to shift the responsibility upon one another. The diplomatists have sent their cards of invitation to their respective Courts, and therefore it has produced a great sensation all over the world, as the term *mâle et femelle* is never used in French, except in speaking of animals."* But her Majesty's kind and gracious bearing at this reception, which was held on the 13th of March, did much to neutralise the impression produced by the rudeness of the Lord Chamberlain's Department. On the 14th of March the Queen visited the Consumptive Hospital at Brompton, bestowing on the patients in the various wards kindly words of sympathy. Circumstances prevented her from undertaking a journey to Ireland, where the people would have been pleased to have welcomed her at the inauguration of an International Exhibition. She, however, testified her interest in that enterprise by requesting the Prince of Wales to open the exhibition in Dublin on the 9th of May. Another son was born to the Prince and Princess on the 3rd of June, and on the 7th of July the infant was baptized in the chapel at Windsor in presence of the Queen, who named him George Frederick Ernest Albert. On the 6th of August the Queen's second son, Prince Alfred, attained his majority, and was recognised, with her sanction, as heir to the Duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.

On the 8th of August the Queen, with Prince Leopold, the Princesses Helena, Louise, Beatrice, and suite, left England for Germany. She arrived at Coburg on the 11th, and immediately proceeded to Rosenau. On the 26th she unveiled the statue which had been set up in memory of the Prince Consort in the quaint market-place of Coburg. The town was *en fête*, every house being gay with garlands and banners, and decorated with trophies of arms and festoons of flowers and evergreens. The troops paraded the square, while crowds of light-hearted students and schoolboys, and a great concourse of loyal burghers and honest country-folk who had assembled to see the ceremony, gave life and colour to a picturesque scene. The Court carriages bore a brilliant company of Royal personages. Soon after four o'clock in the afternoon the bells in all the steeples in the town pealed forth joyous notes; the

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 335.

cannon of the fortress thundered out a royal salute, and the bands in the square played the English National Anthem. Then the Queen's carriage drove up amidst deafening cheers. She was accompanied by Prince Arthur and the Princess Beatrice, and was received by the Grand Duke, who led her to the front of the pavilion that had been prepared for the ceremony. She was clad in the deepest mourning, and under her bonnet was seen the cap à la *Marie Stuart*, which about this time she had begun to wear on all public occasions. The Burgomaster of Coburg presented her with a long and loyal address. The bells rang, the bands played, the cannon saluted again, and at a given signal the veil was withdrawn from the polished bronze statue, which stood out glittering and sparkling in the sultry sunshine of an autumnal afternoon. Walking up to the monument, the Queen handed to the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha the bunch of flowers which had lain before her on the balcony of the pavilion. These he placed, together with another bouquet from the Princess Beatrice, on the pedestal of the statue, and the ceremony was over. On the 8th of September the Queen left Rosenau with the Princesses Helena and Louise and Prince Leopold, and stopped *en route* at Darmstadt, where she was met by the Prince and Princess Louis of Hesse. Proceeding to Ostend, the Queen paid a brief visit to King Leopold, after which she embarked at Antwerp in her yacht for Woolwich.

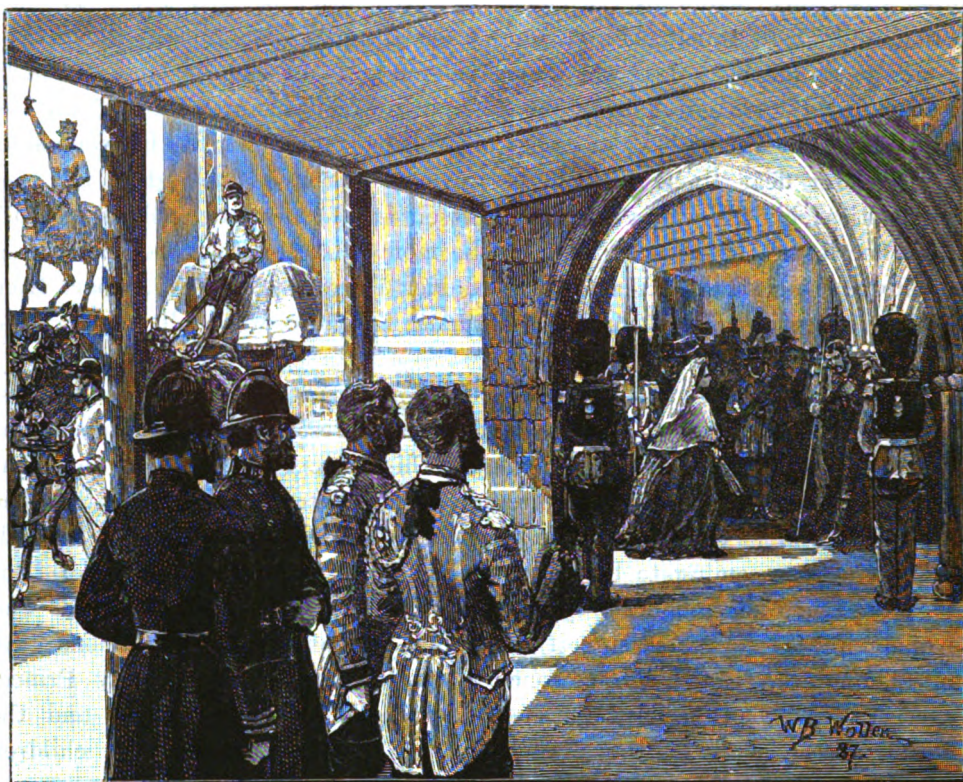
During the Queen's autumnal holiday at Balmoral the Prince and Princess Louis of Hesse again visited her. Later in the year it was announced that the Princess Helena was to be married to the Prince Christian of Sleswig-Holstein, second son of the Duke of Augustenburg. "Many thanks," writes the Princess Louis to the Queen on the 8th of December, "for your letter received yesterday with the account of Lenchen's *verlobung* [betrothal]. I am so glad she is happy, and I hope every blessing will rest on them both that one can possibly desire." It was arranged that the Queen should lend Frogmore to her daughter, so that she and her husband might be able to live in England. But the shadow of death was again brooding over the Royal Household. In the same letter in which the Princess Louis refers to her sister's betrothal she writes, "I had a letter from Marie Brabant two days ago, where she says dear uncle's [King Leopold] state is hopeless; but yesterday she telegraphed that he was rather better. What a loss it would be if he were to be taken from us, for his very name and existence, though he takes no active part in politics, are of weight and value."* In England the news of King Leopold's illness was received with some concern. The Queen had promised to open the next Session of Parliament in person, and it was feared that the death of his Majesty might interfere with a project in which her subjects of all classes were deeply interested. On the 11th of December King Leopold died, and on that day the Princess Louis of Hesse, ever ready to sympathise with her

* Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse, *Biographical Sketch and Letters*, p. 111.

mother's sorrows, wrote to the Queen, "Alas! alas! beloved Uncle Leopold is no more! How much for you, for us, for all, goes with him to the grave! One tie more of those dear old times is rent! I do feel for you so much, for dear uncle was indeed a father to you. Now you are head of all the family—it seems incredible, and that dear papa should not be by your side. The regret for dear Uncle Leopold is universal—he stood so high in the eyes of all parties; his life was a history in itself—and now that book is closed." In another letter the Princess says, "The more I realise that we shall never see beloved Uncle Leopold again the sadder I grow. He had, apart from all his excellent qualities, such a charm as I believe we shall seldom find again."

King Leopold's life was indeed "a history in itself." He was almost ostentatiously indifferent to his position—ever impressing on his subjects that he reigned in their interest rather than in his own. It has been said that he could always bring them to reason by threatening to abdicate. The sagacity and tact with which he prevented the Catholics and the Liberals in Belgium from coming to blows, gave him great influence in Europe. But that influence was enhanced by his capacity for diplomatic intrigue, and the opportunities for exercising it which his curious family connections gave him. Though he began life as one of the obscurest of the petty Princes of Germany, he had married in succession the heiress of England and the daughter of the King of the French. By a double marriage, his children were allied to the Imperial House of Hapsburg. He was the uncle and mentor of the Queen and the Prince Consort—indeed, he and Baron Stockmar had brought about their marriage. His position was supposed to be unassailable from the day when, on being threatened with a revolution, he calmly began to pack a carpet-bag in presence of the popular leaders, who thereupon, in a paroxysm of fear, implored him not to leave the country. Yet, according to Lord Malmesbury, "the last years of his life were spent in perpetual terror of Louis Napoleon, and he was constantly alarming our Ministers and everybody on the subject."*

* *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II. p. 345.



OPENING OF PARLIAMENT IN 1866: THE QUEEN AT THE PEERS' ENTRANCE, WESTMINSTER PALACE.

CHAPTER XI.

A STOP-GAP ADMINISTRATION.

End of the Era of Compromise—Dawn of the new Epoch of Reform—Opening of Parliament by the Queen—The Queen's Nervous Prostration at Osborne—Introduction of the Reform Bill—Hostility of the House of Commons—Dissentient Liberals in "the Cave of Adullam"—Defeat of the Reform Bill—Resignation of the Ministry—Lord Derby forms a Cabinet—His attempted Coalition with the Whig Dukes—Domestic Policy during the Session—The House of Commons and the Rinderpest—Another Prosperity Budget—Large Remissions of Taxation—Coercing Ireland—The White Terror in Jamaica—Marriage of the Princess Helena—The Financial Embarrassment of the Princess Louis of Hesse—The Queen Intercedes with Prussia on behalf of Hesse-Darmstadt—The Queen's Gift to Mr. Peabody—The Queen's Visit to Aldershot—The Foundation of the Albert Medal—Marriage of the Princess Mary of Cambridge—The Queen's first Telegram to the President of the United States—The Queen's Visit to Aberdeen and Wolverhampton.

THE year 1866 will be memorable as the beginning of the new epoch of strife, controversy, and political activity which followed the death of Palmerston. The spell of compromise by which he had paralysed the life of England was broken, and Mr. Gladstone's appointment as leader of the House of Commons filled the working classes with the brightest hopes. It was known that he was in favour of such an extension of the franchise as would partially redress

the wrong done by the Reform Bill of 1832, which deprived Labour of the political power it enjoyed under the unreformed Parliamentary system. As one of their representative men has said, "those ameliorations of the laws for which they [the working classes] had looked in vain during so many



MR JOHN STUART MILL.

years of Whig rule, when electoral reform was said to be deferred in favour of legal reforms that were only talked about, had to be preceded by the enfranchisement of the class whose welfare required them; and Mr. Gladstone, on his part, was conscious that he could not carry the important measures which he contemplated without first strengthening his hands by a considerable extension of the franchise and redistribution of seats." * Moreover, the civil

* Forty Years' Recollections, Literary and Political, by Thomas Frost, p. 291.

and military triumph of the United States, marked by moderation in the hour of victory, and invincible valour in the press of battle, gave an irresistible impulse to Democracy in England. But the Party of Reform were well aware that a fierce struggle lay before them. In 1831—32 the House of Lords was the enemy that had to be faced. In 1866 the House of Commons was quite as hostile as the House of Lords, to changes that might affect the power, privileges, and ease of the comfortable classes. Would the Government bring in a feeble Reform Bill which could be accepted by the Commons? In that case the country might look forward to another decade of stagnation. Would the measure be large and comprehensive? In that case the opposition of the Commons could be met only by a dissolution. But supposing, as was not unlikely, that under a £10 franchise a freshly-elected House proved as hostile to Reform as the old one, what was to be done? Its opposition could not, like that of the Crown, be overcome by a refusal of supplies, or like that of the Peers, by the creation of new members. For such a state of affairs the only possible remedy might be—Revolution. Such were the speculations and the forebodings with which thoughtful men greeted the New Year of 1866.

Parliament met on the 1st of February, and Mr. Denison was elected Speaker. It was known that Lord Russell was anxious to strengthen his Ministry by giving Mr. Bright a seat in the Cabinet, but his colleagues objected to this step, and the omen was not auspicious for the Party of Reform. Writing on the 6th of February in his Diary, Lord Malmesbury says, "the Queen opened Parliament to-day. She came in a State coach with her eight cream-coloured horses, but entered by the Peers' entrance. She was well received, but did not wear her robes, which were placed on the Throne, and did not read the Speech, which was read by the Lord Chancellor."* It was the first State ceremony at which the Queen had assisted since the death of her husband, and the scene in the Upper House was unusually brilliant. The bright dresses of the Peeresses, the mass of gorgeous colour on the floor of the House, where the Peers wore their robes, the flashing lights from glittering orders and uniforms worn by the splendid company of foreign diplomatists, afforded a spectacle that gladdened the artistic eye. It was marred only by the wild and disorderly scramble of the members of the House of Commons for places. They trooped into the Royal presence like a band of disorderly roughs let loose from Donnybrook Fair. The Speaker was hustled aside and jammed against the edge of the Bar as he vainly attempted to make his obeisance to the Queen. The leading members of the Government vanished in the struggle, though Sir Charles Wood was ultimately discovered in an attitude of agony almost impaled on the sharp carving of an oaken lion rampant. As for the sword of the Sergeant-at-Arms, it got entangled with everybody's legs, including his own.

* *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 347.

The reaction which followed the excitement of the ceremony had caused much nervous depression, and the Queen was accordingly recommended to seek repose at Osborne. "I am happy to think," writes the Princess Louis of Hesse to her mother, in a letter referring to the event, "that you are quiet at Osborne after all you had gone through. The emotion and all other feelings recalled by such an event must have been very powerful and have tried you much. It was noble of you, my darling mama, and the great effort will bring compensation. Think of the pride and pleasure it would have given darling papa—the brave example to others not to shrink from their duty; and it has shown that you felt the intense sympathy which the English people evinced and still evince in your misfortune."

It was soon apparent that the question of Reform would exhaust the energies of the Legislature, and on the 12th of March Mr. Gladstone introduced what came to be known as the Russell-Gladstone Reform Bill. It proposed to reduce the County Franchise from £50 rental to £14, and the Borough Franchise from £10 to £7. It also gave votes to lodgers and £50 depositors in savings banks. The rate-paying clauses of the Reform Act were abolished. The Bill, it was estimated, would admit to the franchise 172,000 new voters in counties, 204,000 in towns, and 24,000 under the Lodger and Savings Banks qualifications, *i.e.*, 400,000 in all. Of these, one-half belonged to the working classes properly so-called. The House of Commons was not in a pleasant humour for dealing with Reform. The timid classes were alarmed by a speech which Mr. Gladstone delivered during Easter at Liverpool, in which he declared that "the Government had crossed the Rubicon, broken the bridge, and burned their boats behind them." This, it was vowed, meant that he for one was prepared to roll the Constitution down the inclined plane of Democracy. The country gentlemen were angry, because they thought the Government had compensated them shabbily for the losses they suffered from the Cattle Plague. The plutocracy were in low spirits, because in spring a great financial collapse had smitten the City. Some country banks had failed. The greater part of the stock of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway was offered in the market for "a mere song." On the 10th of May the bank of Messrs. Overend and Gurney stopped payment, with liabilities amounting to £19,000,000. On the 11th the City was in a frenzy of despair, and Government had to authorise the Bank of England to issue notes beyond the legal limit. Other financial institutions perished, and the blight of bankruptcy fell on the land. English credit on the Continent was so low that the Foreign Office issued a circular explaining to foreigners the distinction drawn in England between insolvency and lack of money. Employers of labour, again, were irritated against the working classes now claiming the franchise, for Trades Unions were growing more aggressive and turbulent every day. The Fenian disturbances in Ireland also gave rise to much uneasiness. The uncertain condition of the Continent led people to

urge that, instead of wasting time in debating Reform, Parliament ought to make the defensive system of the Empire effective. Above and beyond all things, it was felt that a Reform Bill involved a dissolution, and to Members of the House of Commons who had just spent large sums of money in getting elected, this was a sufficient temptation to oppose Reform. If we consider the natural effect of all these different motives and feelings on a House of Commons elected to support Lord Palmerston's colourless domestic policy, we can easily understand why the Russell-Gladstone Bill fared badly. It was opposed by the Tories and by nominal Liberals like Lord Elcho, Mr. Lowe, Lord Grosvenor, Mr. Horsman, and Mr. Bouverie. It was finally defeated in Committee by Lord Dunkellin, who carried a motion substituting a rating for a rental qualification, the effect of which would have been to limit the franchise to £9 instead of £7 householders in towns, and to £16 instead of £14 householders in counties. The Radicals, however, did not regard the defeat of the measure with much grief, though they had loyally supported Mr. Gladstone. Their hearts were in truth set on obtaining a much lower qualification than the Bill offered. Independent critics again, who had no sympathy with the savage diatribes against the working classes which the Tories and the Liberal seceders poured forth day after day, also considered that the Bill had one serious defect. It did not put the franchise on a basis solid enough to be permanent. To fix it at £7 to-day was only to start an agitation to-morrow to reduce it to £3, or to nothing at all. Far better, it was argued, return to the old Radical programme of Household Suffrage, which, at all events, possessed the elements of finality. In fact, early in June Ministers saw that the Bill was doomed, and an intrigue was set on foot between the Cabinet and the "Adullamites"* for the purpose of withdrawing the Bill, on condition that the Liberal seceders would steadily support the Ministers on all other questions. After their defeat on the 18th of June, the Cabinet resigned, and although the Queen was somewhat opposed to this step, she waived her objections to it.

According to Lord Malmesbury, the Government first of all thought of dissolving Parliament, but abandoned this idea, fearing they would lose by it. Lord Malmesbury also says that "the Queen being on a visit to Osborne for ten days, refused to shorten her stay, and the country remained for a month with the Government in abeyance. At last her Majesty returned, and appointed Lord Derby Prime Minister. He tried to form a coalition with some Whig Dukes, and invited Lord Clarendon and the Duke of Somerset to join him. They refused. He then did the same by the Adullamites, most of whom also declined. Young Lord Lansdowne, who at their head had promised to support him, died suddenly, and this accident increased his

* When Lord Grosvenor divided the House on an amendment to the Second Reading of the Bill, he gathered round him a body of nondescript Liberals—many of whom had been disappointed in their quest of office—whom Mr. Bright likened to those who took refuge in the cave of Adullam.

difficulties. Encouraged by a meeting of twenty-three leading Conservatives, held at his house, Lord Derby formed the following Cabinet:—Lord Chancellor, Lord Chelmsford; President of the Council, Duke of Buckingham; Privy Seal, Lord Malmesbury; Secretary for Home Affairs, Mr. Walpole; Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Lord Stanley; * Secretary for War, General Peel; Secretary



PRINCE CHRISTIAN.

(From a Photograph by W. and D. Downey.)

for Colonies, Lord Carnarvon; Secretary for India, Lord Cranborne; Poor Law Board, Mr. Hardy; Board of Trade, Sir S. Northcote; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Disraeli; Secretary for Ireland, Lord Naas; Board of Works, Lord John Manners; Admiralty, Sir John Pakington."† Lord Derby himself personally objected to take office because he could not feel confident of commanding

* Forty Adullamites had promised to support him.

† *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 358.

a majority. Some of his friends, like the Marquis of Bath, were indeed angry that he had consented to serve again as Premier without definite pledges of support from the Whigs, whose hostility to Reform had shattered the last Cabinet.

Up to the time when the change of Ministry took place very little business had been done. A Bill dealing with the cattle plague had been introduced by the Home Secretary. It empowered local authorities to kill infected herds and stop all movement of cattle and all fairs in infected areas. For cattle thus sacrificed the owners were to receive from local authorities compensation to the extent of two-thirds of the value, but in no case was this to exceed £20 a head. The money was to be raised, one-third by a rate on the counties, one-third by a rate on the towns, and one-third by the cattle trade itself. The Radical Party admitted the principle of compensation. But Mr. J. S. Mill contended that if the infected animal was shown not to be worth two-thirds of what it would fetch in the market if healthy, the compensation given by the Government was excessive. The Bill, he also complained, compensated the landed interest for a loss some share of which the rest of the community, who were not indemnified, bore in the form of enhanced prices. Then, as the rate was to be purely local, those who suffered least would pay least, whereas the burden of recompense would fall heaviest on districts which suffered most. There could be no doubt that his proposal for a general rate on the land instead of a local rate was just. Mr. Gladstone, impressed by these arguments, agreed to limit the compensation to one-half instead of two-thirds of the value of the slaughtered animals, and the compromise was grudgingly accepted.

Mr. Gladstone introduced his Budget on the 3rd of May. The income, he said, had been £67,812,000 and the expenditure £66,474,000, leaving a surplus of £1,338,000. His estimated loss from remission of taxes had been very slightly below the actual loss, except in the case of Income Tax, for the wealth of the nation was now accumulating so rapidly, that a penny Income Tax, instead of producing £1,000,000, as had always been the calculation, produced £1,400,000. For the coming year Mr. Gladstone estimated, on the existing basis of taxation, a revenue of £67,575,000. His probable expenditure, from an increase of £78,000 in Estimates, he set down at £66,225,000, so that he had an estimated surplus of £1,350,000 to dispose of. He therefore repealed the timber duties, equalised the duties on wines in bottle and in wood, abolished the duty on pepper, and made a considerable reduction in the tax on carriages. He calculated that there would be a loss of £502,000 on the conversion of debt, so that he would, with these changes in taxation, be left with a surplus of £286,000. The financial debates simply ratified Mr. Gladstone's schemes; but they were rendered memorable by Mr. J. S. Mill's celebrated speech urging on the House the necessity of reducing the National Debt as a matter of duty to posterity. One of his chief arguments was based on the thesis of Mr. Stanley Jevons

that succeeding generations must, at the existing rate of consumption, face a failure in the coal supply of the country owing to the exhaustion of its mines.*

Early in the year the Government obtained the consent of Parliament to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, in order to enable the Executive to deal with the Fenian conspiracy. Mr. Mill, however, though he supported the Ministry, very pertinently observed that, after it got fresh powers, it must not go asleep, as it had done for eighteen years, over Irish grievances. The Bill was passed on the 17th of February. The next step was to obtain the Queen's assent immediately. As her Majesty was at Osborne, this took time, and the Irish Executive could not brook delay. As soon as the House of Lords had read the Bill a third time, a telegram was sent to Earl Granville, who was at Osborne, announcing the result, upon the receipt of which the Queen instantly signed the document authorising the Commissioners to give her assent to the measure. In order to allow time for bringing her authorisation to London, the sitting of the House of Lords was suspended until 11 o'clock p.m., when it was calculated that the special train with the Queen's messenger would arrive in London. Time, however, rolled on, but no messenger appeared. The hour of midnight struck. Then the clock chimed the half-hour after twelve, when there entered a clerk bearing a despatch-box, which the Chancellor nervously opened and from which he took out the long-expected document. The House of Commons having been summoned, and about fifty members answering the call, at twenty minutes to one o'clock on the Sunday morning the Queen's sanction was proclaimed, and the Bill became law. Probably no statute was ever passed with so much celerity as this Irish Coercion Bill—the first Act of the new Parliament. The powers of the Act had indeed been put into operation in anticipation of its passing, and on the 16th of February a large number of arrests were made in Dublin and its vicinity. The mischief done by the alarms of this period was, however, irretrievable, but, with the cessation of active movements on the part of the Fenians, a feeling of contempt for the conspiracy took the place of panic. For a few months, therefore, the country appeared to subside into its usual tranquillity.

On the 21st of March the Commissioners who had been investigating the negro outbreak in Jamaica finished their inquiry. The feeling in London was as violently in favour of repressive measures against the negroes, as it had been in favour of the Southerners during the American Civil War, and against the German Powers during the war in Sleswig-Holstein. It was therefore with some chagrin that the Party of Panic discovered that the Commissioners extenuated the action of the negroes. There had been a planned resistance to the Queen's authority in Jamaica; but the chief cause was

* The speech of Mr. Mill struck terror into the hearts of the reactionary landlords, who had all thought that their rents would go on rising for centuries to come. For further references, see *Letters and Journals of W. Stanley Jevons*, edited by his Wife, pp. 203, 216, 218, 223, and 224. London: Macmillan (1886).

not merely the desire for free land, but the want of confidence of the black population in the tribunals before which cases affecting their interests were tried. It was shown that, if the insurgents had been temporarily successful, the suppression of the rebellion would have been attended with greater loss of life and property than had been recorded. Hence praise was awarded to Governor Eyre for the vigour and promptitude with which he put down the rising. But, on the other hand, the Commissioners strongly condemned the



MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS HELENA. (See p. 262.)

Authorities for continuing martial law longer than was desirable, for inflicting excessive punishments, for awarding the death penalty far oftener than was necessary, for sentencing people to be flogged with reckless barbarity, and for burning 1,000 houses in a wanton and cruel manner. This Report, on the whole, justified the first suspicions of calm-minded men at home. The Governor had very skilfully put down the rising before it grew from a riot to a revolution. Then, carried away by "the White Terror" which Lord Canning had so coolly withstood at Calcutta during the Indian Mutiny, he had let the colonial authorities violate the common law, and revel in judicial murders and other hideous barbarities which are inevitable, though regrettable, incidents in the suppression of all servile revolts.

The approaching marriage of the Princess Helena with Prince Christian of Sleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg, which had been announced in the Queen's Speech, gave occasion to messages from the Crown to the two Houses of Parliament, asking them to make provision for the Princess, and also for



PRINCESS CHRISTIAN.

(From a Photograph by W. and D. Downey.)

Prince Alfred on his coming of age. Mr. Gladstone, in introducing the subject to the House of Commons, observed that with respect to the Princess Helena, "her position was a peculiar one, as she was the eldest unmarried Princess of the Royal Family when the most crushing calamity that could befall humanity descended upon her Majesty, and that during that trial all the prominent qualities of the Princess's character, her strength, her wisdom, and her tenderness were put to the test." Ignoring to some extent the devotion of the Princess Alice, Mr. Gladstone added that the Princess Helena "was

then, and had been since, the stay and solace of her illustrious mother." He therefore proposed to vote her an annuity of £6,000 a year, in addition to a dowry of £30,000. To Prince Alfred he proposed to grant an annuity of £15,000 a year. Mr. Disraeli said that the claim now made only elicited a fresh outflow of sympathy and affection from a devoted people, and the proposals were at once agreed to. The marriage of the Princess was solemnised in the chapel within Windsor Castle, on the 5th of July. A very lengthy procession entered the church as Handel's *March from Scipio* was played. The Queen wore a rich black *moiré-antique* dress, interwoven with silver and trimmed with black crape, and a row of diamonds round the body. A coronet of diamonds, attached to a long white crape veil, a diamond necklace and cross, and a brooch composed of a large sapphire set in diamonds, the riband and star of the Order of the Garter, and the Victoria and Albert Order completed her adornment. The bride, who wore a rich dress of white satin, on arriving at the chapel took her place on the left side of the altar, while the Queen was conducted to the seat prepared for her near the bride. The Archbishop of Canterbury performed the service, the bride being given away by the Queen. The Prince and Princess left for Osborne after the ceremony.

The Queen appreciated the generous devotion of the House of Commons in so willingly voting a substantial provision for the Princess Helena, all the more that early in the year the financial embarrassments of the Princess Louis of Hesse had caused her sore anxiety. Although the Princess was an excellent house-manager, it was discovered that the handsome income and dowry which had been granted to her by the House of Commons, did not suffice for the wants of her husband's establishment. Her gentle, uncomplaining nature, ever mindful of the feelings of others, had led her to conceal her difficulties from the Queen, who, however, made the painful discovery soon after suggesting some plans for her daughter's benefit. These unfortunately could not be entertained. *Pauperis est numerare pecus*, and the Princess Louis had therefore to explain her circumstances to her mother. Writing from Darmstadt on the 18th of March she says, "Your idea of Friedrichroda for us was so good, but, alas! now even that will be impracticable, on account of money. Louis has had to take up money again at Coutts's to pay for the house, and the house is surety. We must live *so* economically—not going *anywhere*, or seeing many people, so as to be able to spare as much a year as we can. England cost us a great deal, as the visit was short last time. We have sold four carriage horses, and have only six to drive with now, two of which the ladies constantly want for theatre, visits, etc., so we are rather badly off in some things. But I should not bore you with our troubles, which are easy to bear."* The Queen's nice tact and quick sympathy were shown in not directly noting these matters. But when the

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. *Biographical Sketch and Letters*, p. 124.

Princess's birthday came round, her Majesty did not forget her daughter's impecuniosity. Writing to the Queen on the 25th of April the Princess Louis says, "A thousand thanks for your dear lines, *and the money*, and charming bas-relief of you, which I think very good. I thought so much of former birthdays at home in Buckingham Palace. They were so happy. . . . The money will go to Louis' man of business, towards paying off the furniture, and is indeed very acceptable, more so under present circumstances than anything else you could give us; and that part of the furniture," adds the poor Princess, with the pride of one who seeks to reconcile herself to accept a birthday gift in the form of a cheque, "will then all be your present." * In another letter she endeavours to reassure the Queen as to her embarrassments by speaking brightly and cheerily of them. "I have made all the summer walking-out dresses," she writes—"seven in number, with *paletôts* for the girls—not embroidered, but entirely made from beginning to end: likewise the new necessary flannel shawls for the expected. I manage all the nursery accounts, and everything myself, which gives me plenty to do, as everything increases, and on account of the house, we must live very economically for these next years." The Princess, as will be seen, was looking for an early addition to her family, and the Queen felt that her health was imperilled by the fresh anxiety and the increasing household drudgery which her straitened circumstances added to the burden of her social and public duties. Her Majesty, therefore, with characteristic generosity, herself made arrangements for her daughter's *accouchement*, which relieved her of some of her worry. "It is so kind of you," writes the Princess, gratefully, to the Queen, "to give Dr. Priestly his fee, otherwise I would have scruples in giving so large a sum for my own comfort." How welcome her mother's assistance was to the Princess may be gathered from another passage in one of her letters to the Queen, in which she says, "The man who built our house has nearly been made bankrupt, and wants money from us to save him from ruin, and we can scarcely manage it." † Again the same sad subject crops up some nine months after the birth of her daughter, which took place during the Austro-Prussian War. The accumulated anxieties of that dreadful time had told on the health of the Princess. The Queen had taken charge of the little ones in the Darmstadt household, and thus freed the Princess from much care. Hence in autumn we find her rejoicing that the slight change to Nierstein, *Gelbes Haus*, has done her good, and adding, "If later, through your [the Queen's] kindness, a little journey should be possible to us, it would be very beneficial to us." But in a few days she soon fell ill again, and on the 29th of August she writes to the Queen saying, "Mountain air Weber wants me to have, and quite away from all bother; but I fear that is impossible *now*, on account of Louis not being able to leave—and, then, financially. I have some *heimweh*

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. *Biographical Sketch and Letters*, p. 127.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 131.

[home-sickness] after dear old England, Balmoral, and all at home, I own, though the joy of being near dear Louis again is so great. But life is meant for work and not for pleasure, and I learn more and more to be grateful and content with that which the Almighty sends me, and to find the sunshine in spite of the clouds." Nor was the Queen's generosity limited to her daughter. She treated the Prince Louis at this time with great tenderness and sympathy. In one letter from the Princess to the Queen we find her saying, "We are so pleased at your saying that you claim Louis as *your* son. He always considers *himself* in particular your child, and if anything helps to stimulate him in doing his duty well, it is the sincere wish of being worthy to claim and deserve that title." And the Queen's kindness was not confined to words. She gave him (Prince Louis) the charger that he rode during the war, and helped him in many ways. "That you sent Louis," writes the Princess to her on the 16th of September, "besides the pretty souvenir, the money for something in the house, is really so kind. Our whole dining-room we consider your present, and it is furnished as like an English one as possible." Lastly, when the war ended in the triumph of Prussia, and the Princess thought that she and her husband, to use her own phrase, would be made "beggars," the Queen employed her potent influence at the Court of Berlin to procure favourable terms for Hesse-Darmstadt in the peace that followed. But for the Queen, the Grand Duchy would have been blotted out of the map of Germany as a sovereign State.* "We are so grateful," says the Princess in one of her letters at this anxious moment in her husband's life, "for your having written to good Fritz [the Crown Prince of Prussia]. What he *can* do I know he will."

The eminent American merchant, Mr. Peabody, having added to his splendid gift of the preceding year for the improvements of the dwellings of the poor of London another munificent donation, her Majesty addressed to him the following autograph letter:—

"Windsor Castle, March 28, 1866.

"The Queen hears that Mr. Peabody intends shortly to return to America, and she would be sorry that he should leave England without being assured by herself how deeply she appreciates the noble act of more than princely munificence by which he has sought to relieve the wants of the poorer class of her subjects residing in London. It is an act, as the Queen believes, wholly without parallel, and which will carry its best reward in the consciousness of having contributed so largely to the assistance of those who can little help themselves.

"The Queen would not, however, have been satisfied without giving Mr. Peabody some public mark of her sense of his munificence, and she would gladly have conferred upon him either a baronetcy or the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, but that she understands Mr. Peabody to feel himself debarred from accepting such distinctions. It only remains, therefore, for the Queen to give Mr. Peabody the assurance of her personal feelings, which she would further wish to mark by asking him to accept a miniature portrait of herself, which she will desire to have painted for him, and which, when finished, can either be sent to him to America, or given to him on the return, which she rejoices to hear he meditates, to the country that owes him so much."

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. *Biographical Sketch and Letters*, pp. 142, 144, 147, 148, 149.

In the spring the Queen was well enough to renew her acquaintance with Aldershot. For the first time during five years she visited the camp. She reviewed the troops in garrison, and inspected the ranks; after which the regiments marched past in grand divisions to the music of their bands. When



THE DUCHESS OF TECK.

(From a Photograph by W. and D. Downey.)

she had inspected the Infantry, the Queen drove through the South Camp, by way of the Prince Consort's Library, to the Artillery and Cavalry Barracks, and then past the Memorial Church to the Pavilion, where luncheon was served for her. Again on the 5th of April the Queen paid a brief and hurried visit to the Camp, in order to present a new pair of colours to the 89th Regiment. The visit was strictly private, only a few chief officers being aware that it had been arranged. Nearly 11,000 men were on the ground, but there were, comparatively speaking, few spectators. In presenting the colours,

the Queen said, "I have much pleasure in renewing the colours given you many years ago, relying confidently on the loyal devotion to my service by which you and all my troops have ever been so distinguished." Referring to this event, the Princess Louis, in one of her letters to her mother, says: "How trying the visit to Aldershot must have been, but it is so wise and kind of you to go. I cannot think of it without tears in my eyes. Formerly that was one of the greatest pleasures of my girlhood, and you and darling papa looked so handsome together. I so enjoyed following you on those occasions. Such moments I should like to call back for an instant."

In April the Albert Medal was founded by her Majesty. According to the *London Gazette*, it was to be awarded, "in cases where it shall be considered fit, to such persons as shall endanger their own lives in saving or endeavouring to save the lives of others from shipwreck or other perils of the sea."

On the 12th of June the Queen attended the marriage of the Princess Mary of Cambridge to the Duke of Teck. This illustrious lady has always been the most popular of English Princesses—popular alike with the aristocracy and the mob. Her marriage stirred up a good deal of interest. It was celebrated very quietly and simply in her own parish church at Kew, in the midst of the people among whom she had lived from her childhood, and to whom she had endeared herself by her spirited geniality, her good and tender heart, and her generous though somewhat impulsive charities.

On the 27th of June the Queen sent the first message over the telegraph cable that had been successfully laid between Ireland and the United States. It ran as follows: "From the Queen, Osborne, to the President of the United States, Washington.—The Queen congratulates the President on the successful completion of an undertaking which she hopes may serve as an additional bond of union between the United States and England." President Andrew Johnson replied:—"The President of the United States acknowledges with profound gratification the receipt of her Majesty's despatch, and cordially reciprocates the hope that the cable that now unites the Eastern and Western hemispheres may serve to strengthen and perpetuate peace and amity between the Government of England and the Republic of the United States." The President's reply to the Queen occupied one hour and nine minutes in its transit from Newfoundland to Osborne. The cable laid in 1865 had been lost, but it had been successfully raised, and the daily journal of the operations of the ships comprising the telegraph squadron engaged in recovering it, is a record in which heroic perseverance, extraordinary mechanical ingenuity, and able seamanship alike compel admiration.

On the 20th of September the Prince of Wales presided at the unveiling of a fine marble statue of the Queen at Aberdeen. The subscriptions for this work of art were collected just after the inauguration of the memorial to the Prince Consort by the Queen in October, 1863. A thousand pounds were

easily obtained, a large number of the subscribers being working men. The artist, Mr. Alexander Brodie, a local sculptor, represented the Queen standing, bearing the sceptre in her right hand, while with the other she clasped the folds of a tartan plaid. The statue stands 8 feet 6 inches in height, is cut from a block of Sicilian marble, and is placed on a richly-polished pedestal over 10 feet high. The Prince on the occasion was dressed in Highland costume, and received hearty cheers from the crowds who greeted him. In accordance with a unanimous resolution of the Town Council, he received the freedom of the city. While speaking at the inauguration ceremony, he stated that the Queen had desired him to say how much she appreciated the motive which had led the people of Aberdeen to give this lasting evidence of their attachment, loyalty, and sympathy.

On the 16th of October the Queen herself opened the Aberdeen New Waterworks at Invercarnie, twenty-two miles distant from the "Granite City," and a convenient drive of thirty miles from Balmoral. After receiving an address, her Majesty, speaking in public in her official capacity for the first time since the death of the Prince Consort, said:—"I thank you for your dutiful address, and am very sensible of the fresh mark of the loyal attachment of my neighbours the people of Aberdeen. I have felt that, at a time when the attention of the country has been so anxiously directed to the state of the public health, it was right that I should make an exertion to testify my sense of the importance of a work so well calculated as this to promote the health and comfort of your ancient city." The Queen then, advancing to an ingenious piece of machinery erected at the edge of the reservoir, gave several turns to the handle, and in an instant the water came plunging in, pure and plentiful. The Queen then declared the Aberdeen Waterworks open.

On the 30th of November her Majesty received an enthusiastic welcome from her subjects in Wolverhampton, on the occasion of her inaugurating a statue erected to the Prince Consort. The Queen was accompanied by the Earl of Derby, Princess Helena, Prince Christian, the Princess Louise, and the customary suite. Between two and three thousand people were admitted into the railway station-yard and approaches. At the entrance there had been built an arch of coal, firmly joined by mortar, with abutments of pig-iron. Trophies of picks, spades, and other implements of the collier's trade were so placed as to give relief to the material of the arch, which, though not very sightly, was very characteristic of the local industry. Beyond this was a trophy of coal, thirty feet high, formed of immense blocks some of them weighing nearly three tons, from Lord Dudley's pits. Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm and devotion displayed by the population. Town and county assembled in the streets. The colliers, the puddlers, and the forgers from the iron districts, the workers in metal, japan, *papier-maché*, and in all the staple trades of Wolverhampton, lined the barriers, and raised a mighty

shout when the royal carriages appeared. The treacherous weather of an English November made it, of course, indispensable that the ceremony of unveiling the statue should be performed and witnessed under cover, and an amphitheatre had accordingly been constructed which held two thousand people. The Bishop of Lichfield having offered up a prayer, the Recorder read an address to the Queen, which she accepted. Lord Derby having handed her a sword, she next bestowed the accolade on the kneeling Mayor, who thereupon rose up as Sir John Morris. Before leaving the pavilion, the Queen desired the Mayor to tell her subjects in Wolverhampton that she was greatly pleased with her reception, and with the loyal feeling which had been manifested. A few days afterwards, at a meeting of the Wolverhampton Council, the Mayor produced a letter which, though marked "private," he had obtained permission to read at that meeting. The letter was from Sir C. Grey. It was dated Windsor Castle, December 1, and, after stating that an official answer to the address of the Corporation would be sent, went on to say:—"Her Majesty is anxious that you should hear, as it were, more directly from herself how much she was gratified by the heartiness and cordiality of the reception she met with from every individual of the vast assemblage that yesterday filled your streets, and how deeply—how very deeply—she was touched by the proof which the day's proceedings afforded of the respect and affection entertained at Wolverhampton for the memory of her beloved husband. I have also been requested by Princess Christian to say how much she has been gratified by the kindness shown yesterday to herself and Prince Christian, and that she will have much pleasure in wearing the beautiful bracelet presented to her at the station as a remembrance of a most interesting and gratifying day." Sir John Morris then read another letter he had received from Sir Thomas Biddulph, in which the Queen desired that her condolence might be conveyed to a volunteer who had met with an accident on the occasion of her visit, and also expressed her Majesty's intention to settle upon him an annuity of £20, payable quarterly. This announcement was naturally received with great enthusiasm by the Council.

CHAPTER XII.

THE TIDE OF DEMOCRACY.

Stemming the Tide of Democracy—Lord Derby and Reform—The Reform League—The Riots in Hyde Park—Cowing the Ministry—The Adullamites—Mr. Disraeli's Resolutions—Crises in the Cabinet—The Ten Minutes Bill—The Government Measure—Mr. Gladstone's Alterations—A Leap in the Dark—The Movement in Favour of German Unity—The Austro-Prussian War—The Luxembourg Question—Execution of the Emperor Maximilian—Mr. Disraeli's Budget—Academic Discussions of Irish Grievances—Fenian Outrages at Manchester and Clerkenwell—Rattening at Sheffield—Prince Arthur Passes his Military Examination—Illness of the Princess of Wales—Founding of the Royal Albert Hall—The Sultan in England—Abdul Aziz, K.G.—Visit of the Queen to the Duchess of Roxburghe—Dr. Macleod at Palmoral—Prince Arthur ill of Smallpox—The Queen Keeping Hallowe'en—Her Majesty Visits Lady Palmerston.

WHEN Lord Derby came to power in 1866 he was reported to have said that it would be his mission "to stem the tide of democracy." It has, therefore, been supposed that he was an irreconcilable opponent of Reform. As he passed an extremely democratic measure of Parliamentary Reform—thereby, to use his own phrase, "dishing the Whigs"—he has been accused of the grossest possible tergiversation. What, then, was the attitude of the Tories to Reform in 1866? The party, as a whole, was certainly hostile to it. To give votes to people who paid £6 a year for their houses meant, as Sir E. Bulwer Lytton declared, the enfranchisement of "poverty and passion." No speeches stirred the hearts and sympathies of the Tory party throughout this country so strongly as those in which Mr. Lowe, and other Adullamites, heaped the coarsest abuse on the working-classes of England. In those days an English artisan was spoken of in Tory society with an antipathy stronger even than that with which the "mean whites" regarded the negroes in the Southern States. The leaders of the Tory party, however—Lord Derby, Lord Stanley, Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Henley—never shared these prejudices. But what would they do after being called to power by the declared enemies of Reform? The first public utterances of Ministers did not throw much light on their intentions. Mr. Disraeli told his constituents that when the Government attempted to deal with Reform they would not adopt any foreign pattern—either American or French—as a model for the Parliamentary institutions of the country. He protested that he could not discover whether the defeated Bill was based on the rights of man or the rights of numbers. He seemed to have some notion that "the estate of the Commons" should, like all other estates, have a fair share in the Government of the country. But his idea evidently was to enfranchise not masses but classes, and to give electoral power to the *élite* of all the different "orders" of society. Sir Stafford Northcote was opposed to bringing in any

new Reform Bill.* Lord Stanley said bluntly that he had objected to the defeated Bill, because it made the franchise lower than the House of Commons would endure; and as for Lord Derby, his opinion was very ambiguous. He had no objection to see the electorate largely increased. But his difficulty was, that the agitators who were alone earnest in demanding Reform would never be satisfied with any Bill which the great parties in the State could unite in accepting. It was quite clear that he intended to let the matter rest and ripen. Lord Derby and his colleagues, however, made a fatal mistake in imagining that they would be allowed to let the matter rest. He completely miscalculated the strength of the social and political forces which had been let loose by the death of Lord Palmerston. The nation was in a condition of suspense and excitement that recalled revolutionary memories of 1848, and the working-classes had been roused from their apathy by the speeches in which the Tories and Adullamites had held them up to contempt. The Reform League promptly set on foot a great popular agitation, and, to the astonishment of the Adullamites and the Tories, the reply of the people to the refusal of a £6 franchise was a demand for "registered residential manhood suffrage and the ballot." Huge mass meetings were held all over the country, at which this demand was put forward, and the temper of the populace rapidly became revolutionary. An accident brought this unpleasant fact home to the minds of Ministers.

The Reform League, under the leadership of Mr. Edmond Beales—an energetic barrister, who afterwards became a County Court Judge—organised a meeting in Hyde Park. On the 22nd of July, 1866, notices were posted up by order of the Government prohibiting the Reformers from holding the meeting. On the 23rd the Leaguers, accompanied by an angry mob, proceeded to the Park and demanded admission. When this was refused, Mr. Beales and his colleagues tried to lead the crowd to Trafalgar Square for the purpose of protesting against the action of the Home Secretary. But the crowd refused to be led. It took a more summary and effective method of protesting, for it tore down the railings of Hyde Park and held the ground till it was driven out, after a desperate fight with the police and Life Guards. It was at first supposed that this timely exhibition of force would end the conflict; and Mr. Walpole, the Home Secretary, posted strong patrols of police and soldiery all over the Park. That step was, of course, quickly resented by the people. They attacked the police and the troops on the 24th, and it was not till cavalry were employed that the turmoil was suppressed. But during the whole day the fashionable people in carriages were pelted with mud and stones by the "roughs" whenever they made their appearance. This inglorious warfare went on in the same manner till the 27th, when the Duke of Cambridge decided to bring up three additional regiments of cavalry, whereupon it began

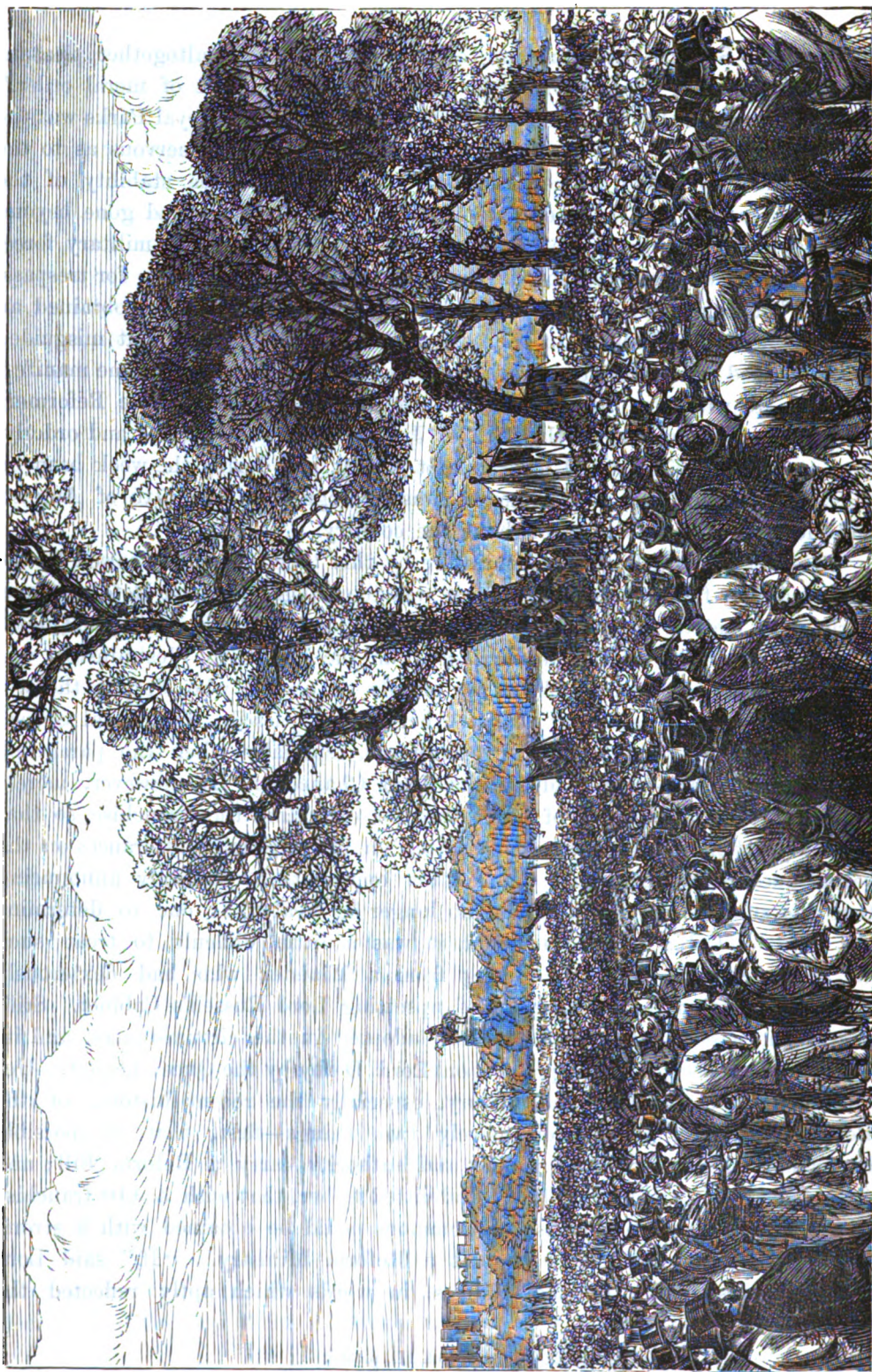
* Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., Vol. II., p. 143.

to dawn on Society that somehow or other life was not altogether pleasant in the West End of London under the new "Government of moral order." The Queen, whose legal right to exclude people from the Royal Parks was the pretext for the action of the Government, became extremely nervous as to the effect which the policy of her Ministers might have on the stability of the Monarchy, and it finally turned out that the Home Secretary had gone beyond the law, in vindicating her Majesty's rights over Hyde Park by military force. Those rights were secured to the Crown solely by a civil action for trespass. At the height of the dispute the leaders of the Reform League obtained an interview with Mr. Walpole, in the course of which that amiable but misguided Minister shed tears when the grave consequences of his action became manifest to him. He withdrew his opposition to the use of the Park. The Reformers held their meetings, and on the 28th of July London was so quiet and orderly, that no chance visitor would have dreamt that it had during the week been on the verge of revolution. Parliament was prorogued on the 11th of August, and the agitation went on throughout the country.

The Derby-Disraeli Government were by this time completely cowed by the mob, and they frankly admitted that it was too dangerous to let Reform alone. Parliament met on the 5th of February, 1867, and was opened by the Queen, who, though driven in a close carriage from the Palace to Westminster, was received with the heartiest cheers by crowds of people, who, despite the wet and dismal weather, came out to greet her as she passed. The Royal Speech was listened to with suppressed excitement, especially when the paragraph relating to Reform was read by the Lord Chancellor. It, however, merely hinted at the introduction of a measure for extending the Franchise, so that naturally attention was next concentrated on Mr. Disraeli's utterances on the vexed question.* He rather amused his opponents by solemnly announcing that the subject of Reform should no longer be treated as one to determine the fate of Cabinets.† No doubt it was a little difficult to treat such an announcement seriously, coming from a Minister who had dexterously used the question for the purpose of upsetting Lord Russell's Cabinet. Still, it was the wisest policy that could be adopted in the circumstances, and its adoption had been strongly pressed on Lord Derby by the Queen herself. Her Majesty's view was that the history, especially the recent history, of the Reform agitation, proved conclusively two things—first, that no possible Government could by its own effort and authority carry a Reform Bill; and second, as Mr. Gladstone had himself admitted to her, that with a £10 franchise it was not likely that a House of Commons could be obtained with a strong working majority pledged to support a Reform Ministry. "If," said Lord Derby, in his speech on the Address, in words which aptly reflected the

* *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 365.

† *The History of Reform*, by Alexander Paul, p. 199. Routledge, 1884.



GREAT DEMONSTRATION AT THE REFORMERS' TREE IN HYDE PARK

opinion of the Sovereign, "we desire to see the representation of the country placed upon a sound basis; if we desire to see a settlement of the question, which I will not say shall be final, but which shall render unnecessary and improbable any further agitation upon the subject for a very considerable time,



LORD CARNARVON.

(From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.)

then I say this object cannot be attained by making the question one of party and political strife for the purpose of obtaining office or Parliamentary majorities. The question must be examined in a fair, deliberate, and dispassionate spirit; we must be prepared to give and take, to meet each other's views, and, above all things, to cast away all party objects."

The real obstacle had been the Adullamites. But, says Mr. Hayward, in

a letter to Mr. Gladstone, dated the 31st of January, "the Cave has split already. Elcho, Lord Grosvenor, heading one section with Lowe and Horsman; Beaumont, Dunkellin, &c., with the other; the numbers about equal. . . . Beaumont and Co. would vote for an immediate settlement of the Reform Question. This he told me. Elcho would consent to no reduction of the Franchise."* The fate of this small but brilliant party, Bishop Wilberforce says, inspired Mr. Gladstone with a new commandment—"Thou shalt not commit Adullamy."†

On the 11th of February Mr. Disraeli explained to the House of Commons how the Government intended to deal with Reform. He suggested that they should pass a series of Resolutions admitting the necessity of increasing the electorate, and of giving more direct representation to the working-classes, but affirming that it was contrary to the Constitution to give any single interest in the country dominant power over the others. His Resolutions were also in favour of basing the franchise on rating, of plural voting, of the use of voting papers, and of the extension of borough boundaries. The House of Commons, however, clearly showed that it desired the Government to bring in a Bill, and that was plainly the opinion of the public also. Lord Malmesbury writes on the 16th of February:—"New plan on Reform proposed by Disraeli. Four franchises, namely, £5 rated house, £50 in savings bank, an educational franchise, and direct taxation, supposed in its result to give 680,000 voters to property, and 360,000 to democracy. General Peel positively objects. The press, in a body, abuse our Resolutions."‡ On the 19th a Cabinet meeting was held, at which General Peel, finding he was the only dissident, withdrew his objections.§ But public opinion was against the scheme, and the spirit of dissension was brooding over the Cabinet. "Meanwhile," writes Lord Malmesbury, who has given the world the only authentic account of the secret history of the startling events which followed, "after a Cabinet held on Saturday, Feb. 22nd, at which no difficulty occurred, and after Lord Derby's having gone down to Windsor to announce unanimity of the Cabinet, on Sunday night Lord Cranborne informed Lord Carnarvon that he could not agree to the Reform Bill as it stood, and must resign. Lord Carnarvon did the same, and at 8.30 on Feb. 25th they wrote to Lord Derby to call a Cabinet at twelve for Lord Cranborne to explain his objections. The confusion may be conceived, as at 2 p.m. Lord Derby had summoned his party to hear the new Bill, and Disraeli was to explain it at five in the House of Commons.

* Correspondence of Mr. Abraham Hayward, Q.C., Vol. II., p. 158.

† Life of Bishop Wilberforce, Vol. III., p. 242.

‡ Memoirs of an ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 365.

§ This was a year fruitful in Cabinet meetings. On the 22nd of January Lord Malmesbury writes, "Cabinets every day to the end of the month; some at Lord Derby's, who was ill with the gout."—Memoirs of an ex-Minister, *ibid.*

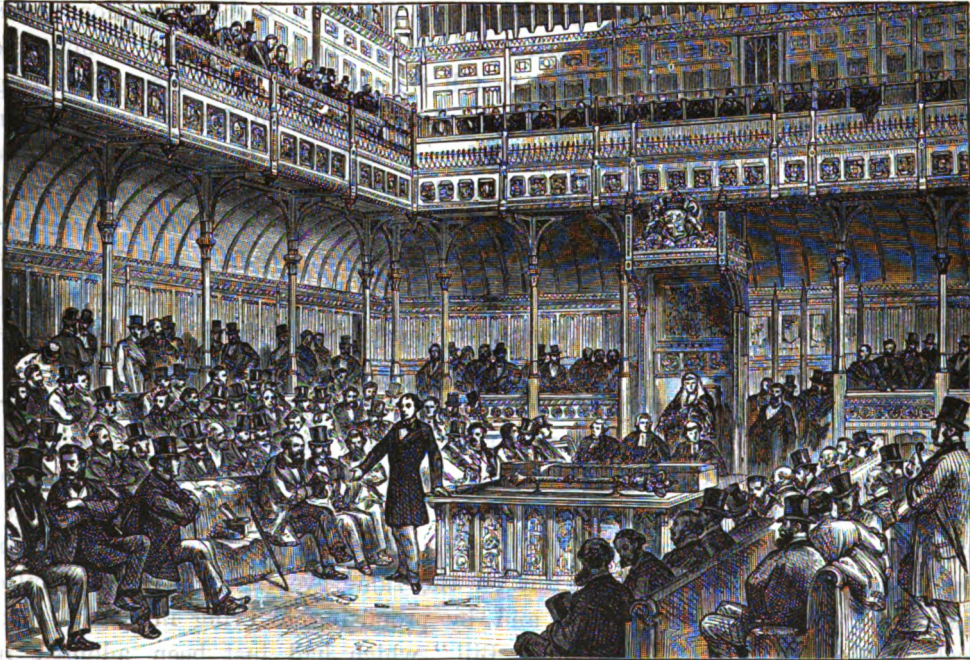
It was a paralysis. The dissentients were now joined by General Peel, who refused to remain [he had dissented from the first], and in half an hour, at Stanley's suggestion, they agreed to meet the M.P.'s with a Bill founded on the £6 and £20 rating, to which the trio agreed. This crude action exposed us to great condemnation and ridicule." The Bill was afterwards nicknamed the "Six Hours Bill," and some indiscreet revelations which were made by Sir John Pakington led to it being scoffed at as "the Ten Minutes Bill." A more ludicrous blunder has probably never been committed by any Government, as some of the Ministers confessed to each other. "No doubt," writes Lord Malmesbury, "the best thing in such a position would have been to accept the resignation of these three able and honourable men (however serious the loss), and to tell the truth to Parliament, deferring the Bill for a week. I wrote a strong letter to Lord Derby from Heron Court, begging him to do this. The following Saturday it was done, and the Dukes of Richmond and Marlborough and Mr. Corry took the vacant seats in the Cabinet—the first as Board of Trade, the second as Colonial Secretary, the third as First Lord of the Admiralty; Northcote, India; and Pakington, War Office. The statement made by Lords Cranborne and Carnarvon was that Disraeli and Baxter* had completely mistaken their figures, and that the result would not be what we intended, but would be perfectly fatal."

On the 26th of February a meeting of Liberal members, held at Mr. Gladstone's house, expressed a very strong opinion against the Resolutions and against the Bill with the four franchises—"fancy franchises," they were called by Mr. Bright and the Radicals—which Mr. Disraeli had sketched under pressure from Mr. Gladstone on the previous day. It was resolved to move an amendment to the Resolutions. But on the same evening Mr. Disraeli foiled this attack by withdrawing them, and by promising to bring in a Bill next week. This was the "Ten Minutes Bill" which had just been adopted in haste by the Ministers at their distracted Councils in Lord Derby's house. On the 28th of February Lord John Manners, in a letter to Lord Malmesbury, writes:—"A meeting of Conservative M.P.'s was held at the Carlton to-day, Sir M. W. Ridley in the chair; between 120 and 150 present. Much difference of opinion, no resolutions passed, but a general disposition evinced in favour of rated residential household suffrage *v.* £6 rating and an equal division of new seats between the counties and the boroughs. An anxious desire expressed that we should fix upon the franchise thought best and then stick to it, declining to carry our opponents' measure. They (our opponents) are, I believe, in equal difficulties, and are quite unable to take office at present."† On the 4th of

* Mr. Dudley Baxter, who prepared Mr. Disraeli's figures for him.

† See on this subject a curious letter from Mr. Hayward to Mr. Gladstone written on the 15th of August, 1866. Mr. Hayward says:—"I entirely agree in what you say of the House of Commons and the Liberal party, which is neutralised by the individual crotchets of its members."—Correspondence of Mr. Abraham Hayward, Q.C., Vol. II., p. 147.

March it was made known to the country that Lord Carnarvon, Lord Cranborne, and General Peel had resigned their seats in the Cabinet; and on the 18th of March Mr. Disraeli asked and obtained leave to bring in the Bill which the Government had finally adopted. In the debate on the Second Reading Mr. Gladstone somewhat haughtily formulated the changes in it which he must demand. These practically eviscerated the Bill, and at the time it was not supposed that the Government could with any degree of self-respect

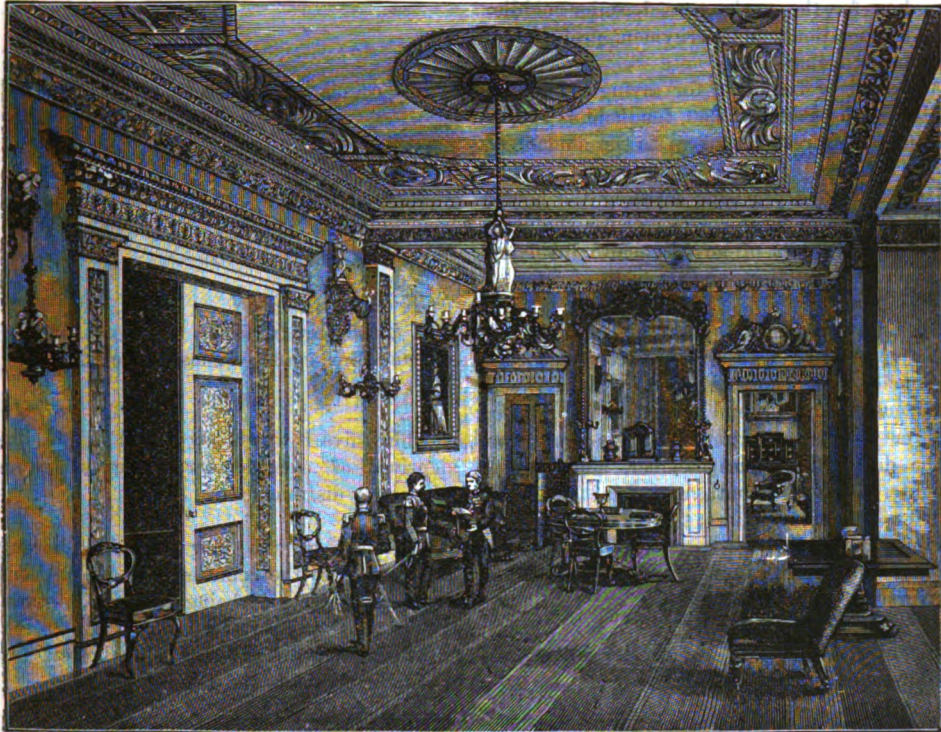


MR. DISRAELI INTRODUCING HIS REFORM BILL IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

assent to them. But when the Bill went into Committee it was soon apparent that Mr. Gladstone and his followers meant to force all their proposals on the Government. Ministers day after day held melancholy and mournful Cabinet meetings, and it was with rage that the Adullamites saw the men whom they had brought into office surrendering position after position.

"The *laissez aller* system followed by the Government," writes Lord Malmesbury in May, "trying to make the best they could of it, but constantly yielding something. The Conservative members seem disposed to adopt anything, and to think that it is 'in for a penny in for a pound.'" At each Cabinet meeting it was found that the Bill had become more Radical; indeed, it seemed as if Tory opposition stimulated Radical aggressiveness. Nor was the demoralisation confined to the Tory Party. There was some dread lest the persistent humiliation to which Mr. Gladstone and his

subordinates subjected Mr. Disraeli day after day might tempt him to resign and abandon the Bill. A body of Radicals, called the "Tea Room Clique," began to give the Government friendly aid, and so greatly encumbered Mr. Gladstone's opposition, that for a time he refused to be responsible for the leadership of the Liberal Party. The great difficulty was to apply the Bill to tenants who compounded with their landlords for their rates. As these householders were not *personally* rated, they would not be



COUNCIL CHAMBER, OSBORNE.

(After a Photograph by F. G. C. Stuart, Southampton.)

enfranchised. Mr. Gladstone's idea was to definitely fix the franchise at a £5 rating limit, and on the 5th of April Mr. Coleridge was put up to move an instruction to the Committee to clear the path for Mr. Gladstone's proposal. The Radicals who met in the "Tea Room" of the House of Commons forced Mr. Coleridge to give way. When Mr. Gladstone in Committee proposed his plan, it was defeated by the defection of the Tea Room Party. Finally, the matter was settled by Mr. Disraeli putting an end to the practice of compounding for rates, so that every householder, unless he were a pauper, got a vote. Perhaps the most graphic view of the struggles, and the confused strife of this Session when Mr. Disraeli demoralised his own party by perpetual surrender, and broke up the Opposition under the solvent of

intrigue, is given by Mr. Paul's comparison of the original provisions of the Bill and its provisions when it received the Queen's assent.

ORIGINAL BILL.

Household franchise in boroughs, conditional on *two years'* residence, and personal payment of rates.

£15 franchise in counties.

Educational franchise for graduates or associates in Arts of any University of the United Kingdom, for those who passed senior middle-class examinations, for clergymen, professional men, and schoolmasters.

A pecuniary franchise for savings bank depositors with balance of £50, fundholders of like amount, and direct taxpayers to the amount of £1 per annum.

Dual voting—a provision entitling the holder of the pecuniary franchise to vote for the same borough in respect of any franchise involving occupation of premises, and payment of rates.

Voting papers.

No lodger franchise.

No cumulative vote or three-cornered constituencies, these being declared by Mr. Disraeli erroneous in principle and pernicious in practice.

Twenty-three towns under 7,000 in population to be deprived of one member, and Totnes, Reigate, Great Yarmouth, and Lancaster, convicted of corrupt practices, to be disfranchised.

Fourteen of the new seats to be given to boroughs, fifteen to counties, and one to London University.

No third members to Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds.

BILL AS PASSED.

Household franchise, conditional on *one year's* residence; compound householder abolished. the occupier alone being rated.

£12 franchise in counties.

No educational franchise.

No pecuniary franchise.

No dual voting

No voting papers,

A £10 lodger franchise.

Four three-cornered constituencies.

Thirty-five towns below 10,000 in population deprived of one member. Eleven boroughs ultimately disfranchised.

Eighteen of the new seats to boroughs, twenty-five to the counties, and one to London University, one seat being afterwards given to Wales, and seven to Scotland.

Three members given to Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds.*

As the Duke of Buccleuch said bitterly, the only part of the Bill which the Radicals had allowed to stand was "the word 'Whereas.'" Mr. Disraeli, in fact, induced his party to tolerate the measure because he surrounded Household Suffrage with an elaborate series of checks. The process of removing these one by one, but so gradually that he familiarised his followers with capitulation, was the process which he subsequently described in a speech at Edinburgh as that of "educating his party." But when the checks disappeared the Conservative Reform Bill was to all intents and purposes the Bill of Mr. Bright and the advocates of Household Suffrage pure and simple. In June Lord Malmesbury says, "After many vicissitudes, the Reform Bill came up to the House of Lords, and Lord Derby moved the Second Reading without a division, saying it was 'a leap in the dark.' Peers on our side were averse to it, but at a meeting of

* Mr. Alexander Paul's *History of Reform*, pp. 201—203.

them Lord Derby said he would resign if it was rejected." That settled the matter. The Bill was ultimately passed on the 15th of August with only one important amendment—the clause creating the three-cornered constituencies. The Bills for Scotland and Ireland were carried in the following year, the Irish franchise being, however, fixed at £4 in boroughs. At Manchester and Edinburgh Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, during the recess, celebrated the passing of the Bill at great Conservative festivals, Mr. Disraeli vaunting the success with which he had "educated" his party up to the point of surrender.

During the struggle for Parliamentary Reform in England another great democratic movement on the Continent was in full and rapid progress. It was the movement of the German people in favour of German Unity, which had been arrested in 1848. The pacific policy of the Queen had saved England from sharing in Palmerston's wild scheme to thwart the aspirations of the German race in 1865. Hence Englishmen could view critically the strife between the people of Germany, led by Prussia, and the forces of Teutonic feudalism, organised and made militant by Austria. But it was impossible for the Queen to be indifferent to the result of this conflict. The husbands of her daughters were fighting on different sides. The struggle had been long foreseen by the Prince Consort, who was a strong partisan of German Unity, and had for years used all his influence with the Court of Berlin to induce Prussia to lead the national movement in Germany. In the summer of 1866 Europe felt that the truce of Gastein was fast coming to an end. Manteuffel was the Prussian Governor of Holstein. Goblitz was the Austrian Governor of Sleswig, and the claims of the Augustenburg Pretender—reserved for future settlement by the Convention of Gastein—soon furnished the administrators of the two provinces with a fruitful cause of quarrel. When a popular ovation was accepted by the Prince-Pretender in Sleswig, Manteuffel harshly reprimanded him. At Kiel in Holstein Austria openly encouraged the Pretender's Party in defiance of Prussia. Agitators from South Germany went about the country, under Austrian patronage, urging the Holsteiners to shake off the yoke of Prussia. The "conjoint dominion" was no longer endurable. Austria proposed to submit the dispute to the German Diet, a proposal which Prussia rejected, and when the Powers began to prepare for war, their example was followed by Italy, who now saw her chance of delivering Venice. In fact, early in spring, 1866, Italy and Prussia had entered into a secret Treaty embodying offensive and defensive action against Austria. The French Emperor knew of the existence of this Treaty, and it was a mystery why he did not intervene between the disputants. The probability is that he calculated on being able to interfere with profit to France after Prussia and Austria had each exhausted themselves in a long and sanguinary struggle, a reckoning which the sudden collapse of Austria completely upset. Napoleon III., though ostensibly suggesting a reference of the

dispute to a European Conference, was secretly intriguing with both Powers. To Prussia he proposed an alliance on the basis of ceding to France the left bank of the Rhine, including Belgium, which England was bound to defend by arms. To Austria he offered an alliance based on the cession of Venice to Italy, in return for Silesia—a province which every Prussian regards with pride, as one of the Great Frederick's spoils of war. And all this time England was under the delusion that France was still a loyal ally, while the English Foreign Office was in utter darkness as to the subterranean negotiations in which Napoleon was engaged. Nothing now made for peace, except the scruples of the King of Prussia, who was personally attached to the Austrian Emperor, and who regarded with horror anything approaching fratricidal strife. The project of a Conference was abandoned because Austria disliked it. Prussia refused to submit to the arbitration or jurisdiction of the German Diet, the majority of which took the side of Austria, and the Austrians accordingly plunged into war, with Bavaria, Würtemberg, Hanover, Saxony, and many of the smaller States as their allies. In England fashionable opinion was all in favour of Austria. Her army, we were assured by the leading organs of the upper classes, was invincible. As for the troops and the generals of Prussia, they were spoken of as if they were beneath contempt.

On the 14th of June the Diet, 1866, on the motion of Austria, resolved to put in Federal execution against Prussia, in Holstein. On the 16th Prussian troops were marching through Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and Hesse-Darmstadt in three columns on Saxony. This swift blow paralysed the minor States; in fact, Bavaria, with her army of 100,000, was not ready to come to the help of Austria till the war was over. Western Germany north of the Maine thus fell an easy prey to Prussian skill and valour. But that skill and valour were more conspicuously displayed in the chief theatre of the war. The Austrian commander, Marshal Benedek, having allowed the Prussians to seize Dresden at the outset, joined the Austrians in Bohemia. In two columns, one under the "Red Prince" (Frederick Charles), and the other under the Crown Prince (the "our Fritz" of the Queen's family), the Prussians poured like a rapid and resistless torrent through Saxony and the Silesia passes, in a parallel line, into the plains of Bohemia. What need to tell the tale? The flower of the Austrian army—its German troops—was wasted in Venetia. The Italian and Hungarian regiments in Bohemia were disaffected. The Prussians had the needle-gun, whereas the Austrians had the old, slow-firing muzzle-loader. Von Moltke, the ablest strategist in Europe, directed the Prussian attack, and thus fight after fight was lost by Austria. On the 3rd of July, 1866, the crowning victory of the war was won by Prussia at Sadowa, where the Crown Prince, aided by Blumenthal, played the part of Blücher at Waterloo, and the invincible Austrian Empire lay prostrate in the dust. In Italy the Austrians were more successful. They won the battle of Custoza and the sea-fight of Lissa—victories

which were barren of results. Peace was signed at Prague on the 23rd of August, 1866. Venice had been surrendered to France, who was to hand it over to Italy. Austria was expelled from Germany, and the Danish duchies were transferred to Prussia, but with the proviso that the people of North Sleswig might, if they desired it, join Denmark. Saxony, however, retained



PRAGUE.

a certain amount of independence, whereas the smaller States were to be organised into a new German Confederation under Prussian leadership. Germany north of the Maine was annexed to Prussia. The triumph of Prussia was immediately followed by the reorganisation of the French army, and the initiation of reforms in Austria.

The aim of Lord Derby's Government had been to withdraw England entirely from foreign politics, but that did not prevent Englishmen from rejoicing at the creation of a strong progressive German Power in Central Europe capable of curbing the restless ambition of France, and at the defeat of Austria—one of the strongholds of decaying feudalism. During 1867 the work of consolidating North Germany went on rapidly, and Baron Beust, the Saxon Minister, was called to carry out the new policy of reconstruction

in Austria. At last the independence of Hungary was recognised, and the Austrian Emperor having sworn to maintain the Hungarian Constitution, he was crowned in Pesth as King of this ancient Monarchy. When Hungary had been conciliated, Baron Beust next proceeded to frame a constitution for the other provinces of the Empire. One little cloud, however, arose on the untroubled horizon of the English Foreign Office. A pending dispute as to the occupation of Luxembourg tempted Lord Stanley to interfere in Continental affairs during the spring. The King of Holland was Grand Duke of Luxembourg, and he had entered into a secret agreement to sell it to France. But the capital of the province was held by a Prussian garrison, and the new North German Parliament objected strongly to permit a German province to pass under French dominion. France, on the other hand, demanded the evacuation of Luxembourg, and on the 23rd of April, 1867, Lord Stanley wrote to inform Lord Malmesbury that war was imminent. The Luxembourg Question arose simply because the French Emperor had been outwitted by Bismarck's diplomacy. The claim of France for a cession of German frontier had been postponed till after the peace with Austria was signed. By giving the South German States easy and generous terms, Bismarck had induced them to sign secret Treaties with Prussia, putting their armies at her disposal should France make war on her. Hence, when M. Benedetti presented the French claim for compensation in 1866, Bismarck defied his threats, and as France had neither allies in Germany nor breechloaders in her arsenals, she had to submit. But in 1867 Napoleon imagined he had discovered in Luxembourg a door into Germany that could be forced by diplomacy, and hence the negotiations with the King of Holland, which had been rendered abortive by the resistance of Prussia. The French ambassador in London then appealed to Lord Stanley to use his good offices as mediator, his proposal being that France would cease to press for the purchase of Luxembourg if Prussia would evacuate the garrison, which barred one of the military routes from France into Germany. England advised Prussia to give way. Russia proposed a Conference of the Powers to settle the question, a proposal which Prussia accepted, and the more especially as she doubted whether the dissolution of the Bund which authorised her occupation of Luxembourg had not destroyed her claim to maintain her garrison there. She had also failed to induce Austria to enter into an alliance with her, and so she was open to consider a compromise. Prussia withdrew from the fortress on condition of its being dismantled and the territory "neutralised," and the European guarantee for the neutralisation of Luxembourg was supposed to be a sufficient compensation for the loss of the fortress. This arrangement was formulated in the Treaty signed at London on the 11th of May, 1867, and at the time it enhanced the *prestige* of the Tory Government, to whose diplomacy it was greatly due. But, as a matter of fact, it simply served to embitter the relations of the disputing Powers. It left Prussia angry because France had ousted her from the fortress. It left France angry because Prussia had

thwarted her attempt to take the territory. Altogether, the Foreign Policy of France in 1867 was strangely bungled. Napoleon, by forbidding the King of Italy to "protect" the Pope against Garibaldian bands, had humiliated a grateful ally. French troops crushed the Garibaldians at Mentana, and thereby deeply wounded the susceptibilities of the Italian people. Worst of all, the Mexican tragedy utterly discredited the French Government in the eyes of Europe. For when France withdrew her troops from Mexico, under pressure from the United States, the Emperor Maximilian elected to remain in the country. His cause soon became hopeless. The Empress Charlotte undertook a fruitless journey to Europe to beg for succour, which was denied her. Her husband was finally taken prisoner by the Mexican Republicans, and shot by order of a court-martial. "There is a very touching account," writes Lord Malmesbury on the 10th of July, "in to-day's papers of the Emperor Maximilian's execution. He died like a Christian and a soldier. His poor wife has become quite insane. The French expedition to Mexico, and its tragical end are a sad blot on Louis Napoleon's career."*

Though the colony of Victoria was still vexed by the conflict between the two orders of its Legislature, and India was suffering from a famine in one of its Provinces, the dependencies of England in 1867 enjoyed profound tranquillity. One of them, indeed, took a new departure in colonial history. On the 26th of February Lord Carnarvon, carrying out the policy of his predecessor, passed a Bill through the House of Lords, incorporating the scattered provinces of Canada into a Federal Dominion. The financial history of the year, too, was uneventful. Mr. Disraeli introduced his Budget on the 4th of April, just before the Easter recess. In the previous year Mr. Gladstone had determined to use the balance of his surplus for the creation of terminable annuities in order to extinguish debt. The distracted state of affairs abroad, and the difficulties of the Government at home had, however, frustrated the scheme. But it was adopted by Mr. Disraeli in 1867. "He converted £6,000,000 of stock," says Mr. A. J. Wilson, "costing £180,000 per annum in interest, into an annuity of £440,000, expiring in April, 1885. Of the gross estimated surplus of £1,200,000 he proposed to keep £250,000 against contingencies; and the resolution was wise, for, owing to the Abyssinian War, and to the increase in the general costliness of the public services, the year ended with a considerable deficit. Mr. Disraeli estimated his revenue at £69,340,000, and the actual income was £69,600,000. But the expenditure, instead of being only £68,134,000, as estimated, reached £71,759,000. Deducting £2,000,000 charged that year to the war, the ordinary expenditure still exceeded the estimate by fully a million and a half, about £700,000 of which was due to the increased cost of civil administration."† Hence the

* *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 371.

† *The National Budget*, by A. J. Wilson, p. 95. Macmillan and Co.

people said that the old ill-luck of the Tories in finance followed them still. The days of plump surpluses had vanished, and those of growing expenditure

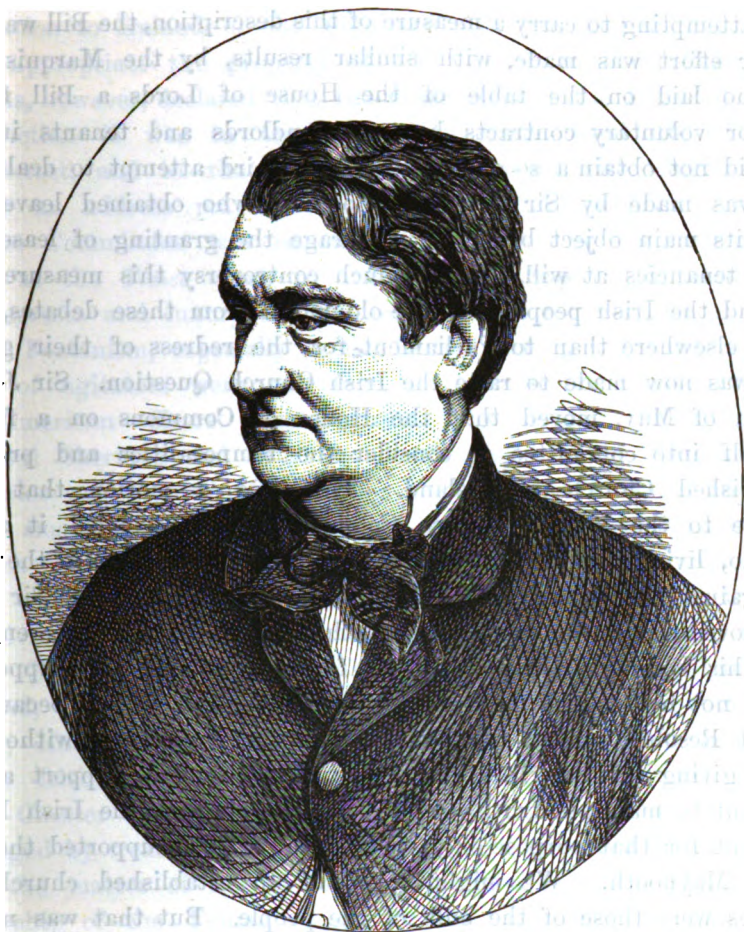


LAST MOMENTS OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. (See p. 283.)
(After the Picture by Jean-Paul Laurens.)

and dismal deficits had begun. The only remission of taxation which Mr. Disraeli proposed was the reduction of the Marine Insurance Duties. The Budget, in fact, was a tribute to those who, like Mr. Mill and Mr. Stanley

Jevons, had impressed the public mind that the time had come when sacrifices must be made not to reduce taxes, but to pay off National Debt.

The Session of 1867 was not prolific in Irish legislation. Ministers and private members once more made futile attempts to unravel the tangled web



LORD NAAS (AFTERWARDS EARL OF MAYO).

of the Land Tenure question. One measure, indeed, of a vigorous and decided character, was rapidly passed, namely, the Act for continuing for three months the suspension of the Habeas Corpus in Ireland. But as to land tenure, Lord Naas, on behalf of the Government, introduced a Bill very early in the Session to promote the improvement of land by tenants. The Bill was founded on the principle of the Lands Improvement Act. There were several kinds of improvements, for the making of which money was advanced under the Lands Improvement Act. These were, thorough draining, the reclamation of waste lands, the removal of old and useless fences, the making

of farm roads, and the erection of farmhouses, dwellings, and other buildings. On the Second Reading of Lord Naas' Bill being moved, a considerable diversity of opinion was exhibited with respect to the tendency and operation of the measure. Several amendments were proposed and discussed at length, and the debate was adjourned. Owing, partly to the pressure occasioned by the Reform debates, and other questions, and partly to a general impression of the futility of attempting to carry a measure of this description, the Bill was dropped.

Another effort was made, with similar results, by the Marquis of Clanricarde, who laid on the table of the House of Lords a Bill for giving facilities for voluntary contracts between landlords and tenants in Ireland. The Bill did not obtain a second reading. A third attempt to deal with the difficulty was made by Sir Colman O'Loughlan, who obtained leave to bring in a Bill, its main object being to encourage the granting of leases, and to discourage tenancies at will. After much controversy this measure was also dropped, and the Irish people read the old moral from these debates, that they must look elsewhere than to Parliament for the redress of their grievances. An effort was now made to raise the Irish Church Question. Sir John Gray, on the 7th of May, moved that the House of Commons on a future day resolve itself into committee to consider the temporalities and privileges of the Established Church in Ireland. This was a motion that was not unattractive to the Whigs, and so Colonel Greville seconded it as a Protestant who, living in Ireland, felt it his duty to protest in the strongest manner against the continuance of an unjust establishment. Sir Frederick Heygate moved the previous question, and then Mr. Gladstone intervened, giving a hint of his coming Irish policy. He found a difficulty in supporting the Resolution, not because he questioned the soundness of it, but because it was an abstract Resolution, and the House ought not to pass it without having a plan for giving effect to it. We might, he contended, support a religious establishment to maintain truth, but we did not support the Irish Protestant establishment for that purpose only, seeing that we also supported the Catholic College of Maynooth. We might maintain an established church because its doctrines were those of the bulk of the people. But that was notoriously not the case in Ireland. We might keep up an established church to supply the poorest class of the community with free and cheap religious teaching. But the Protestant Church in Ireland was the church of the rich. He trusted the time was not far distant when Parliament would take the question of the Irish Church up; and when it did he hoped that "a result would be arrived at which would be a blessing to all." This speech, coming from the author of the celebrated work in defence of established churches, was listened to with consternation by the Tories. They began to regret that they had "unmuzzled" Mr. Gladstone, to use Palmerston's phrase, by turning him out of Oxford. The matter was, however, shelved for a time, the "previous question" being carried by a majority of 195 to 183.

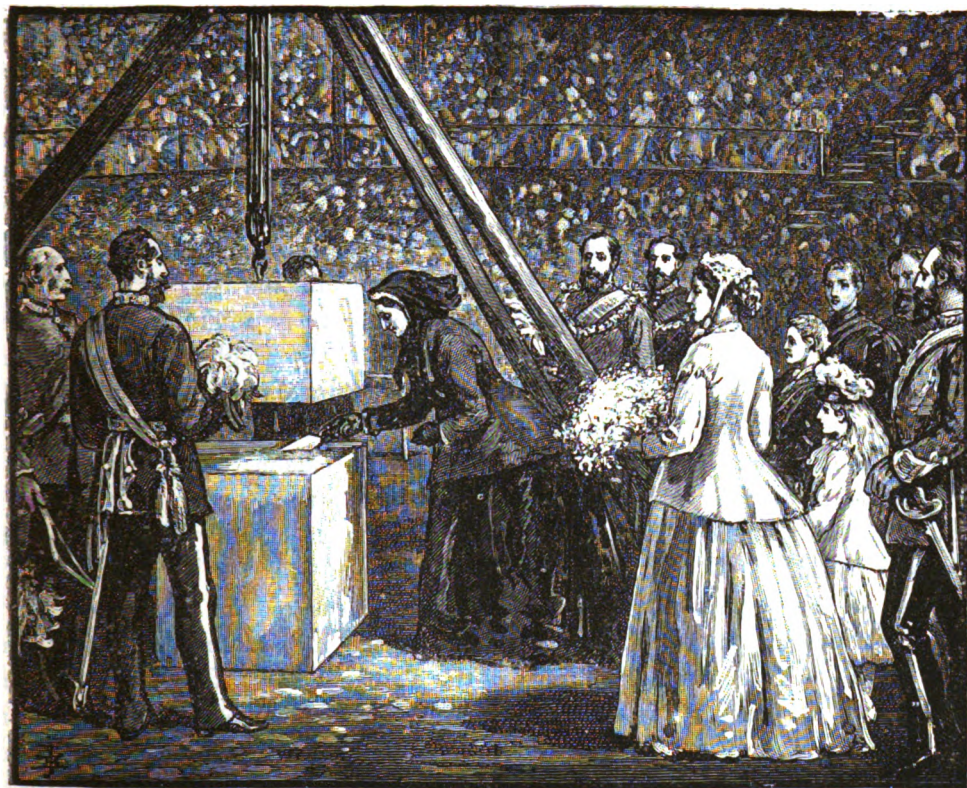
That the attack was preconcerted by the Liberal leaders was indicated by the fact that in the House of Lords Earl Russell, on the 24th of June, moved an address to the Queen, praying her to order, by Royal Commission, or otherwise, full information to be procured as to the revenues of the Established Church in Ireland, with a view to their more equitable application for the benefit of the Irish people. Lord Russell hinted that he favoured the application to Ireland of the voluntary principle, and if that were done he would appropriate the property of the Church to educational purposes. Lord Cairns, however, declared that the destruction of the Established Church, whose function it was to teach Christian truth, would be fatal to the landed interest, and to the commerce of Ireland with England. But a motion for an address praying simply for a Royal Commission was agreed to, and the Commission was issued by the Crown in the ensuing autumn. Meantime, as the *Times* wrote in 1865, Ireland was "being cleared quietly for the interests and luxury of humanity." And yet not too quietly. The progress of Fenianism, especially in the British Army, was wonderfully rapid. Hundreds of agitators were carrying on their secret propaganda. Scores of Irish-American officers were pouring into Ireland, telling the people that General Sheridan and other hot-headed soldiers of their race in the United States were eager to interfere on their behalf. Early in 1867 sporadic risings of small, half-armed mobs were put down with ease, and in the trials which followed the capital sentence passed on those found guilty was commuted to one of penal servitude, the abstinence of the rebels from wanton outrage giving the Queen a reasonable ground for exercising her prerogative of mercy. But the Fenian organisation had grown to unexpected strength in England, and within a few days after Ministers announced the Bill suspending Habeas Corpus in Ireland (11th of February) a band of men, headed by Irish-American officers, would have surprised and seized the arsenal of Chester Castle, with its 20,000 stand of arms, had not their design been divulged by treachery. In autumn an event occurred which has to this day been the matter of hot controversy between Irishmen and Englishmen. The leadership of the Fenian conspiracy had now passed into the hands of a Colonel Kelly, who succeeded Mr. Stephens. He was returning from a meeting at Manchester with his friend Captain Deasy, and they were both arrested by the police on suspicion of loitering for purposes of burglary. They gave false names, but it was soon discovered who they were. The Fenians of Manchester resolved to rescue them, and on the 18th of September the prison van in which Kelly and Deasy were being conveyed to Salford was attacked by a body of thirty armed men. The horses were shot. The escort ran away, and the Fenians then ordered Police Sergeant Brett, who was on duty inside the van to unlock the door. He refused, and a pistol was fired at the lock, in order to break it. Unfortunately, the bullet struck Brett, who died from the wound. Kelly and Deasy made their escape, and were heard of no

more. But in the meantime a crowd had gathered, and had nearly stoned to death William Philip Allen, one of the rescuing party, several of whom, including men called Larkin, Maguire, O'Brien (*alias* Gould), and Condon (*alias* Shore), were captured and tried for the murder of Sergeant Brett. They were all sentenced to be hanged, though the evidence against them was somewhat faulty. One of the prisoners (Maguire) was undoubtedly arrested by mistake, and the newspaper reporters who were present at his trial petitioned for his release. On further investigation it was found that the reporters were right, and the man was set free. But three of the prisoners were executed on the 23rd of November, although they protested they had not the remotest idea of hurting Sergeant Brett. "Condon," writes Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., "in speaking, used a phrase that has become historic: 'I have nothing,' he said, in concluding his speech, 'to regret or to take back. I can only say, 'God save Ireland.' His companions advanced to the front of the dock, and, raising their hands, repeated the cry, 'God save Ireland' " *—a phrase that became the shibboleth or watchword of the Irish Nationalist Party. Condon was reprieved because he was an American citizen. Numbers of eminent Englishmen—headed by Mr. John Bright, Mr. Mill, and Mr. Swinburne—endeavoured to get the others reprieved also, but in vain. Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien were hanged on the 23rd of November, and their execution produced a profound impression on the Irish race all over the world. In the towns in Ireland great and solemn funeral processions marched through the streets. Mr. T. D. Sullivan wrote the poem "God save Ireland," which displaced the National Anthem at Irish political gatherings. "To an Irishman," writes Mr. O'Connor, "then a youth, living in the country house of his fathers, and deeply immersed in the small concerns of a squire's daily life, the execution of the Manchester martyrs was a new birth of political convictions. To him, brooding from his early days over the history of his country, this catastrophe came to crystallise impressions into conviction, and to pave the way from dreams to action. It was the execution of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien that gave Mr. Parnell to the service of Ireland." † But another event happened which made it clear that the Fenian conspiracy was still formidable. One of its leaders, an Irish-American officer named Burke, had been captured and cast into Clerkenwell gaol, and his friends resolved to rescue him. Their agents, on the 18th of December, placed a barrel of gunpowder opposite the exercising ground of the gaol, where General Burke was supposed to be walking at the time. They then blew down the wall. Fortunately for himself, the Government had learned that a rescue was to be attempted, and the General had accordingly been removed to another part of the prison, otherwise he would have been killed. The victims were poor people who lived in the houses opposite the gaol, of whom twelve were killed and one hundred

* The Parnellite Movement, by T. P. O'Connor, M.P., chap. vii.

† *Ibid.*, p. 137. Popular Edition, Ward and Downey, 1887.

and twenty shockingly injured. An ignorant Fenian named Barrett was convicted of having been implicated in this clumsy plot, and was tried and executed in front of Newgate. This outrage ruined the Fenian organisation, not only in England but in Ireland. Many honest Irishmen, who in a fit of patriotic enthusiasm had joined its ranks, withdrew from a body whose deep and dark designs they saw were apt to be carried out with the stupid brutality that marked the Clerkenwell outrage.



THE QUEEN LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE ROYAL ALBERT HALL. (See p. 292.)

But the Fenians were not the only outragemongers who frightened the comfortable classes out of their senses in 1867. The skilled artisans in many cases had employed their trade organisations to coerce by violence masters who refused to yield to the demands of their workmen, and workmen who refused to obey the orders of their Unions. Early in the year a Commission had been appointed to consider the legal position of the Unions, which was most unsatisfactory, and a separate Commission, appointed to investigate outrages which had been perpetrated at Sheffield, made some astounding revelations. They reported that the officials of the Sawgrinders' Union had hired assassins to maim, murder, or torture people who thwarted the policy

of the Union.* They reported that similar barbarities were practised by the officials of the Brickmakers' and Bricklayers' Unions in Manchester. The country rang with denunciations of the working classes, and "strikes," such as that of the London tailors, were carried on with unparalleled acrimony. War between "the two nations," to use Mr. Disraeli's phrase in "Sybil," was imminent. It is curious to observe how seldom public writers and speakers on the conflict between Labour and Capital which then raged, took the trouble to ascertain the precise position of the artisans in the struggle. The truth, however, had been told with uncompromising honesty by the Committee of the House of Commons, who in 1821 had reported that outlawry made Trades Unionists lawless. In that year it was true an Act had been passed to legalise workmen's combinations for improving wages and reducing the hours of labour. But then this Act gave the preference to the word of the master in any dispute between him and his servant, and pedantic judges had made it a dead letter, by ruling that "all combinations in restraint of trade" were criminal. Nor had they stopped here. They roused the wrath of the working classes to white heat in 1867, by ruling in the case of *Hornby v. Close* that Trades Unions could not even hold property or funds for benevolent purposes. In fact, at that period, the position of the English working man was one of almost servile degradation, and under an extended franchise such a state of things could not last long. On the 5th of March a Conference of Trades Unionists was held in St. Martin's Hall, London, to protest against the decision in *Hornby v. Close*, a meeting which was the germ of the great Trades Union Congress, that ultimately became a mighty power in the industrial world.†

Early in the year the Queen received with pleasure the intimation that Prince Arthur had passed his military examination in a manner that did him great credit. "I am delighted," writes the Princess Louis to the Queen on the 13th of January,‡ "to hear of dear Arthur having passed so good an examination. How proud you must be of him! And the good Major,§ who has spared no pains, I know—how pleased he must be! Arthur has a uniform

* Some of the witnesses under cross-examination broke down and fainted when confessions of guilt were extorted from them.

† It is instructive to look back on the speeches delivered at this meeting. They give one a vivid idea of the humiliating *status* of the British workman at that time. The complaints of the speakers may be summed up thus: (1), whereas the masters' associations were free to send circulars to each other urging the dismissal of "marked" unionists, workmen were, by a recent legal decision, guilty of an indictable offence if they "picketed" or endeavoured to dissuade each other from serving a master whose men had struck work; (2), the law of conspiracy had been so strained as to make an act which when done by an individual was legal, illegal when done by two or more individuals in combination; (3), masters who broke contracts were only fined, whereas breach of contract by workmen was punished by imprisonment.

‡ Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 166.

§ Afterwards Sir Howard Elphinstone, K.C.B. He was the Prince's governor from 1859.

now, I suppose." From another passage in a letter of the Princess's, one gathers that the cloud of melancholy which overhung the Queen's widowed life was beginning to disappear. "I think," says the Princess, replying to one of the Queen's letters on the subject, "I can understand what you must feel. I know well what those first three years were—what fearful sufferings, tearing and uprooting those feelings which had been centred on beloved papa's existence! It is indeed as you say 'a mercy' that after the long storm a lull and calm ensues, though the violent pain which is but the reverse of the violent love seems only to die out with it, and that is likewise better. Yet, beloved mamma, could it be otherwise? There would be no justice or mercy, were the first stage of sorrow to be the perpetual one." Still, the advancing year brought its own cares to the Royal Family. A Princess was born to the Prince and Princess of Wales on the 20th of February, and though the official announcements stated that both mother and child were doing well, this was by no means the case. The recovery of the Princess was not satisfactory, and the physicians at last had to admit that she was suffering from a peculiarly obstinate rheumatic attack, that sadly undermined her health and strength. The Queen had, as usual, confided her anxieties to her daughter at Darmstadt, who in reply wrote as follows:—"The knowledge of dear sweet Alix's* state makes me too sad. It is hard for them both, and the nursing must be very fatiguing for Mrs. Clarke. I am so distressed about darling Alix that I really have no peace. It may and probably will last long, which is so dreadful." On the 14th of April the *accouchement* of the Princess Christian took place, when she was safely delivered of a little Prince, the Queen being in close attendance by her bedside all day.

On the 20th of May the Queen laid the first stone of the Hall of Arts and Sciences at Kensington, now known as the Royal Albert Hall. It was intended, and has since been used, for scientific and artistic congresses, both national and international; performances of music, distribution of prizes by public bodies, agricultural, horticultural, and industrial exhibitions, and displays of pictures and sculpture. At the inaugural function 7,000 visitors were arranged in an oval amphitheatre richly draped, and gay with the bright summer costumes of the ladies, and with gorgeous official uniforms. Among the guests were the Foreign Ministers wearing their decorations, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their robes, Lord Derby, Mr. Disraeli, and other Ministers and Ex-Ministers. The foundation stone bore in gold letters the inscription, "This stone was laid by her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, May 20, 1867." Accompanied by Princesses Louise and Beatrice the Queen arrived at the entrance of the building at Kensington Gore at half-past eleven, where the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh met the party. After receiving

* The pet family name of the Princess of Wales—obviously a contraction of Alexandra.

an address read by the Prince of Wales, her Majesty made the following reply, but, contrary to her usual habit, in a scarcely audible tone of voice:—

“I thank you for your affectionate and dutiful address. It has been with a struggle that I have nerved myself to a compliance with the wish that I should take part in this day's ceremony; but I have been sustained by the thought that I should assist by my presence in promoting the accomplishment of his great designs, to whose memory the gratitude and affection of the country are now rearing a noble monument, which I trust may yet look down on such a



ARRIVAL OF THE QUEEN AT KELSO. (See p. 295.)

centre of institutions for the promotion of Art and Science as it was his fond hope to establish here. It is my wish that this hall should bear his name, to whom it will have owed its existence, and be called ‘The Royal Albert Hall of Arts and Sciences.’”

Amid a flourish of trumpets and the distant booming of twenty-one guns that had been stationed in Hyde Park, the polished block of granite was lowered into its place, the Queen declaring it well and truly fixed. The Archbishop of Canterbury offered up a short prayer, and the band and chorus delivered the vocal and instrumental music of a composition by the Prince Consort, entitled “L’Invocazione all’ Armonia.” The solo tenor parts were given by Signor Mario with great effect, and the Queen, while passing through the building, stopped where he stood, and personally thanked this sweetest of sweet singers.

On the 22nd the Queen and Court left town for Balmoral. Before her departure she had decided not to invite formally any of the European Sovereigns who were in Paris visiting the French International Exhibition, but as the Sultan had intimated his intention of visiting England, orders were given to make preparations for his reception. The Court did not remain long in Aberdeenshire. From June to July the Princess Louis and her husband



VISIT OF THE QUEEN TO MELROSE ABBEY. (See p. 295.)

were in England, and the Queen had to return to Windsor to receive the Queen of Prussia, who paid her a visit on the 25th of June.

On the 13th of July the Sultan Abdul Aziz arrived in London. On the following day he visited Windsor. The Queen with the younger members of the Royal Family received his Majesty in the Grand Hall, and on his alighting she advanced to meet him. He stepped forward with an Eastern salutation, and kissed her hand, and in the interchange of courtesies which ensued, the Queen affectionately kissed his Highness, the young Izzedin Effendi, the Sultan's son, as did also the Princess Mary of Teck. The Grand Turk was indeed the lion of the London season of 1867, for Society was *en fête* in his honour. On the evening of the 19th, after being entertained at a splendid banquet given by the Duke of Cambridge, he attended a grand ball given by

the Secretary of State for India. The members of the Indian Council led the procession in a body by themselves, and Sir Stafford Northcote then preceded the august party, at the head of which walked the Sultan, with the Princess Louis of Hesse on his arm. In the brilliant train that followed Moslem and Christian Princes were strangely intermixed. The ball was opened by Sir Stafford Northcote and the Princess Louis, who led off the first quadrille, the Sultan looking on the scene with melancholy gravity, as if it were a show got up for his diversion. He, however, did full justice to the sumptuous supper, after which refreshment he returned to the ball-room, and about two o'clock took his departure, followed by the more distinguished guests. The scene at the India Office had been brilliant as one in Fairyland. But it was marred by one sad incident. Madame Musurus, the wife of the Turkish Ambassador, when taking some friends into supper suddenly dropped down dead. On the 20th the Sultan visited the Volunteer Camp at Wimbledon, and on the 22nd he was entertained by the Duke of Sutherland, and day after day the town was kept in a state of giddy excitement by the uninterrupted succession of spectacles and entertainments provided in honour of the Queen's Oriental guests. On the 23rd his Majesty left Buckingham Palace, where he had resided twelve days, and amidst the cheering of the populace took his departure for Dover. His visit rather obscured that of the Viceroy of Egypt, who was the guest of the nation at the same time, and was entertained by the Queen at Windsor on the 8th of July.

Besides the melancholy and tragic death of Madame Musurus there was only one other disagreeable incident attached to the Sultan's visit. A grand naval review at Portsmouth was arranged for his delectation and instruction on the 17th of July. It was known that the Queen intended to confer a mark of distinction on her Imperial visitor, but it was whispered that he was dissatisfied with what her Majesty proposed to do for him. The whole story has since been told by Lord Malmesbury, who says that at first the Queen, at Lord Derby's suggestion, offered to confer on Abdul Aziz the Star of India. But Fuad Pasha, who was in attendance on Abdul Aziz, hearing of this went to the Lord Steward and warned him that the Sultan would consider himself slighted if he were offered anything but the Garter. Already he had the Bath, and he seemed to consider the Star of India as an inferior distinction to the Bath. Lord Derby was remonstrated with, and finally it was settled that when the Queen received the Sultan on her yacht at the Naval Review she should give him the Order of the Garter. This was done with great pomp and ceremony, as Lord Malmesbury says, "in the midst of the howling of the storm and the roaring of the cannon." But here another hitch occurred. No ribbon was ready, so the Queen took the ribbon of Prince Louis of Hesse and presented it to the Sultan, intending that he should return it, when a new one could be got for him. "But," writes Lord Malmesbury, "the Sultan refused to give it (the ribbon) up, saying



THE QUEEN INVESTING ABDUL AZIZ WITH THE ORDER OF THE GARTER.

that the one he had was given to him by the Queen, and that he would wear no other."*

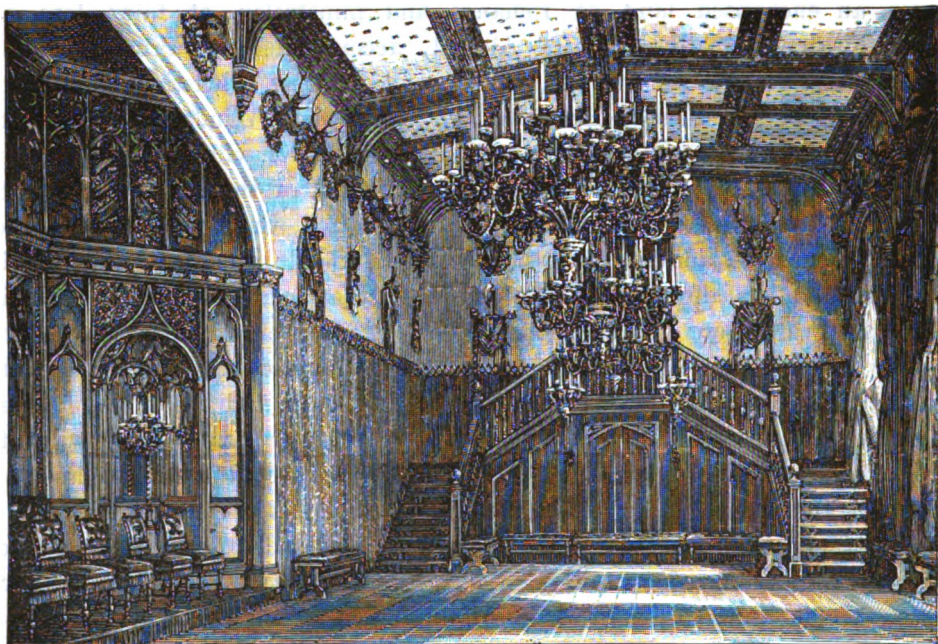
In July the Empress of the French spent a few days quietly with the Queen at Osborne, and on the 9th of August the Queen paid a long visit to the Royal Victoria Hospital at Netley, where she went through the wards, speaking after her homely fashion to the sick and wounded soldiers. She took a special interest in one case—that of a man who had been shot through the lungs at Lucknow, in 1858, but who had continued to do duty almost down to 1867.

In the end of the month the Queen resolved to pay a visit to the Scottish Border, an enchanted land of romance and minstrelsy, of fairy lore, and feudal chivalry. On the 28th of August, accompanied by Princess Louise, Princess Beatrice, Prince Leopold, Prince and Princess Christian, and Prince Christian Victor of Sleswig-Holstein, the Queen left Windsor Castle in the evening for Balmoral. She broke the direct route by having her special train stopped at Kelso, in order to visit a valued friend of the Royal Family—the Duchess of Roxburghe. On arriving at the station, the Queen affectionately kissed the Duchess; and her procession to Floors Castle was really a triumphal one. In fact, nothing could have exceeded the heartiness of the greeting which she everywhere got from the people. A vast crowd filled the Market-place, where her Majesty received an address from the magistrates of Kelso. In replying to it, she said, "I thank you, Mr. Craig, and the town of Kelso; an answer will be sent to your address." A little girl, the daughter of the Baron Bailie of Kelso, was then lifted up to the royal carriage, and presented to the Queen a large bouquet, which her Majesty received with an expression of delight. Her arrival at Floors, the seat of the Duke of Roxburghe, was announced to the town by a royal salute, fired from Roxburgh Castle. Great illuminations took place in Kelso at night, to the delight of thousands of country people. On the 22nd the Queen paid a visit to Melrose Abbey and Abbotsford. On reaching the Priory, she was received by the Duke of Buccleuch, the proprietor of the ruins and Lord-Lieutenant of the county. The Queen went to Jedburgh on the 23rd, and afterwards visited Hartrigge, a place associated with Lord Chancellor Campbell's memory. When the royal progress through the land of Scott and Thomas the Rhymer ended the Court proceeded to Balmoral.

This tour brightened the Queen's spirits, which seemed to have been slightly depressed before she left town. She had half hinted in one of her letters to the Princess Louis that her home was losing its attractions for some members of her family, and these suspicions the Princess promptly dispelled in a letter written from St. Moritz. "You say," she observes to the Queen, "that our home is dull now for those who like to amuse themselves. It is *never* dull, darling mamma, when we can be with you, for I have indeed never met a

* *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. I., p. 373.

more agreeable, charming companion. Time always flies by when one is with you. I hope it is not impertinent my saying so." In September the household at Balmoral was saddened by the death of Sir Frederick Bruce, whose sister, Lady Francis Baillie, was then staying at the Castle. Dr. Norman Macleod was also a welcome and valued guest at this time, and, writing in his Diary on the 18th of September, he says, "I had a long and pleasant interview with the Queen. With my last breath I will uphold the excellence and nobleness of her character."* Macleod was now avowedly the Queen's



THE BALL-ROOM, BALMORAL.

(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co.)

favourite pastor in Scotland, and there can be little doubt that his influence over her Majesty's mind was most salutary. His visits always brightened the somewhat dull life of the Castle, and in a letter to his wife (15th October, 1866) he has given a vivid little autumnal sketch of a Balmoral "interior" in those days. He says "the Queen is pleased to command me to remain here (Balmoral) till Tuesday. I found Mr. Cardwell had been in the Barony, and, to the great amusement of the Queen, he repeated my scold about the singing.† After dinner the Queen invited me to her room, where I found the

* Life of Norman Macleod, D.D., by the Rev. Donald Macleod, B.A., Vol. II., p. 252.

† The Barony parish of Glasgow was the one of which Macleod was minister. In one of his sermons he had told his people that Scripture commanded them to *sing* the praises of God, not to *grunt* them. "But," he added, "if you are so constituted physically that it is impossible for you to sing, but only *grunt*, then it is best to be silent."

Princess Helena and Marchioness of Ely. The Queen sat down to spin at a wee Scotch wheel, while I read Robert Burns to her—‘Tam O’Shanter,’ and ‘A Man’s a Man for a’ That,’ her favourite. The Prince and Princess of Hesse sent for me to see their children. The eldest (Victoria), whom I saw at Darmstadt, is a most sweet child; the youngest (Elizabeth) is a round, fat ball of loving good-nature. I gave her a real *hobble*,* such as I give Polly. I suppose the little thing never got anything like it, for she screamed



THE QUEEN UNVEILING THE STATUE OF THE PRINCE CONSORT AT BALMORAL. (See p. 293.)

and kicked with a perfect *furor* of delight, would go from me to neither father nor mother, or nurse, to their great merriment, but buried her chubby face in my cheek, until I gave her another right good *hobble*. They are such dear children. The Prince of Wales sent me a message asking me to go and see him. . . . When I was there the young Prince of Wales fell on the wax cloth after lunch, with such a thump as left a swollen blue mark on his forehead. He cried for a minute, and then laughed most bravely. There was no fuss whatever made about him by mother, father, or any one. . . . He is a dear sweet child. All seem to be very happy. We had a great deal of pleasant talk in the garden.”†

* Scots for *dandle*.

† Life of Norman Macleod, D.D., Vol. II., pp. 208, 209.

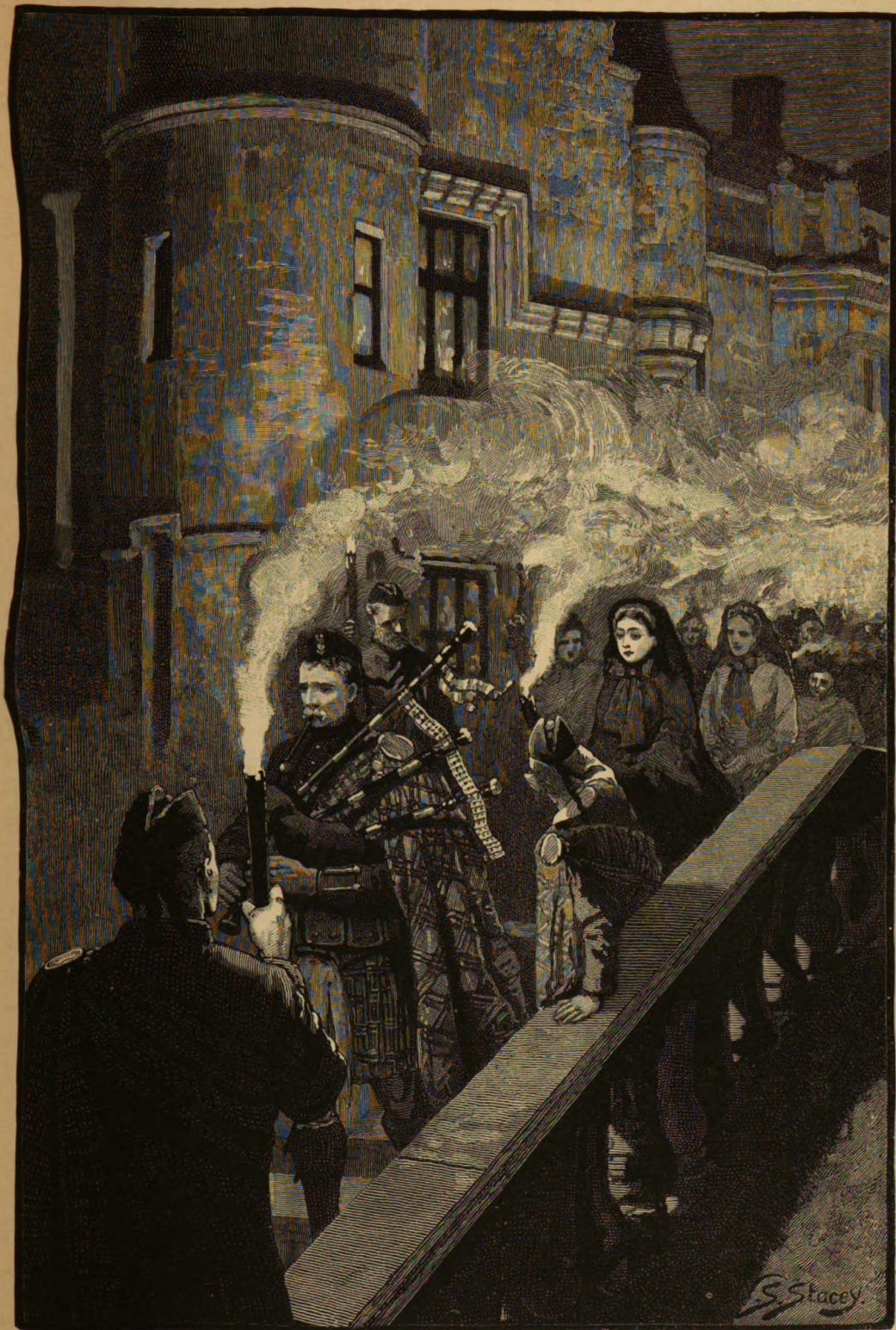
In October fresh domestic cares were added to the overladen life of the Sovereign. To one of these, in a letter from Darmstadt, dated 10th October, 1867, the Princess Louis alludes as follows:—"I can't find words to say how sorry I am that dear, sweet Arthur* should have the small-pox! and that you should have this great anxiety and worry. God grant that the dear boy may get well over it, and that his dear handsome face be not marked. The Major (Elphinstone) kindly telegraphs daily, and you can fancy far away how anxious one is. I shall be very anxious to get a letter with accounts, for I think constantly of him and of you." And again, on the 14th, she writes: "How glad I am to see by your letter that darling Arthur is going on so very well. One can't be too thankful; and it is a good thing over, and will spare one's being anxious about him on other occasions." In the same letter there is a reference to another matter which had caused the Queen some trouble. There had been, ever since the Danish war, a coolness between the families of her eldest son and eldest daughter, which her Majesty had strenuously endeavoured to remove. Her conciliatory efforts were this year crowned with success. The Prince and Princess of Wales visited the Continent, and met the King of Prussia. "Bertie and Alix," writes the Princess Louis, on the 14th October, "have been here (Darmstadt) since Saturday afternoon, and leave to-morrow. They go straight to Antwerp, and Bertie is going back to Brussels to see the cousins. The visit of the King went off very well, and Alix was pleased with the kindness and civility of the King (of Prussia). I hear that the meeting was satisfactory to both parties, which I am heartily glad of. Bearing ill-will is always a mistake, besides its not being right."† The embarrassments of the Darmstadt household, however, still continued to grieve the Queen, to whom her daughter the Princess Louis, confided all her troubles. The Princess had broken down in health during the autumn of 1867, and, in one of her letters she tells the Queen that as she does not consider it prudent, "for financial reasons,"‡ to engage a governess for her daughter, the Princess Victoria, she has asked Mr. Geyer, who taught her little black servant Willem, "to give her a lesson every other day."§ On the 18th of October the statue to the Prince Consort, at Balmoral, was unveiled, with reference to which the Princess Louis, in one of her letters (26th of October) expresses a hope which was fairly well realised—to the effect that the ceremony "went off as well as the weather would permit."

* Now Duke of Connaught.

† Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. *Biographical Sketch and Letters*, p. 185.

‡ Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. *Biographical Sketch and Letters*, p. 186, 187.

§ Willem, who had died a few months before, was a well-known figure at Balmoral. He was given to the Princess Louis by the Baron Schenk-Schmittburg, who brought him from Java. Willem was the offspring of a negro father and a Javanese mother, and was a favourite with the Queen and her daughter.



THE QUEEN KEEPING HALLOWE'EN AT BALMORAL.

The Scottish festival of Hallowe'en (31st of October) was kept this year by the Queen with unusual formality. "We had been driving," she writes, "but we turned back to be in time for the celebration. Close to Donald Stewart's house we were met by two gillies, bearing torches. Louise got out and took one, walking by the side of the carriage like one of the witches in *Macbeth*. As we approached Balmoral, the keepers, with their wives and children, the gillies, and other people, met us, all with torches, Brown also carrying one. We got out at the house, where Leopold joined us, and a torch was also given to him. We walked round the house with Ross playing the pipes, going down the steps of the terrace. Louise and Leopold went first, then came Jane Ely, and I followed by every one carrying torches, which had a very pretty effect. After this, a bonfire was made of all the torches, close to the house, and they danced reels while Ross played the pipes."

In December, after returning from Balmoral, the Queen paid a visit to Claremont and to Lady Palmerston. "The visit to Claremont," writes the Princess Louis, "must have been quite peculiar for you; and I can fancy it bringing back to your mind the recollections of your childhood. In spring it must be a lovely place, and with gayer papers on the walls, and a little modern comfort, the house must likewise be very pleasant. . . . The account of your visit to Lady Palmerston and to her daughter is most touching. It is so inexpressibly sad for grandmother and mother, for it is unnatural for parents to survive their children, and that makes the grief a so peculiar one, and very hard to bear."



THE PRINCE CONSORT MEMORIAL AT BALMORAL.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE NEW ERA OF REFORM.

A "Little War" in Abyssinia—King Theodore's Arrest of Vice-Consul Cameron—The Unanswered Letter to the Queen—A Skilful but Expensive General—Sir Robert Napier's Expedition—An Autumnal Session—Addition to the Income Tax—Parliament in 1868—A Spiritless Legislature—Fishing for a Policy—Apologetic Ministers—Mr. Bright on Repeal—The Irish Church Question—Fenian Alarms—Illness and Resignation of Lord Derby—Mr. Disraeli Prime Minister—His Quarrel with Lord Chelmsford—Lord Derby Arbitrates—The "Giant Chancellor"—Mr. Disraeli's New Policy—Discontented Adullamites—Public Executions—Lord Mayo and Concurrent Endowment—"The Pill to Cure the Earthquake"—Mr. Gladstone Attacks the Government—The Irish Church Resolutions—Resignation or Dissolution—Mr. Disraeli's "No Popery" Cry—Lord Chelmsford's Bad Pun—Defeat of the Ministry—Mr. Disraeli and the Queen—"Scenes" in the House of Commons—Charges of Treason—Mr. Disraeli's Relations with the Queen—A Parliamentary Duel between Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Bright—The Dissolution of Parliament—Mr. Ward Hunt's Budget—Conclusion of the Abyssinian War—The General Election—Triumph of Mr. Gladstone—Resignation of the Ministry—Mr. Gladstone's New Cabinet—The Queen's Politeness to Mr. Bright—Illness of Prince Leopold—Attempted Assassination of the Duke of Edinburgh—The Queen's Book—The Queen Accused of Heresy—The West-End Tradesmen and the Queen—Mr. Reardon, M.P., suggests Abdication—A Bungled Volunteer Review at Windsor—A Hot London Season—Serious Illness of the Queen—Her Tour in Switzerland—Death of the Archbishop of Canterbury—Conflict between the Queen and Mr. Disraeli as to Church Patronage—The Revolution in Spain—Rupture between Turkey and Greece—Another War-Cloud in the East.

AN autumn Session of Parliament had been held in November, 1867, in order to vote supplies for one of those "little wars" in which England has so frequently been engaged during the Queen's reign, a war which arose out of a dispute with the King of Abyssinia. This swarthy and half-savage potentate had detained in captivity several British subjects, one of them being Captain Cameron, a British Vice-Consul on the Red Sea littoral. Theodore of Abyssinia had seized them to mark his indignation at Lord Russell's culpable discourtesy in neglecting to answer a letter which he had addressed to the Queen. Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, a Syrian emissary of the Foreign Office, had endeavoured to procure the release of the prisoners, but in his turn he, too, was seized and compelled to share their fate. When Parliament was prorogued the Queen's Speech had intimated that the captives would have to be rescued by force, and an army of 10,000 men, under Sir Robert Napier, was equipped at Bombay for that purpose. At the end of 1867 a portion of it had landed in King Theodore's country. Napier was a skilful but an expensive general. At the outset he spent £2,000,000 on his Expedition, and a further demand for an equal sum was made. Hence Parliament had to be summoned in November to vote these supplies. An additional penny was put on the Income Tax, and the Government was authorised to use the Exchequer balances for the expenses of the campaign. The most caustic critic of the Ministry was Mr. Lowe, who condemned it for declaring war without the authority of Parliament.

The New Year (1868) found Parties and politicians preparing for the great electoral struggle for power. But there could be no General Election till the new register of voters became operative. Hence the country passed

through a Parliamentary interregnum during which it was ruled by a House of Commons that had exhausted its mandate, and by its own act had ceased to represent the bulk of the enfranchised classes. It lacked authority to legislate, and was too spiritless to intrigue. All that could be done by its



SIR ROBERT NAPIER (AFTERWARDS LORD NAPIER OF MAGDALA).

leaders was to prepare the ground for the General Election; in other words, they began to seek for a policy with which they could go to the country. Many Cabinet meetings were held in January, but with no very obvious result. Ministers seemed unable to hit on a programme, and when Lord Stanley and Mr. Gathorne Hardy addressed a great political meeting at Bristol on the 22nd, their chief object appeared to be to apologise for the Reform Act. It had been demanded in a manner that it would have been dangerous to

refuse, and the "innovating impulse" which it might create would soon spend itself. Such, at least, was Lord Stanley's view. The Liberals, on the other hand, had been openly fishing for a policy. Some, like Mr. Lowe, Mr. Stansfeld, and Mr. Forster, pressed for radical measures of educational reform. "We must educate our masters," said Mr. Lowe, and so he now demanded national compulsory unsectarian education. A few rising young men, like Mr. Fawcett, gave prominence to Land Law Reform, the creation of peasant-proprietorship, abolition of primogeniture, and the like. Mr. Bright, however, like most thinking men at the time, contended that the Irish Question must hold the first place in the Liberal programme of the future. The recent activity of the Fenians, and the discovery that the Irish patriots had found in America a new fulcrum for their agitation, convinced Englishmen that a new departure must be taken in Irish policy. Unless England could dictate a Conspiracy Bill to the United States, the American-Irish could keep Ireland in revolutionary restlessness so long as Irishmen despaired of getting grievances redressed by the Imperial Parliament. But what should be done for Ireland? Some said the Land Question must be settled; others that concessions to the priesthood in the matter of education would suffice; others, like Lord Stanley, thought the Irish case was hopeless, and they talked of the impossibility of conceding anything to noise and menace.

Mr. Bright's great speech at Birmingham on the 3rd of February, however, advanced the position of the Liberal Party in the boldest manner. There had been some talk of giving Ireland political autonomy, but it had failed to touch the sense of the nation. Oddly enough, however, Mr. Bright did not show himself strongly antipathetic to this policy. He was opposed to the Repeal of the Union, but on the other hand he declared that Repeal was a course which was open to consideration if remedial legislation failed. And he was at great pains to prepare the ground for a Repeal agitation by reconciling the English mind to the discussion of such a policy. It was for this reason that he dwelt on the fact that Repeal of the Union with Scotland was once defeated in a full House merely by a majority of two. That, said Mr. Bright, was a high precedent, if any one wished to adopt a Repeal agitation as a remedy for Irish discontent. But in the meantime Mr. Bright's plans were (1), to disestablish the Anglican Church in Ireland and secularise its property, distributing the spoil in fair proportions among the chief sects of Ireland; (2), as to the land question, he proposed that a Land Commission should buy up the estates of absentee landlords and sell them to tenants, who were to pay the purchase-money in a certain term of years by a slight addition to their rent. In the meantime London was swarming with special constables. The garrison at Woolwich stood to its guns every night expecting a Fenian attack from the river. Special precautions had also to be taken to guard Windsor, and Lord St. Leonards, with unconscious humour, wrote a

letter to the *Times* imploring the Fenians to confine their operations to Ireland, because by annoying Englishmen they rendered the Irish cause increasingly unpopular in England. In these circumstances Ministers committed the fatal mistake of resolving to do nothing—except pass the Scottish and Irish Reform Bills, a Boundary Bill, and a Bribery Bill. They said that in two or three years' time they might be in a position to consider other matters, such as that of National Education. The Irish Church could obviously not be assailed by a Party closely dependent on the goodwill of the English clergy. As for the Irish Land Question, Lord Stanley disposed of it by simply declaring that every proposal to deal with it which he would not like to see applied to England was pure "quackery."

On the 13th of February Parliament met, and on the 16th the town was startled to hear alarming accounts of the Prime Minister's health. Repeated attacks of gout had broken up his constitution, and on the 24th of February he resigned, Mr. Disraeli being chosen by the Queen as his successor. Here again the Queen showed her good sense. A foolish intrigue had been directed against Mr. Disraeli by some members of his Party, who having trusted him with carrying out a revolution, refused to trust him with the work of Government. Neither Lord Stanley nor the Duke of Richmond—whose names it is understood were mentioned as his rivals—had Mr. Disraeli's ability, experience, fame, and dexterity in managing men. They had in truth no qualification whatever, save their rank, which could put them in competition with Mr. Disraeli, and the Queen had naturally grave doubts whether, on the eve of an appeal to the new Democracy, it would be seemly to go to it with an open declaration that, when Capacity and Rank competed for the Premiership of England, Rank must carry the day. Mr. Disraeli's elevation had been, however, foreseen by many shrewd observers. During the vacation Bishop Wilberforce met a brilliant company of statesmen and men of letters at the late Lord Stanhope's place at Chevening. The events of the Session were frequently discussed, and their conversations are summed up by Wilberforce in his Diary as follows:—"No one even guesses at the political future: whether a fresh election will strengthen the Conservatives or not seems altogether doubtful. The most wonderful thing is the rise of Disraeli. It is not the mere assertion of talent, as you hear so many say. It seems to me quite beside that. He has been able to teach the House of Commons almost to ignore Gladstone; and at present lords it over him, and I am told, says that he will hold him down for twenty years."*

Mr. Disraeli took an early opportunity of showing his colleagues that he meant to be master in his own house. His first act set the Tapers and Tadpoles of the Carlton Club by the ears. He sent Lord Chelmsford—whom he had not forgiven for his venomous opposition to the emancipation of the

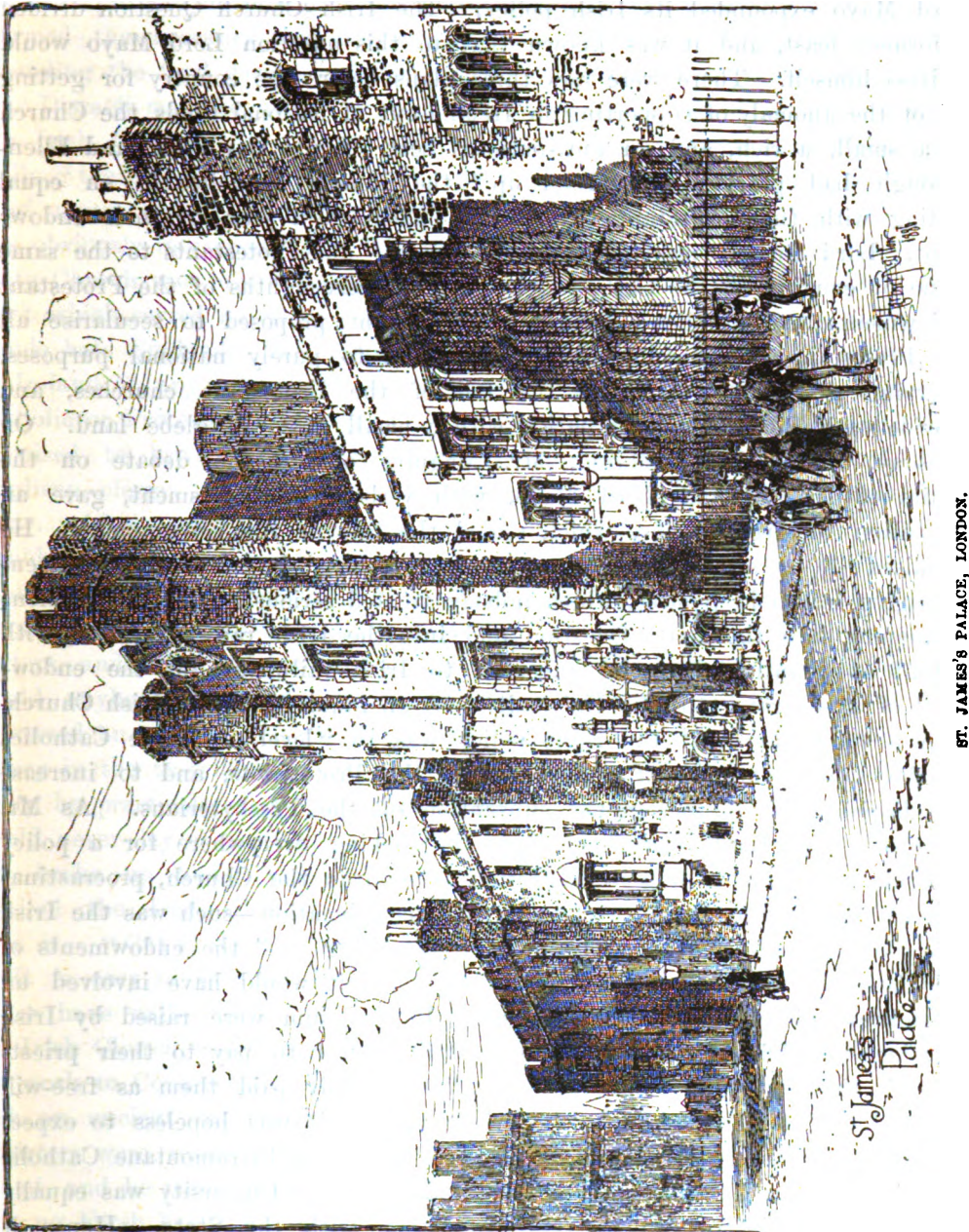
* *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, Vol. III., p. 227.

Jews—an intimation that he must resign. His next act was to offer the Lord Chancellorship to Lord Cairns, in order to strengthen the debating power of the front Ministerial Bench in the House of Lords. According to Bishop Wilberforce's Diary, when Lord Chelmsford handed his seals to the Queen he held them back for a minute, and said, "I have been used worse than a menial. I have not even had a month's warning."* Certainly he might have been treated with more courtesy, but technically speaking Mr. Disraeli was well within his right in dismissing Lord Chelmsford. In 1866, when Lord Derby formed his Government, Lord Chelmsford took office on the distinct understanding that one day he must make way for Sir Hugh Cairns. "This being the case," says Lord Malmesbury, "he had no right to be angry at Disraeli's arrangement, but he was so, and appealed to Lord Derby, who confirmed the decision as being consistent with his original agreement." Mr. Disraeli did not withdraw Sir S. Northcote from the India Office, but conferred the Chancellorship of the Exchequer on Mr. Ward Hunt. "He is a giant in body," writes Lord Malmesbury, "being six feet four, and weighing twenty stone. When he knelt to kiss hands he was even in that position taller than the Queen." A still better qualification for office, however, was possessed by Mr. Hunt. As the hero of the debates on the compensation clauses of the Cattle Plague Bill, he had become the idol of the squirearchy, and his presence in the Cabinet did much to reconcile them to Mr. Disraeli's elevation to the Premiership. The constitution of the Government and disposal of the offices curiously reflected the influence which the new electors were already exercising on the ruling classes. The most striking thing about the reconstructed Ministry was the concentration of its power in the House of Commons. For the first time for many years there sat in the popular Chamber the Prime Minister (Mr. Disraeli), the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord Stanley), the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Ward Hunt), the Home Secretary (Mr. Hardy, appointed on the retirement of Mr. Walpole), the War Secretary (Sir J. Pakington), the First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Corry), and the Secretary for India (Sir Stafford Northcote). In the House of Lords the representatives of the Government held offices of secondary importance.

The new Prime Minister met his followers in Downing Street on the 5th of March, and promised them that his policy would be truly Conservative. At half-past five he rose in the House of Commons, amidst general cheering, to explain his position, which he did with some superfluous humility. In Foreign Affairs his policy, he said, would be Lord Stanley's—one of peace without isolation—and in Home Affairs it would be "a Liberal one—a truly Liberal one." The Reform Bills for Ireland would proceed, an Education Bill was promised, and on the following Tuesday Lord Mayo would explain the views of the Cabinet as to Ireland—views which doubtless would

* *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, Vol. III., p. 242.

satisfy "enlightened and temperate men" of all Parties. Some of the Adullamites thought that a mistake had been made in not attempting to



form a Coalition, and Mr. E. P. Bouverie gave voice to their querulous discontent. Before the sitting was over, Mr. Hardy succeeded in carrying a measure in which the Queen was interested — the Bill for abolishing the

demoralising spectacle of public executions. But it was quite clear that Mr. Gladstone and Lord Russell would now give the new Cabinet no mercy. Every one therefore felt that the crisis in its fate would be determined when Lord Mayo expounded its Irish policy. The Irish Church Question divided Reformers least, and it was known that to this question Lord Mayo would address himself. There were now three plans before the country for getting rid of the anomaly of supporting in Ireland out of national funds, the Church of a small, a rich, and an anti-national sect. Lords Hardwicke and Ellenborough had proposed to "level up" the Roman Catholics to an equal footing with the Protestants by raising £3,000,000 a year for their endowment. Lord Russell proposed to "level down" the Protestants to the same plane of equality as the Catholics, by diverting six-eighths of the Protestant endowments to Catholic purposes. Mr. Bright proposed to secularise all the Protestant endowments and devote them to purely national purposes, reserving £3,000,000 to break the fall of the Protestant churches, and provide each Roman Catholic parish with a small piece of glebe land. On Tuesday, the 10th of March, Mr. Maguire opened the debate on the affairs of Ireland, and Lord Mayo, with verbose embarrassment, gave an exposition of Irish policy, which sealed the fate of the Government. He promised (1) a small Bill for registering tenants' improvements and encouraging leasehold tenures, which nobody treated seriously; (2) Commissions of inquiry into the Land Question and into the Irish railway system, with a hint at granting Imperial subsidies to Irish railways; (3) the endowment of a separate Catholic University; (4) an inquiry into the Irish Church, with a suggestion that the right policy was to "level up" the Catholics to the same condition of endowment as the Protestants, and to increase the *Regium Donum*, or annual subvention of the Presbyterians. As Mr. Horsman said, Lord Mayo seemed to be looking everywhere for a policy without being able to find it. Inaction as regards the Church, procrastination as regards the Land, reaction as regards Education—such was the Irish policy of the Government. The idea of "levelling up" the endowments of the Catholics was felt to be impracticable, for it would have involved an expenditure of about £3,000,000 a year. If this sum were raised by Irish taxation, the Irish Catholics would naturally object to pay to their priests through the State the stipends which they already paid them as free-will offerings. If it were raised by Imperial taxation, it was hopeless to expect the Protestants of England and Scotland to endow an Ultramontane Catholic Church in Ireland. The scheme for a new Catholic University was equally objectionable. It was to have no connection with the State. Hence it would be a standing challenge to the accepted national policy of education, which links State control with State aid. As a remedy for Irish grievances, Mr. Bright likened it to the pill which Addison's quack sold "to cure the earthquake." Mr. Gladstone attacked the Government with all the eloquence

of action. His policy he declared to be the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Protestant Church, and he announced that he would take the opinion of the House on a definite proposal for carrying it out. For that purpose he produced three Resolutions on the 23rd of March, which affirmed the necessity for creating no new interests in the Irish Church, "pending the final decision of Parliament." In a letter to Lord Dartmouth, Mr. Disraeli met the attack by raising a false issue. It was not, he said, the Irish Church that was at stake. What Mr. Gladstone challenged was really "the sacred union of Church and State, which has hitherto been the chief means of our civilisation, and is the only security of our liberty." It was obviously indiscreet for a Tory Minister to assert that the principle of a State Church was involved in the maintenance of an ecclesiastical establishment which served no State purpose whatever, save that of making the Irish people hate England. Mr. Gladstone's scheme was to terminate the existence in Ireland of any salaried or stipendiary clergy paid by the State, whether Catholic or Protestant; though, by way of compensation for life-interests, he promised to leave three-fifths of their endowments in the hands of the Anglican clergy. Lord Stanley moved an amendment which pleaded for delay. After a new Parliament had been elected, the Government, he said, would bring in a scheme to reform the Church of Ireland. Coupled with his admission that "considerable modifications in the temporalities" of the Irish Church would be necessary, his speech disgusted Mr. Disraeli's Orange supporters, and dispirited his English followers. What, asked Lord Cranborne, would anybody think of a man on the other side of the hedge, if he expressed an opinion that there must be "considerable modifications" in the money in the traveller's purse? Mr. Hardy completed the confusion of his Party by practically answering Lord Stanley, and declaring that he, at least, would never lay a sacrilegious hand on Church temporalities. The "Cave," too, broke up under pressure from the constituencies. Even Mr. Lowe assailed the Irish Church, averring that "the curse of barrenness" was upon it. "Cut it down!" he exclaimed; "why cumbereth it the ground?"

It is easy to see why Mr. Disraeli's strategy was at fault. He should either have nailed up the standard of "No surrender," or have boldly said the Irish Church must be disestablished, and appealed to the country to trust the work to Conservative hands that would deal tenderly and reverently with such an ancient institution. As it was, he made Lord Stanley hint that Ministers were ready next Session to produce a plan which Liberals could accept, and he made Mr. Gathorne Hardy soothe his followers with assurances that no harsh hands would ever be laid on the Irish Church. Mr. Gladstone carried his motion to go into Committee on his Resolutions, and on the 5th of April Lord Malmesbury writes in his Diary, "Government has been beaten on Lord Stanley's amendment. We shall not resign, but dissolve and meet a new Parliament." There is some reason to think that it was the intention

of the Government not to dissolve Parliament till January, 1869, when the new electors came to power. And it is certain that the Radicals were by no means anxious to turn Mr. Disraeli out till they had convinced the now yielding Whigs that the era of inaction had passed away, and that the next Liberal Executive must be as Liberal as the new Parliament which it was going to lead. Mr. Disraeli's course of action at this time was therefore unintelligible. Though he knew that Mr. Gladstone's proposal had pleased the new Democracy, he made no attempt to "educate" his party up to a compromise * with the Opposition, who, after the first flush of victory, became a little nervous as they saw the great practical difficulties of Disestablishment looming larger every day. He missed his golden opportunity and raised a "No Popery" cry, declaring that the attack on the Irish Church was a conspiracy between the High Churchmen and the Roman Catholics to destroy the institutions of a Protestant Monarchy. This naturally alienated the votes of the High Churchmen, who were mostly Tories.† Nor did the Low Churchmen respond to the "No Popery" cry. They noted that it came from a Government which was prepared to endow a second Maynooth on a more sumptuous scale than the first, and from a Statesman who jeered at "the shallow fanaticism" of the Liberation Society. Perhaps this was fortunate. To have effected a compromise might have removed some of the practical evils of the Irish Church. But it would not have removed the sentimental grievance of the Irish people, who must have regarded even a reformed Protestant Church Establishment, as a badge of English conquest and a mark of Protestant ascendancy. A war of words and wits between the Prime Minister and Lord Cranborne, whose invective he dismissed compassionately by saying it "wanted finish," did not tend to bring harmony into the Tory party, which seemed fast breaking into fragments. "The old Government," said Lord Chelmsford—a bad though sportive punster—to some friends, "was the Derby—*this one is the Hoax.*" After the Easter recess Mr. Disraeli took no notice of his defeat. Mr. Gladstone therefore kept pressing on his Resolutions, and as they embodied an Address to the Queen, everybody was speculating as to her answer. After three weeks' debate the first Resolution was carried on the morning of the 1st of May by a majority of 65—an increase of 5 on the majority for going into Committee. It was now impossible to conceal from the Queen that on a vital question the Cabinet had completely lost the confidence of the House of Commons. That very day Mr. Disraeli accordingly went to Osborne to see her Majesty, thereby giving dire

* Mr. Bernal Osborne had suggested one. It was to cut down the Irish Church establishment to five hundred ministers and four bishops.

† Writing to Wilberforce on the 9th of September on the subject, Mr. Disraeli says, "In the great struggle in which I am embarked, it is a matter of great mortification to me that I am daily crossed, and generally opposed by the High Church Party. Only think of Dean Hook opposing Henry Lennox at Chichester." The Bishop's answer was that Mr. Disraeli must expect to lose the High Church vote, seeing that he did not, in dispensing ecclesiastical prestige, sufficiently consider the claims of High Churchmen.—*Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, Vol. II., p. 260.

offence to his colleagues, who rightly considered that, following precedent, he should have called a Cabinet meeting before communicating with the Sovereign. The Duke of Marlborough, indeed, insisted on resigning, but was dissuaded from taking that step by Lord Malmesbury.* Then there came a series of sensational "scenes" in the House of Commons. The position was



MR. GATHORNE-HARDY (AFTERWARDS LORD CRANBROOK).

most embarrassing, for several reasons. To suspend the creation of fresh interests in the Irish Church was to interfere with the prerogative of the Queen, who appointed bishops and archbishops. It was therefore impossible to proceed by Bill to disestablish the Irish Church. Resolutions had to be first adopted as the basis of an Address, praying the Queen to permit a measure, retrenching the prerogatives of the Crown in respect of Irish Church patronage, to be debated. This prevented the Government from accepting defeat in the

* *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. 11., p. 381.

Commons on a Bill, which they could have quashed in the Lords, on the plea that it would be better to refer the matter to the new constituencies. In view of the Address to the Crown, which was now inevitable, Mr. Disraeli had, however, to advise the Queen either to accept or reject it. If the Queen were advised to accept it, the Tory Party would be disheartened. It would be said that such advice implied the Queen's sanction to some form of disendowment. If the Queen, on the other hand, were advised to reject the Address, then the Minister would be responsible for embroiling the Sovereign with a House of Commons, the majority in which had been rendered aggressive by Parliamentary victories and popular sympathy. Lord Derby, in a moment of passionate unwisdom, urged the Ministry to reject the Address when it was drawn up. The lobbies of the House of Commons and the political clubs were then electrical with excitement. The leaders of parties almost came into personal collision with each other. Charges of "treason" were bandied about, when Tory partisans foolishly declared in private that the Queen was with them, and would never let the Radicals despoil the Irish Church. As for the Radicals, they retorted by saying that at the General Election when they marched to the polls, they would substitute Ebenezer Elliott's hymn, "God Save the People," for the National Anthem, "God Save the Queen."

The management of the business by the Prime Minister must have been maladroit indeed, when it raised such fierce and passionate antagonisms. But the question was—What advice did Mr. Disraeli really give the Queen when he saw her at Osborne? His own statement, on Monday the 4th of May, was so ambiguous that it further compromised the Sovereign, by dragging her into a war of factions. He said he had a constitutional right to dissolve a Parliament "elected when he was in Opposition," and he had advised the Queen on the previous Friday to dissolve. To render this course easy he had tendered the resignation of the Ministry—an offer made, it is now known, without consultation with his colleagues. The Queen had asked him to give her a day for consideration. Then she had ordered him not to resign, but had given him permission to dissolve as soon as the state of public business permitted it. The vital part of the statement occupied ten minutes in delivery. In it the name of the Queen was mentioned thirteen times, and it was so used as to convey the idea that it was her Majesty, and not her Minister, who had decided that a Cabinet which had lost the confidence of the House of Commons should hold office in the teeth of a hostile majority. What made matters worse was that the Duke of Richmond in the Upper House said that the Queen, in refusing Mr. Disraeli's resignation, had given him permission to dissolve "in the event of any difficulties arising." Again, by the stupidity or unfaithfulness of her Ministers, was the Queen held up to public odium. It was immediately inferred from the Duke of Richmond's statement that the Sovereign had delegated to her Minister the highest of

her prerogatives—that of dissolving Parliament—not for a special occasion, all the circumstances of which had been studied by her, but in a vague general kind of way, to enable him to coerce the Commons of England, whenever he thought fit. All through the week passionate conflicts raged in the House, greatly to the vexation of the Queen, whose attitude had been misrepresented as unconstitutional. On Thursday, the 7th of May, the two last Resolutions on the Irish Church passed without a division.* In the debate, however, Mr. Disraeli got up a turbulent “scene,” by dropping quite casually a quiet sarcastic remark to the effect that those who introduced the Resolutions after throwing the country into confusion, were already quarrelling over the spoil. Mr. Bright could no longer restrain himself. He accused Mr. Disraeli of now abandoning, for the sake of office, the Irish Ecclesiastical policy he had advocated twenty-five years before.† He had talked of his interviews with the Queen “with a mixture of pompousness and servility,” but he had deceived his Queen, if he still held the views which he advocated twenty-five years ago, and he had been guilty of a crime in skulking behind her authority, after he had pushed her to the front in a great party struggle. This turned the House into a scene of dreadful strife, and Mr. Disraeli retorted to the effect that Mr. Bright was not a gentleman. If Mr. Disraeli really desired to dissolve at this time it is strange that he missed this opportunity. Mr. Bright’s vituperation, together with the growing rancour of Mr. Gladstone and his supporters, might have enabled the Premier to plead the factious violence of his opponents as an excuse for a penal dissolution. But he did not dissolve. It was thenceforward clear that if it be a vital principle of the constitution that the Government must enjoy the confidence and support of a majority of the House of Commons, the country was without any constitutional Government at all. Though it was expected up to the last moment that the Queen would give an evasive reply to the Address on the Irish Church, her answer was a frank declaration that she did not desire her interest in the temporalities of the Irish Church to obstruct the discussion of a Bill for dealing with them. A Suspensory Bill, preventing the creation of new personal interests, was accordingly passed by the Commons, though it was rejected by the House of Lords. At length Mr. Disraeli, after the Whitsuntide holidays, agreed to dissolve Parliament in October, and Mr.

* The last had been altered to make it clear that the House merely asked the Crown for leave to discuss a Bill suspending the exercise of its patronage till the 1st of August, 1869. A new one was added by Mr. Whitbread affirming the necessity of discontinuing the Maynooth Grant and the Presbyterian *Regium Donum*.

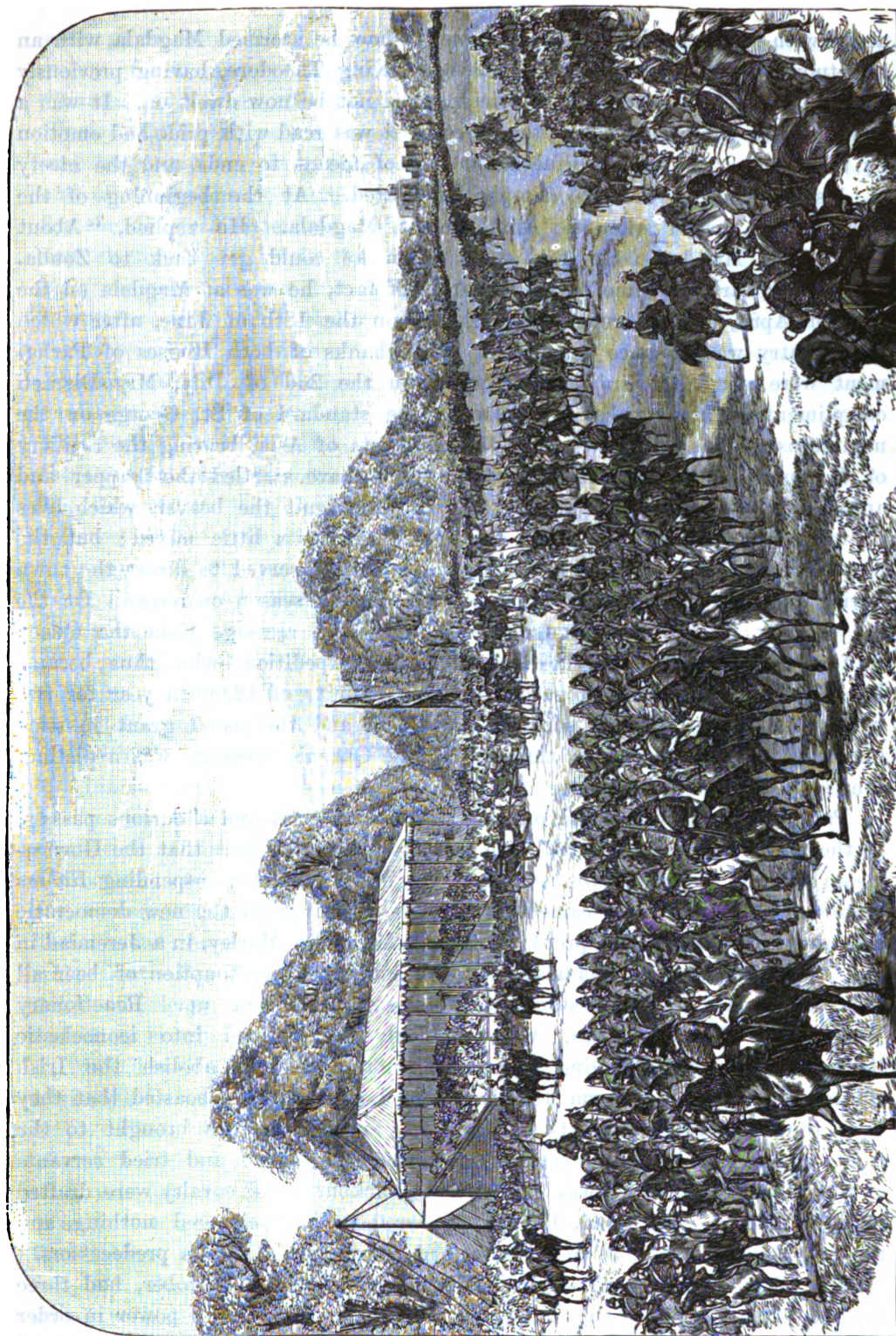
† This was in his 1844 speech, when he advocated Home Rule for Ireland and the Disestablishment of “an absentee aristocracy and an alien church.” Mr. Disraeli had been taunted with this phrase early in the Session, during the first debate on the Irish Question. His reply was infinitely humorous and audacious. He said of the phrase, with an exquisite touch of mournful reminiscence, “it appeared to me at the time I made it that nobody listened to it. It seemed to me I was pouring water on sand—but it seems now that the water came from a golden goblet.”

Ward Hunt passed a Bill to facilitate registration, so that the lists of new voters might be made up on the 1st of November, the new writs for the General Election being issued on the 9th.

Little remains to be said as to the political events of the year. Mr. Ward Hunt, in producing his Budget on the 24th of April, admitted that the expenditure had increased from £66,780,000 in 1866—67 to £71,236,242 in 1867—68. The revenue received in the past year having only amounted to £69,600,000, there was a deficit of £1,636,000. Of course the £2,000,000 voted for the Abyssinian War accounted for part of the increased expenditure. For the rest, most of it arose from the carelessness of the Government in not insisting on keeping down the expenditure within the fixed limit of the estimates.* As for the coming year, Mr. Ward Hunt's estimated expenditure was £70,428,000. To this had to be added £3,000,000 for the Abyssinian War. From Revenue he expected to get £71,350,000, so that there was a deficit to make good. He therefore added twopence to the Income Tax, which within the year he expected to yield £1,800,000, but which still left him with a probable deficit to carry over of £278,000. Apart from the increased expenditure the Budget was a sensible one. On the 9th of June Mr. Hunt also moved the Second Reading of a Bill enabling the Government to buy all the telegraph lines in the hands of private companies at their highest price before the 25th of May next, estimating the cost at between £3,000,000 and £4,000,000.

Reference has already been made to the Abyssinian Expedition. At first the public took a dismal view of the enterprise. It was said that the mixed native and European force would fight well, but that on the road from the sea to King Theodore's fortress, it would be bled to death by mismanagement and maladministration. The result of the expedition was entirely satisfactory; indeed, there was but one fault to find with it, namely, that it had cost too much. The Viceroy of India and the Duke of Cambridge selected one of the ablest engineers in India—Sir Robert Napier—as Commander-in-Chief, and gave him *carte blanche*. His task was described as that of building a bridge four hundred miles long between Annesley Bay and Magdala. As to the road he had to traverse, when one of the soldiers was told he was marching over the table-land of Abyssinia, he replied, "Well, the table must have been turned upside down, and we're now a-marching over the legs!" Between Napier and his enemy there were many formidable native chiefs, who could only be conciliated by consummate diplomatic skill. How he succeeded in doing that, and in dragging his guns over the mountains by means of elephants, then used for the first time in African warfare since the days of Carthage; how he supplied his

* In 1864—65 the Government had kept expenditure within the estimates by £370,000. They did so the following year by £92,000. But in 1866—67 the Derby-Disraeli Government let expenditure exceed estimates by £669,000, and in 1867—68 by £537,000. This rather told against Mr. Disraeli in the General Election.



THE QUEEN REVIEWING THE VOLUNTEERS IN THE GREAT PARK, WINDSOR. (See p. 312.)

army with water by boring Artesian wells; how he stormed Magdala with an impetuous rush on the 12th of April, when King Theodore, having previously released the captives, committed suicide, need not be now dwelt on. It was a brilliant little achievement, and the story of it was read with pride and emotion by the Queen. Napier's skilful adaptation of means to ends, and the nicety of his calculations may be simply illustrated. At the beginning of the war he was asked when he could be at Magdala. He replied, "About the end of March." He was asked when he could get back to Zoulla. He said, "Early in June." As a matter of fact, he was at Magdala on the 10th of April, and he returned to Zoulla on the 18th of June, after which the country was at once evacuated. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to Sir Robert Napier on the 2nd of July, Mr. Disraeli complimenting him on having "planted the standard of St. George on the mountains of Rasselas," and "led the elephants of Asia, bearing the artillery of Europe, over African passes which might have startled the trapper and appalled the hunter of the Alps." As trappers hunt the beaver, which lives in water and not in mountains, the metaphor was a little mixed; but the orator's intention was good, and his gaudy phrases served to divert the town during the languor of perhaps the sultriest London season on record. On the 9th of July Mr. Disraeli brought to the House a message from the Queen conferring a Peerage on the leader of the Expedition—who thus became Lord Napier of Magdala—together with an annuity of £2,000 a year for two lives. As Napier's eldest son was an adult, and the usual grant in such cases had hitherto been for three lives, the Queen's message was a distinct concession to the economists.

Parliament was prorogued on the last day of July, and a curious passage in the Queen's Speech referred with satisfaction to the fact that the Government had not seen cause to use the power given them for suspending *Habeas Corpus* in Ireland. Then came the struggle for power in the new democratic constituencies. The usual preparation, said Mr. John Morley, in a Jeremiad in the *Fortnightly Review*, was made for the unlimited consumption of beer all over the land. Candidates of the old sort were put up. Reactionary Whigs, like Mr. Horsman, were suddenly transformed into iconoclastic Radicals, and were pledging themselves, not merely to abolish the Irish Church, but even to reform the House of Lords. Tories boasted that they were the only true democrats. Hardly any new men were brought to the front, and rich nobodies in many cases thrust aside true and tried servants of the people. Bloodshed was expected at Blackburn, and cavalry were drafted into the district. In short, Reform appeared to have changed nothing, and the first General Election under it seemed painfully like all its predecessors.

Mr. Disraeli's Electoral Address, which was issued in October, had three defects. It appealed to the country to return the Ministry to power in order to prevent the Pope from becoming master of England—a perfectly absurd

attempt to revive the "bogy" of Papal aggression. It proclaimed no positive policy, for it merely pledged the Government *not* to disestablish the Irish Church. It was as stilted in its rhetoric as Tancred's revelation on Mount Sinai. Mr. Gladstone's Address, issued a week later, was much more seductive and business-like. It proclaimed a positive policy of administrative reform and of retrenchment, justified a policy of conciliation to Ireland, and pressed for the disestablishment of the Irish Church. The result of the appeal to the new electors was fatal to the Government. The Liberals carried the country by a majority of over 100 seats. Lancashire strongly supported the Conservatives—whereas Yorkshire was strongly Liberal. The Liberals showed themselves weak in some of the Home Counties where "villadom," as Lord Rosebery calls it, reigns supreme. Though the Tory Party was sadly shattered in Essex, the counties were, however, on the whole, wonderfully faithful to Mr. Disraeli, and he came within one vote of dividing with Mr. Gladstone the thirteen electoral boroughs, with a population between 100,000 and 60,000. The Liberals, on the other hand, were strongest in boroughs with a population between 60,000 and 20,000, and in those with a population above 100,000 they captured 41 seats out of 49. Mr. Gladstone was rejected by South-West Lancashire, but the Greenwich electors, having taken the precaution to return him, rendered his defeat of little practical importance. Mr. Mill lost his seat for Westminster, and thus his Parliamentary career closed, his only contribution to the Statute-Book being the law compelling railway companies to attach smoking carriages to passenger trains. Lord Hartington was beaten in North Lancashire, and Mr. Bernal Osborne, one of the wits of the House, lost his seat at Nottingham. Scotland returned only seven Tories, nicknamed by the late Mr. Russel, editor of the *Scotsman*, the "Seven Champions of Constitutionalism." Roughly speaking, the Liberals won in counties where Dissent was strong, whereas the Tories won in counties where the influence of the Church of England prevailed. The boroughs that were carried by the Tories were those where the competition of Irish labour was most felt, or where anti-Papal agitators had most influence, and in Lancashire, where Anglican clergy and laymen had, during the Cotton Famine, been most assiduous in administering the Relief Fund.

Mr. Disraeli met defeat with manliness and dignity. Mr. Gathorne-Hardy advised him to resign, but Lord Derby, on the other hand, urged him to hold on to office. On the 28th of November a Cabinet Meeting was held, and Ministers decided to resign rather than wait to be ejected from their places by a vote of the House of Commons. The Prime Minister went down to Windsor on the 2nd of December, and not only tendered the resignation of the Cabinet to the Queen, but advised her to send for Mr. Gladstone. In fact, Mr. Disraeli, like a highbred player, having lost his game paid the stakes without a grudge or a murmur. Mr. Gladstone was summoned by telegraph to Windsor on the 3rd, and was commissioned to form a Government,

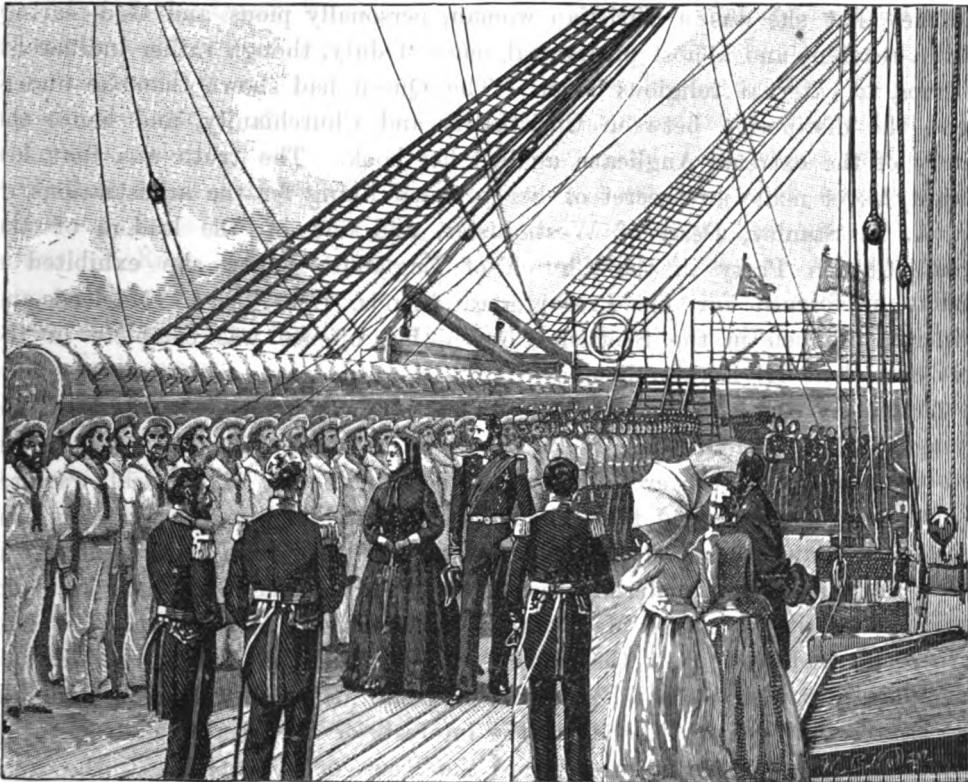
Mr. Disraeli refused all honours for himself, though he was offered a peerage, but Mrs. Disraeli was created Viscountess Beaconsfield in her own right. On the 18th of December Parliament met, and the Ministry was complete. It consisted of fifteen members, of whom six were peers, one an eldest son of a peer, and eight were Commoners. The only Radical appointed was Mr. Bright—unless Mr. Gladstone could be counted a Radical—and in all questions between the middle-class and the masses Mr. Bright was already a Conservative. It was a Ministry of All the Talents—formidable in debate, great in administrative capacity, and strong in intellectual power—but it was unmistakably Whiggish. It was the Whigs who were first consulted about the disposal of the offices, and the spirit of Palmerston, who gave Mr. Milner Gibson a seat in his Cabinet “just to keep the Radicals quiet,” still prevailed. In forming the Ministry, Mr. Gladstone thus ignored the fact that his Cabinet inaugurated a new democratic era, in which the relative importance of Whigs and Radicals had been reversed. By admitting Radicals merely to minor offices he disappointed the combative wing of his party, whose unbought zeal had really carried him to power.* Some Tories of the “baser sort” put about the report that the Queen would refuse to receive Mr. Bright as a Minister. The Queen, however, as if to mark her disapproval of such insinuations, went out of her way to pay Mr. Bright special attention when he was presented to her. With delicate tact she sent word to him that in deference to his hereditary scruples as a Quaker, she would not expect him to kneel before her when he came to “kiss hands” on taking office.

The stirring events now described had severely tried the nerves of the Queen. Early in the year she had been rendered anxious by a severe illness of the Prince Leopold, who was at one time so sick that it was supposed he was dying. Then she was still more shocked and alarmed by news of an attempt which had been made by a man, O’Farrell, to assassinate the Duke of Edinburgh (Prince Alfred) on the 12th of March at Clontarf, near Port Jackson, in New South Wales. O’Farrell’s motives were never quite satisfactorily explained, though it was said at the time that he was a Fenian emissary. He was hanged for the crime on the 21st of April, and the Duke, who had been shot in the back, gradually recovered from his wound.

The great and unexpected popularity with which a little book from the Queen’s pen—“Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands”—containing a diary of her holiday rambles, was received during the season, gratified her

* The Cabinet was composed as follows:—Mr. Gladstone, Prime Minister; Sir C. Page Wood, Lord Chancellor, with the title of Lord Hatherley; Mr. Lowe, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Austen Bruce, Home Secretary; Lord Clarendon, Secretary for Foreign Affairs (with Mr. Otway as his Under-Secretary); Lord Granville, Colonial Secretary; the Duke of Argyll, Secretary for India (with Mr. Grant Duff as Under-Secretary); Mr. Cardwell, Secretary for War; Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Irish Secretary; Mr. Childers, First Lord of the Admiralty; Mr. Goschen, President of the Poor-Law Board; Mr. Bright, President of the Board of Trade; Lord Hartington, Postmaster-General; Lord Kimberley, Privy Seal; Earl de Grey, President of the Council.

much It delighted the people, to whom it showed the homely, matronly, sensible business-like qualities which Englishmen value in the women of their race, reflected in the daily life of their Sovereign. It was a book that reproduced the wife and the house-mother rather than the Monarch, and it was written with great tenderness of feeling and artless simplicity of expression. The sketches, too, with which it was illustrated were amazingly



THE QUEEN INSPECTING THE "GALATEA" IN OSBORNE BAY. (See p. 319.)

popular, and in truth they were really bold and telling. But the little work had no public importance, save that it served to establish between the Queen and her people relations that were not only affectionate, but almost confidential. The extreme High Churchmen, however, were greatly alarmed to find from the Queen's Journals that she had strong leanings to the Presbyterian Church. This notion was due to the fact that she took great delight in the preaching and spiritual ministrations of the Scottish Chaplains Royal, who were of course Presbyterians, and who officiated at the Court when it was in Aberdeenshire. It was not easy to understand why the High Churchmen should desire to prevent the Queen from following the bent of her own mind and heart in such a matter. It was absurd to argue that her position as Head of the Church of England bound her to Anglican orthodoxy, for she

was also Head of the Church of Scotland. Nor did her Coronation Oath, which merely binds the Sovereign to uphold the Protestant faith, restrict her to the services of the Church of England. The fact is, personages belonging to the great family of European Princes have so many relationships and cross-currents of sympathy with kinsfolk of various creeds, that they become instinctively tolerant in religious matters. Still the attacks of the High Churchmen did neither the Queen nor her book any harm. It had merely revealed the fact that she was a Christian woman, personally pious and God-fearing, with a reverent and almost puritanical sense of duty, though rather indifferent, perhaps, to external religious forms. The Queen had shown that she understood the distinction between Christianity and Churchianity, and hence the outcry of the extreme Anglicans against her book. The truth was that her Majesty never made any secret of her personal liking for the ministrations of Dr. A. P. Stanley, Dean of Westminster, and one of the leaders of the Broad Church Party in the Church of England. When she exhibited a similar preference for his Presbyterian friends, Dr. Norman Macleod and Principal Tulloch in the Scottish Church, her offence was complete in the eyes of violent High Churchmen.

After receiving the Address based on Mr. Gladstone's Resolution, and laying the foundation stone of the new St. Thomas's Hospital, the Queen fled to Balmoral to recover from the nervous excitement of political warfare. It unfortunately happened that when the Scottish Members in discussing the Scottish Reform Bill substituted a household franchise pure and simple for a rating franchise, a Ministerial crisis was produced. Mr. Disraeli, in fact, desired authority to coerce Members by threatening a dissolution. For this purpose he had to consult the Queen, and certainly the three days lost in communicating with Balmoral gave rise to some inconvenience. This tempted Mr. Reardon, M.P. for Athlone, in the interests of the West End tradesmen, to put a question on the notice-paper of the House of Commons, as to the cause of the Queen's absence from the capital. The Speaker, however, refused to let it appear, because it impudently suggested her Majesty's abdication in favour of the Prince of Wales. In June the Queen had recovered her health, and on the 22nd she gave a brilliant garden party at Buckingham Palace. Six hundred invitations were issued, and she received her company, says Lord Malmesbury, "very graciously." She was, he adds, "looking remarkably well, and everybody said she seemed to enjoy her party." Two days before that she had reviewed 27,000 Volunteers in Windsor Park. This affair was very badly managed. There were no commissariat arrangements and there was no ambulance. Hungry officers wandered away to get food, and when the marching past was over, some of the troops—faint from hunger and thirst, and having lost their leaders—ignored discipline altogether, and on the return to Datchet Station heaped vituperation on any officers of rank they came across.

On the 9th of July both Houses of Parliament congratulated the Queen on the birth of a little grand-daughter, who had been brought into the world by the Princess of Wales on the 6th. On the same evening (the 9th) the Duke of Edinburgh, who had brought his ship, the *Galatea*, home, landed at Osborne and dined with the Queen; and on the 18th she visited her son's vessel, which she inspected under his guidance.

The season of 1868 was one of the hottest that had ever been experienced, and the Queen has all through life suffered so much from sultry weather, that in summer she has to do most of her work in the open air under the shade of a verandah or a tent. The heat, together with the worry of Ministerial crises, again broke down her nerves and brought on fainting fits, which alarmed her physicians. When Parliament was prorogued they urged her to go to Switzerland, and on the 6th of August she reached the Lake of Lucerne, travelling privately under the title of the Countess of Kent. Writing on the 10th of August to the Queen, the Princess Louis of Hesse says:—"I have just received your letter from Lucerne, and hasten to thank you for it. How glad I am that you admire the beautiful scenery, and that I know it, and can share your admiration and enjoyment of it in thought with you." Her Majesty and her companions—the Princess Louise, Prince Arthur, and Lord Stanley—went up the Righi and Mount Pilatus, and made a short stay on the Furka Pass. "How, too, delightful," writes the Princess Louis of Hesse, "your expeditions must have been! I do rejoice that, through the change of weather, you should have been able to see and enjoy all that glorious scenery. Without your good ponies, Brown, &c., you would have felt how difficult such ascents are for common mortals, particularly when the horses slip, and finally sit down. I am sure all this will have done you good; seeing such totally new beautiful scenery does refresh so immensely, and the air and exertion—both of which you bear so well now—will do your health good." She returned to England on the 11th of September, having broken her journey at Paris, where she stayed with Lord Lyons at the British Embassy. "I am so grieved," writes the Princess Louis, "that you should have been so unwell on the journey home. Dear, beautiful Scotland will do you good." But the return to Balmoral was not a return to rest. The preparation for the General Election involved much harassing business, and Mr. Disraeli, Minister in attendance, was not always in the sweetest humour. On a great many points he found the Queen rather more difficult to "educate" than his Party. This gave a tone of acerbity to many of his communications written at the time, which was quite foreign to his character. In a letter, dated Balmoral Castle, 28th September, written to Bishop Wilberforce, Mr. Disraeli, while scolding some High Churchmen for following Dr. Hook, Dean of Chichester, whom he terms a "provincial Laud," because he intrigued with the Party of Disestablishment, apologises for not having sent it sooner. "I have delayed writing to

you," he says, "several days because I wanted to get a quiet half-hour; and there is not a sentence in this in which I have not been interrupted. Carrying on the government of a country six hundred miles from the metropolis doubles the labour. The stream of telegrams and boxes is really appalling."* A collision of will, if not a conflict of opinion, now occurred between the Queen and Mr. Disraeli regarding the disposal of certain Church patronage. Dr. Longley, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had died in October, and the Queen has always claimed the right of controlling appointments to the see of Canterbury, on the ground that the Primate is, in a sense, the chief of the Court Chaplains. At coronations, royal marriages, baptisms, and funerals he is, of course, the principal celebrant. It was felt all over England that the time had come for appointing to this great office a man of strong individuality and firm character, not merely a "Benevolent Smile," as one of Dr. Longley's predecessors—the amiable Howley—had been called. At the same time, though the public desired to see in the new Primate a real leader of men, they did not desire a bigot or a brilliant intriguer, whose life had been consecrated to strategy and finesse. The Queen not only sympathised with this general feeling, but she had, with singularly sound judgment, selected as her favourite candidate perhaps the only prelate in England whose appointment could satisfy it. Unfortunately Mr. Disraeli ignored the general sentiment of the nation, and what was still worse, he did not seem to be capable of suggesting any candidate for the Primacy whose personal qualities corresponded with the desire of the people. There was a strong party, headed by the Dean of Chichester (Dr. Hook), who favoured the candidature of the Bishop of Oxford, far and away the ablest Anglican ecclesiastic whom England has produced during the Queen's reign. But at the time he was, despite his marvellous gifts, "an impossible" aspirant. His daughter and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. Pye, had just "gone over to Rome," and his enemies unjustly insinuated that the Bishop himself was at heart "a Papist." His public life had been, to a great extent, one of finesse and intrigue. He had offended Mr. Disraeli by supporting Mr. Gladstone's candidature at Oxford, and it was feared his appointment would cause the Tory party the loss of many votes in the General Election then pending. It was said at the time that the Queen, remembering the argument between Wilberforce and the Prince Consort as to the miracle of the swine, was personally opposed to his selection. This, however, was not true. She would have accepted Wilberforce, whose brilliant intellect, flashing wit and charm of manner fascinated every one with whom he came in contact, though her personal preferences were in favour of another prelate. But Mr. Disraeli having expressed his personal antipathy to the Bishop of Oxford, her Majesty forbore to hint at his claim. But, in the end, she insisted on the

* Life of Bishop Wilberforce, Vol. III., p. 267.

appointment of Dr. Tait, then Bishop of London. Dr. Jackson, Bishop of Lincoln, was in turn appointed to the see of London, to which Wilberforce had the strongest claim. To the see of Lincoln, Archdeacon Wordsworth, a nephew of the poet, and a theological antiquarian of great repute among the High Churchmen, was preferred. The selection of Dr. Tait procured for



THE CATHEDRAL, LINCOLN.

Mr. Disraeli the cordial congratulations of all parties, and it was admitted even by the Radicals that it immensely increased the popularity of a moribund Ministry. As a matter of fact, however, the credit was really due to the Queen, and not to the Minister. During November Wilberforce was at Blenheim, and in his Diary he records a conversation which he had with the Duke of Marlborough on this subject. "The Duke," writes Bishop Wilberforce, "told me of Disraeli's excitement when he came out of the royal closet. Some struggle about the Primacy. Lord Malmesbury also said that when he spoke to Disraeli he said, 'Don't bring any more bothers before me;

I have enough already to drive a man mad.'” Then a few days later (18th November) Dr. Wilberforce had a conversation at Windsor with Dean Wellesley, an ecclesiastic deep in Court secrets, who said to him, with reference to the struggle for the Primacy, “The Church does not know what it owes to the Queen. Disraeli has been utterly ignorant, utterly unprincipled: he rode the Protestant horse one day; then got frightened that he had gone too far, and was injuring the county elections, so he went right round and proposed names never heard of. Nothing he would not have done; but throughout he was most hostile to you [Wilberforce]; he alone prevented London being offered to you. The Queen looked for Tait,* but would have agreed to you. . . . Disraeli recommended † . . . for Canterbury!! The Queen would not have him; then Disraeli agreed, most reluctantly and with passion, to Tait. Disraeli then proposed Wordsworth for London. The Queen objected strongly; no experience; passing over bishops, &c.; then she suggested Jackson and two others, not you [Wilberforce], because of Disraeli’s expressed hostility, and Disraeli chose Jackson. . . . Disraeli opposed Leighton with all his strength on every separate occasion. The Queen would have greatly liked him, but Disraeli would not hear of him. You cannot conceive the appointments he proposed and retracted or was over-ruled in; he pressed Champneys for Peterborough; ‡ he had no other thought than the votes of the moment; he showed an ignorance about all Church matters, men, opinions, that was astonishing, making propositions one way and the other, riding the Protestant horse to gain the boroughs, and then when he thought he had gone so far to endanger the counties, turning round and appointing Bright and Gregory; thoroughly unprincipled fellow. I trust we may never have such a man again.” § The importance of Dr. Tait’s appointment to the Primacy could hardly be exaggerated. In the great Church controversies he had distinguished himself by his intrepid and masculine good sense. His orthodoxy was unimpeachable, but whenever a heretic was being prosecuted his voice was always loud in demanding fair play and in pleading for toleration. He had congratulated the Church on being able to utilise Professor Jowett’s irrepressible “love of truth” and Dr. Pusey’s “personal holiness.” In short, he represented the national principle of comprehension—the national desire to include within the State Church all good men, no matter what their theological views might be, who recognised the divinity of Christ, and were prepared to abide by the legal ritual of the Reformed Anglican Communion.

* For Canterbury.

† It was said that Dr. Eliott, Bishop of Gloucester, was referred to here.

‡ It is a curious fact that his appointment of Dr. Magee, Dean of Cork, to this see brought the Government almost as much credit as the appointment of Dr. Tait to Canterbury. Dr. Magee was erroneously supposed to be Mr. Disraeli’s favourite candidate. But in this case also he seems to have got credit for the Queen’s skill in selection.

§ Life of Bishop Wilberforce, Vol. III., pp. 265–269.

On the 3rd of October the infant son of the Princess Mary of Teck was christened in the dining-room of Kensington Palace, among the sponsors being the Queen and the Princess of Wales. On the 21st the Crown Princess of Prussia, travelling as the Countess Lingen, visited England, and was very warmly greeted wherever she went. Most of her time was spent at St. Leonards-on-Sea.

On the 5th of December the Queen was informed that Mr. George Peabody had presented £100,000 to the poor of London. This was his second gift, so that his whole donation came to £350,000. It was felt that it was somewhat unfortunate that it had been left to a foreigner to point the path of duty out to English millionaires. On the other hand, there were critics who tried to depreciate the practical value of Mr. Peabody's charity. The money was to be expended in housing the poor. "But," said these critics when the first blocks of Peabody Buildings were built, "it was not the poor who were housed in them, for clerks and young middle-class people took the new rooms." It was apparently not noticed that the clerks must, in that case, leave their dwellings empty for others, so that the housing of the poor would in any case be facilitated by reduced pressure on house accommodation.

The 14th of December was the seventh anniversary of the Prince Consort's death. Accordingly the Queen and her family proceeded to the Mausoleum at Frogmore, which had now been completed, and where a special service was held. It was a matter of great regret that the Princess Louis of Hesse had been unable to be present, and she gives expression to that feeling in one of her letters (20th of November). But she was recovering from her *accouchement*, and it was impossible for her to leave her home.

As the year ended, the mind of the country was disturbed by tales of impending war. The Princess Louis of Hesse and the Crown Prince of Prussia both warned the Queen of the dangers which menaced Europe. France had arranged to withdraw her troops from Rome in order to attack Germany, and a Spanish garrison was to be substituted as the Pope's guard. From the letters of the Princess, it is plain that the Queen comforted her relatives by assuring them that, from her information, it was clear there would be no war. Napoleon's scheme for garrisoning Rome by Spanish troops was upset by the sudden outbreak of a revolution in Spain, provoked partly by the reactionary policy, but mainly by the personal misconduct of the Queen Isabella. Violent measures of repression were adopted to crush the conspiracy. On the 18th of September a revolt broke out at Cadiz, and the Queen and her dynasty were dethroned. General Prim and Marshal Serrano formed a Provisional Government, which, however, relegated to the Cortes the task of determining the destinies of the nation. Much more serious was the sudden rupture between Greece and Turkey at the end of the year. It was remembered that Lord Clarendon—who had been appointed Foreign Secretary in deference to the Queen's partiality for him—was the Minister

under whose guidance England had drifted into the Crimean War. The re-opening of the Eastern Question immediately after he took office was considered to be ominous of mischief. For two years there had been friction



WINDSOR CASTLE, FROM THAMES STREET, AND "BIT" OF THE OUTER WALLS.

between Greece and Turkey, the cause being that the Greeks had been assisting the Cretan insurgents both with men and money. The Sultan at last, in a fit of impatience, sent an Ultimatum to Greece threatening war unless the Government made reparation to Turkey for the support which it had given to

the Cretan rebellion. The Great Powers obtained for Greece an extension of time for her reply to the 17th of December, and on that date the Athenian Government rejected the Ultimatum. But the rise of Germany had altered all the conditions under which Russia as patron of Greece could attack Constantinople, and it rendered the Anglo-French alliance no longer desirable. Still a Conference was proposed by Count Bismarck in the closing days of 1868 to prevent war, whilst the Greeks were arming in hot haste, and Hobart Pasha was blockading Syra. The great danger lay in Clarendon's possible adherence to Palmerstonian traditions. If he declared for war in defence of Turkey with France as an ally, the prospect was dismal. Such a policy meant that England would have to face the combination of Germany, and perchance Italy with Russia, and it is certain that the Queen, like the nation, would have resisted it to the last. The Conference did its work well—as might have been expected. It had been proposed by Bismarck, who had a reputation for never associating his name with failures, and the event proved that he had judged rightly of the exigencies of the nations.

CHAPTER XIV.

A HOPEFUL YEAR.

Hopefulness all round—Ministers at the Fishmongers'—The Queen's Speech—The Legislative Bill of Fare—The Queen and Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church Policy—Release of Fenians—Mr. Gladstone's Scheme for Disestablishing the Irish Church—The Debate in the Commons—The Second Reading Carried—The Bill in Committee—Read a Third Time—The Lords and the Bill—Amendments of the Peers—The Lords Bought Off—The Bill becomes Law—Mr. Lowe's First Budget—The Endowed Schools Bill—The Habitual Criminals Act—The Lords and the Commons' Legislation—Official Hostility to Reforming Ministers—Weak Members of the Cabinet—Mr. Reverdy Johnson and the *Alabama* Claims—The Policy of "Masterly Inactivity"—Liberalism in France—Prince Leopold's Illness—The Queen's Interview with Mr. Carlyle—Visit of Ismail Pasha to the Queen—The Peabody Statue—Prince Alfred in Australia—The Prince of Wales and Court Dress—Death of Lord Derby—Death of Lady Palmerston—Opening of Blackfriars Bridge and Holborn Viaduct—O'Donovan Rossa, M.P.—Orangemen and Fenians.

HOPEFULNESS was the prevailing feeling with which the year 1869 was hailed by everybody. Politically the country was in a state of tranquillity. The democracy had won a great victory at the polls, and a new and brilliant ministry had been called to power to give effect to the will of the people. Trade, it is true, was still suffering from the shock of 1866. The supply of raw cotton was scarce, and high prices lessened the demand for the manufactured article. The policy of the Trades Unions aggravated the uneasiness of the mercantile community. Superficial observers began to declare that the Unionists, by hampering their employers at home, were driving trade abroad, and a demand for

Protection, under the guise of Reciprocity, was heard, though as yet but faintly, amid the din of controversy. Some of the leading men in great commercial centres like Manchester were so impressed with the manifest ignorance of economic principles exhibited in these controversies that they started a series of evening lectures for working men on political economy, Professor Stanley Jevons undertaking to deliver the course.* On the other hand, the country was free from all difficulties as to foreign affairs—even the dispute with the United States as to the *Alabama* claims was supposed to be in a fair way of settlement under the flattering unction of the American Minister's post-prandial rhetoric. The first weeks of the year were enlivened by the trials of election petitions, and the new tribunal of judges appointed to try on the spot cases of corrupt practices, on the whole, gave general satisfaction. It was felt that if the new court was a judge without a jury, the old one—a committee of the House of Commons—was a jury without a judge, and that in respect of consistency in interpreting the law and logical application of principles, the new court was a vast improvement on the old one.

Though everybody knew that the Irish Church Question must overshadow all others, the utterances of Ministers were eagerly scanned for indications of policy. The spirit of economy, it soon appeared, would reign supreme in the administration, for not only did Mr. Goschen at the Poor Law Board issue orders prohibiting the guardians of the poor in London from giving relief to the able-bodied poor except under conditions of task-work, but the Admiralty issued a circular instructing naval officers to forbid unremunerative and profitless work, and save coals and stores as much as possible. In his speeches to his constituents in Renfrewshire, the Home Secretary, Mr. Austin Bruce, proclaimed his conversion to the ballot; but Mr. Lowe, at Gloucester, seemed to limit himself to rather stale denunciations of the Tory Party. On the 11th of February Ministers dined with the Fishmongers' Company in the City, but even there their reticence was remarkable. Mr. Gladstone significantly intimated that the Ministry were encouraged in pursuing their Irish policy of conciliation, not only by the verdict of the country, but by "the constitutional character of that Sovereign whose delight it is to associate herself both with the interests and convictions of her people."† Mr. Lowe spoke in a caustic saturnine vein about the difficulty of forcing economy on the servants of the Crown in public departments: they resented an order to save stores as savouring of meanness. And then the House of Commons was always too ready to force up expenditure in detail, whilst clamouring for its reduction in mass. Mr. Bright observed that the Board of Trade was merely a department that sent recommendations to people who rarely

* Letters and Journals of W. J. Stanley Jevons. Edited by his Wife, p. 246.

† Yet at the time the Queen was personally opposed to Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church policy, so that his statement was somewhat misleading. Perhaps he made it to minimise the evil effects that might be produced by rumours of her Majesty's hostility to the verdict of the elections. These rumours were then current.

paid attention to them, and then launched into an attack on bishops and archbishops, who were, he said, overpaid, owing to the credulity, if not the liberality, of the people. His Grace of York had a few days before claimed that the Episcopal Bench supplied a Liberal element to the House of Lords, and this seems to have tempted Mr. Bright into his display of spleen. Altogether, the first impression produced by the Ministerial speeches was that the Government, though full of good intentions, meant to carry them out in an arrogant and irritating manner. In the meantime a change had taken place in the leadership of the Tory Party in the House of Lords, Lord Malmesbury retiring in favour of Lord Cairns.

On the 16th of February Parliament was opened by Commission, the Royal Speech being read by the Lord Chancellor. As the Queen did not attend, it was decided by the Cabinet to propose that Parliament should wait upon her, and present their Address in reply to the Royal Speech, to her personally—a somewhat unusual, though not unprecedented, proceeding when the Queen is herself absent from the opening of Parliament. The Speech was in style a little flabby, especially where it touched on the Irish Church Question. No measure of Disestablishment was definitely promised, but it was announced that Parliament must take in hand the task of “the adjustment of the ecclesiastical arrangements of Ireland.” The Speech promised reduced estimates,* hinted at the restoration of Habeas Corpus to Ireland, and it embodied Mr. Austin Bruce’s pledges in Renfrewshire to bring in a Scottish Education Bill. Perhaps it was because Ministers strove after brevity that they omitted from the Speech many measures to which it was generally known they were committed, *e.g.*, Mr. Bruce’s Bill for dealing with Habitual Criminals, Mr. Goschen’s Poor Law Bill, Mr. Forster’s Middle Class Education Bill, the Bill abolishing University Tests, a Bill to establish Municipal Government in Counties, and a Bill abolishing Imprisonment for Debt. The Address was moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Cowper, selected as a compliment to the Whigs, and Mr. Mundella, who was chosen to please the Radical artisans. The debate on the Address was a tame business. The leaders of the Opposition, desirous of posing as magnanimous adversaries in defeat, offered no serious criticism. The Government leaders had, therefore, virtually nothing to reply to. Previous to the moving of the Address Mr. Gladstone gave notice in the House of Commons that on the 1st of March he should move that the Acts relating to the Irish Church establishment, and to the Maynooth Grant, and also the Resolutions of the House of Commons of 1868 be read; that the House should resolve itself into Committee to consider these Acts and Resolutions. Mr. Forster, too, gave notice of his Middle Class Education Bill. The Attorney-General gave notice of a Bankruptcy Bill; Mr. Goschen announced Bills amending the law assessing Occupiers Holding for short terms, and equalising

* It described the reductions for the first time in the records of Queen’s Speeches as having been already made, not as reductions that were only in contemplation.

the Assessment of Metropolitan Property; and the Home Secretary announced his Bill for the more effectual Prevention of Crime. Whatever might be said of the Ministry, it was obviously bent on making its mark on the Statute book. The House of Lords, indeed, began to take alarm at the extreme activity of the Commons. They complained that they were not entrusted with work till after Easter, when the Commons sent them their Bills to revise in the dog days, and Lord Salisbury angrily threatened to obstruct Bills if they were not sent up to the Peers in time for full discussion; but the fault was really that of their Lordships. As Lord Russell put it, to initiate Liberal Bills in the Upper House is to secure their rejection; to bring them there after they have been accepted by large majorities of the House of Commons, gives them a chance of being passed into law.

When the Committee on the Address brought up their report Mr. Gladstone moved that the Address be presented by the whole House to the Queen in person. The Queen's absence from the opening of a new reformed Parliament had been taken by various Opposition organs as a proof that she was inclined to obstruct the policy of the Ministry. That her Majesty was, as a matter of fact, opposed to Mr. Gladstone's policy of Disestablishment is apparent from the Diary of Bishop Wilberforce, where, under date 20th March, one finds the following entry:—"Back to Windsor Castle and prepared sermon. Dined with the Queen. A great deal of talk with the Princess Louise; clever and very agreeable. The Queen very affable. So sorry Mr. Gladstone started this about Irish Church, and he is a great friend of yours," &c. But a still more authoritative disclosure of the Queen's personal objections to Mr. Gladstone's plans is given in a letter from the Princess Louis of Hesse. Writing on the 25th of April, in reply to a communication on the subject from the Queen, the Princess says:—"The Irish Church Question, I quite feel with you, will neither be solved nor settled in this way; and instead of doing something which would bring the Catholics more under the authority of the State, they will, I fear, be more powerful."* The Queen's consent to come to London and receive the Address in reply to the Royal Speech in person was accordingly obtained by Mr. Gladstone for the purpose of taking the sting out of statements which had gone round the Tory Press as to her Majesty's opposition to his Irish policy. It hardly tended to reconcile the Queen to the views of the Cabinet that her consent to receive the Address was asked in a manner that precluded the possibility of refusal, save at the risk of insulting the Legislature. But in this affair Mr. Gladstone was doomed to disappointment. Before the Address could be presented her Majesty said she must abandon the idea of coming to town to receive it. Prince Leopold suddenly fell ill, and as the Queen was reluctant to leave him, the Address was delivered to her in the usual manner, and answered by her in the

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. *Biographical Sketch and Letters*, p. 214.

stereotyped terms. Thus it came to pass that the first meeting of the reformed Parliament was not honoured with any special mark of personal recognition by the Chief of the State.

From the 1st of March to the end of July, however, the affairs of Ireland



MR. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE (AFTERWARDS LORD CARLINGFORD).

completely absorbed public attention. As an earnest of their conciliatory policy, Ministers had allowed the Act suspending Habeas Corpus in Ireland to expire. In February they pardoned forty-nine of the Fenian prisoners, selecting the objects of the Queen's clemency from those who were dupes as distinguished from ringleaders. This still left eighty-one prisoners under sentence, and whilst it did not satisfy Irish hopes, it encouraged a belief that it was comparatively safe to play at treason in Ireland. As Lady Clanricarde said in a letter

to Mr. Hayward, "the released Fenians are now [April 13] socially, financially, and in character, in a better position than they were at any other time of their lives."* The popular notion in Ireland was that they had cowed the Government. Nor was the Church Question the only one which was agitating the Irish mind. Shrewd observers had, indeed, warned Ministers in the autumn of 1868 that the Irish people were even more eager for Land Reform than the Disestablishment of the Church. Writing to Mr. Chichester Fortescue on 15th of October, 1868, Mr. Hayward says, "Froude, who has been two months in Ireland, mostly near Kenmare, says, that so far as he saw, the Irish Church Question is little thought of in comparison with the Land Question, and he knows of nothing that could be proposed in the way of compromise, as the proprietors want to get rid of their small tenants, and the small tenants want to get rid of the landlords. Lord Lansdowne's manager told him that he could make £25,000 a year out of the property by clearing out the cottiers."† It was, therefore, creditable to Ministers that, when questioned on the subject in both Houses, they declared that whenever the Church Question was disposed of, they would try and solve the Irish agrarian problem.

On the 1st of March Mr. Gladstone rose in an eager and crowded House and moved that the Irish Church Resolutions be read. After that ceremony, he moved that the House go into Committee to consider them. This being done, he then proceeded to unfold his plan, in a speech which was a masterpiece of artistic exposition. Technically speaking, he proposed to disendow the Irish Church absolutely from the passing of the Act, because he vested all its property in a Commission, appointed for ten years. But the Church was to be disestablished at a date fixed by him as the 1st of January, 1871. Whenever the Act passed the Church would be quite free to take collective action for its future management, and whenever it could present the Crown with a scheme of organisation the Queen would be advised to incorporate it as a Free Church. The Commission, of course, was to pay the life incomes of the clergy. But these life incomes under the Bill might be commuted for a fixed sum, to be handed over to the new Church Corporation. Private gifts made to the Church since 1660, and all ecclesiastical fabrics, would remain in the hands of the disestablished clergy. Similar methods for dealing with the State subsidies to Presbyterian clergymen and professors were proposed, and the trustees for the Presbyterians and for Maynooth College were to have fourteen times their annual subvention given to them in full satisfaction of all claims. The tithe charge was to be sold to the landlords for twenty-two and a half years' purchase, the money to be vested in the Commission. As for the surplus property, or "spoils," as it was called, it was to be devoted to keeping up pauper lunatic asylums, infirmaries, and hospitals for the poor, and asylums for idiots, institutions which were then chargeable

* Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., Vol. II., p. 200.

† *Ibid.*, p. 191.

on the country.* The leading idea disposing of the surplus for the benefit of the poor, was generally admitted to be an ingenious way of meeting the cry of sacrilegious spoliation.† Lord Westbury was, however, said to have remarked that in taking endowments from the Irish clergy whose intellects were warped, and giving it to lunatics and idiots who had no intellects at all, Mr. Gladstone had followed a natural law of association, and had exhibited a nicely discriminating sense of the relative value of competing claims on his compassion.

But the country was impervious to all sarcasms of this sort, and it was lavish in praise of a measure so obviously characterised by breadth of view as to its ends, and minute completeness and efficiency of detail, as to its means. The strategic value of Mr. Gladstone's policy in passing the Suspensory Bill in 1868 was now apparent to everybody. The discussions it provoked had armed him at every point, and from the almost embarrassing returns of dates and materials with which it furnished him he was able to draw up a measure which was felt to be complete and symmetrical. He reduced its weak points to a minimum—in fact, if the principle of the Bill were accepted, it would be very difficult for the most unscrupulous opposition to wreck it on details. Mr. Disraeli's criticism was very mild. He said Mr. Gladstone "had not wasted a word," but despite his statement, the Opposition must still "look on Disestablishment as a great political error," and on Disendowment as "sheer confiscation." Whether intentionally or not, his tone conveyed an impression that, so far as he was concerned, he would have been glad, after the verdict of the General Election, to throw over the Church. But Sir Stafford Northcote a few days afterwards told a meeting of Middlesex

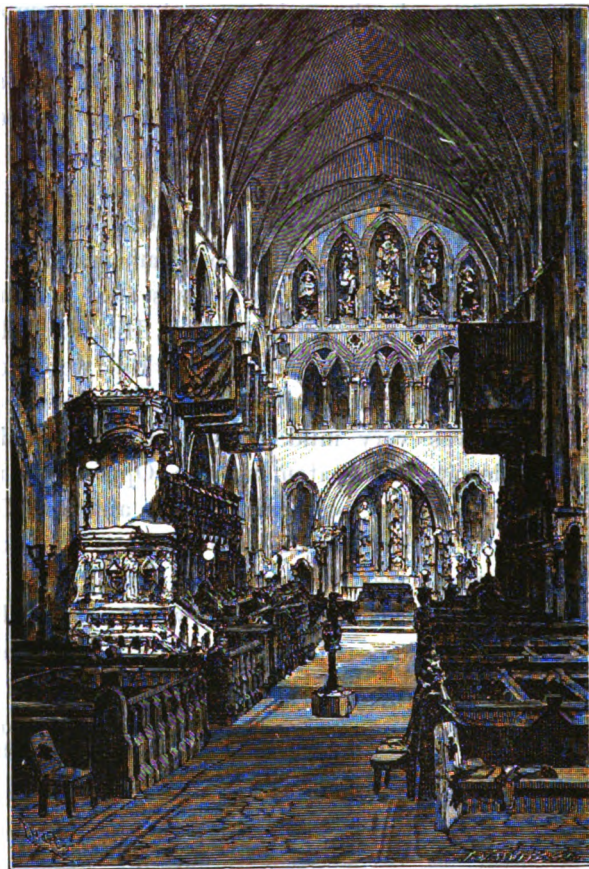
* It may be well to summarise Mr. Gladstone's financial statement:—

ASSETS OF THE CHURCH.		CHARGE ON THE CHURCH FUND.	
(1) Commuted Tithe Rent Charge	£9,000,000	Commuted Life Interests of Bishops, Beneficed Clergy, &c.	£4,900,000
(2) Land and Perpetuity Rents	6,200,000	Curates	800,000
(3) Money	750,000	Lay Compensations	900,000
		Private Endowments to be Repaid	500,000
		Presbyterians and Maynooth	1,100,000
		Building Charges	250,000
		College Expenses of Presbyterians and Catholics	35,000
		Expenses of Commission	200,000
	<u>£15,950,000</u>		<u>£8,685,000</u>

Thus there was a surplus fund for distribution of, say, £7,500,000, the interest on which, £311,000, Mr. Gladstone distributed as follows:—(1), Lunatic Asylums, £185,000; (2), Deaf and Dumb Institutions, £30,000; (3), Idiot Asylums, £20,000; (4), Nurses for the Poor, £15,000; (5), Reformatories and Industrial Schools, £10,000; (6), County Infirmarys, £51,000.

† It would seem that Dean Swift anticipated Mr. Gladstone's notion. When Vicar of Laracor Swift presented the vicarage with nineteen acres of land. He had endowed it with certain tithes, which he left in trust for the established episcopal religion. But he stipulated that in case of Disestablishment the tithes should be administered "for the benefit of the poor." Stella (Ether Johnson), in her will, dated 30th October, 1727, also anticipated Disestablishment. In leaving £1,000 to endow a chaplaincy in Steevens' Hospital, Dublin, she provided that if the Church were disestablished the bequest should be null and void.

Conservatives that the Bill was a combination of robbery and bribery, and Sir J. Pakington significantly thanked Providence for the House of Lords. Mr. Disraeli felt that his resignation before Parliament met, implied an acceptance of the verdict of the country. To him and to many others, including the Bishop of Oxford, the Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Magee), the



CHOIR OF ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN.

two Archbishops, Lord Salisbury, Lord Nelson, "our best Churchman," according to Wilberforce, Lord Carnarvon, and the Duke of Richmond, it seemed unwise to divide the Houses of Parliament against the principle of a national decision, to which the leaders of the Opposition bowed when they resigned. They would have preferred to accept the Bill in principle, and in Committee to have extorted from the Government the best possible terms for the Church. But the advice of extreme men prevailed, and so the Tory leaders decided to oppose the Second Reading of the measure. On the 18th of March Mr. Disraeli moved its rejection, in a speech remarkable for its brilliancy and the skill with which he laid bare the weak points of Mr. Gladstone's plans.

Yet his followers heard his epigrammatic assault with unconcealed dismay, and after it was delivered consoled with each other because it was a fiasco. The fault of the orator was that he gave his Party no position or counter-scheme behind which they could entrench themselves. He ignored the cardinal fact of the controversy, that the Irish people were smarting under a sense of injustice, because their own national church had been robbed to enrich the ministers of an alien creed. He conjured up terrible but imaginary revolutionary catastrophes as the results of the Bill. He dwelt on the value



CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN.

of the Irish Established Church as a body bound by law to receive the religious pariahs of the country, an argument that made the blood of most of his lieutenants, who were pious Churchmen, run cold. Three discontented priesthoods instead of one, said he, would make themselves organs of Irish discontent; ignoring the fact that the one priesthood which would *not* be smarting was five times as numerous and potent as the other two put together. But the debate as a whole was unreal and academic. It was more like a bout with foils than a duel à *outrance*. The speakers who were chiefly affected by the religious side of the question thought it expedient to represent the Bill as an alarming attack on property. The champions of property, on the contrary, represented the Bill as an impious attack on religion. Three speeches alone maintained the reputation of the House—those of Mr.

Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and Sir R. Palmer. They each spoke as if they had a heart and a conscience, and were personally responsible for the moral and political results of their votes. Mr. Gladstone rested his case on the absolute necessity of redressing a wrong done by a strong nation to a weak one in an age when might was right. The Empire as a whole had a moral right in national interests to prevail over any of its parts. But Ireland, he said, had a right to be governed so that it might be known to all men that her life was not hostile but supplementary to that of the Empire. Mr. Bright's speech was full of intense Christian feeling. He expressed, in words vibrating with genuine emotion, his horror at a system which associated any Christian church with a policy of conquest. As for the charges of robbery, he disposed of them in the splendid peroration in which he declared that the plan for disposing of the Church surplus realised his highest ideal of Christian statesmanship. It applied funds which were misused in stimulating barren sectarian controversies and enmities, to beneficent purposes untainted by doctrinal partisanship or dogmatic preferences. Sir Roundell Palmer surprised every one by his candid admission that a large measure of disendowment in Ireland was a moral necessity. All establishment revenues, such as those attached to episcopal sees, the capitular revenues of cathedrals, and funds for preaching Protestantism in places where there were no Protestants, he admitted could not justly be appropriated by a small alien sect in the name of the Irish nation. But then, he argued with subtlety and power, it was equally unjust to alienate parochial endowments, which were locally of parochial use in promoting the objects which they were instituted to further. Sir Roundell Palmer's speech, in fact, revealed what would have been a possible compromise had it not come too late. He suggested that which Mr. Disraeli had failed to discover—an alternative policy—when he issued his electoral manifesto staking the fortunes of the Irish Church on the cry of "No Surrender." The Second Reading of the Bill was carried, after a week's debate, by a majority of 118.* *Paucis carior est fides quam pecunia.* Hence, after this division, the Churchmen thought there was nothing left to fight for save the money which the Irish clergy should be allowed to carry with them into the desert of Disendowment. On Wednesday, the 14th of April, Mr. Disraeli called the Tory Party together at Lord Lonsdale's house, and the meeting agreed not to press private amendments, but to support Mr. Disraeli's own proposals which he submitted to the House of Commons next night. He proposed that the Church, though disendowed, should remain under the discipline and patronage of the Crown.†

* Sir Roundell Palmer's argument was the only one that disturbed the conscience of the majority. Indeed, the only conceivable answer to it was that local church endowments, which were really useful in doing good parochial work, were instituted not for local but for national reasons. For national reasons such as Mr. Gladstone adduced, they might be justly resumed by the State to be applied to national purposes.

† Mr. Disraeli's argument was, that a church, to be established, must have a temporal Sovereign as its head. The Church of Rome was "established" in Ireland, because the Pope was a temporal

He demanded a year's reprieve from disestablishment. He proposed to compensate permanent curates, to pay over to the Church a capital sum of four times its net annual revenue, also a sum equal to fourteen times the annual charges for repairs; and he demanded that the Church should be allowed to hold all private property ever given to it, whether in Catholic or Protestant times. He insisted on compensation for life interests on a more extravagant scale than the Bill sanctioned, and his proposal as to tithes was amusingly unscrupulous. One of the great points in his speech on the Second Reading was, that the Bill, whilst it confiscated the property of the Church, offered a conciliatory bribe to the landlords. The tithe rent-charge was sold at twenty-two-and-a-half years' purchase to the landlords, on condition that they made it yield the State four and a half per cent. on its capital value. But to accommodate them Mr. Gladstone said that if they wished to buy up the tithe but could not pay the money down for a twenty-two-and-a-half years' purchase, they could borrow it from the State, and refund it by paying three per cent. on it for forty-five years. In other words, Mr. Gladstone charged them three per cent. for interest, and kept the other one and a half per cent. of the tithe yield for forty-five years as a sinking fund to wipe out the original advance. Mr. Disraeli, however, proposed to sell the tithe rent-charge to the landlords at an average price struck from the records of the Landed Estates Courts during the past ten years. As rent-charges sold in the Landed Estates Courts were not sold under the security of the Government, the price at which landlords would have bought up these charges under Mr. Disraeli's amendment would have been about twenty-five per cent. under that demanded by Mr. Gladstone. The case of the "permanent curates" seemed to excite much sympathy in the House. Mr. Gladstone was also at first inclined to yield to, though he ultimately rejected, an appeal from one of his supporters, Mr. Wykeham Martin, who desired to let the clergy of the Irish Church keep their glebe houses when free from building debt, without paying ten years' purchase for the site as the Bill provided.

In truth, it was soon seen that it was hopeless to attack the Bill in Committee. Mr. Gladstone was master of every detail—legal, historical, and archæological. He showed himself an expert among the experts, and it appeared that he had foreseen every objection and forestalled every counter-plan. Mr. Disraeli—who had left much of the work of Opposition to Mr. Hardy and Dr. Ball—soon grew sick of the discussion, and used his influence to quicken the progress of the measure, the Third Reading of which was fixed for May 31st, when it passed by a majority of 114. On the Queen's birthday the leading Conservative Peers held a meeting, at which strong efforts were made to reject the Second Reading of the Bill in the House of Lords. The

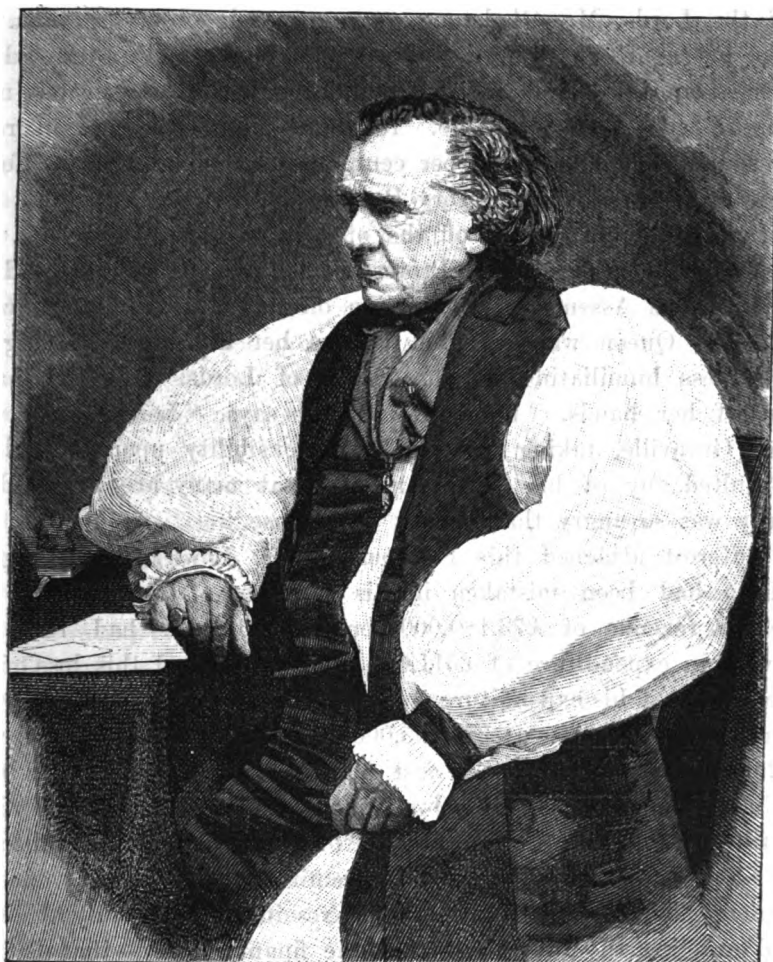
Sovereign. On grounds of religious equality, said Mr. Disraeli, it was necessary to retain the Queen's supremacy over the Irish Church, so that it might enjoy the same status as its Roman rival. His theory of Royal supremacy over Church discipline and doctrine horrified his High Church supporters.

ablest peers were, however, in favour of timely surrender, in the hope that they might extort better terms of compensation for the Church. That was also the view of the Episcopal Bench. On the other hand, the Irish Bishops said frankly that feeling ran so high among their flocks that they did not dare to let the Second Reading pass unchallenged. To do so, would sacrifice all their moral and personal influence in the Irish Church. The English Bishops admitted that they must do whatever their Irish colleagues did, and thus it came to pass that whilst Dr. Magee, the Bishop of Peterborough, privately argued in favour of accepting the principle of the Bill, and then making the best possible terms for disendowment, he delivered in the House of Lords by far the most eloquent and powerful speech denouncing its principle from a moral point of view. At another meeting of Tory Peers held at the Duke of Marlborough's house, Lord Cairns and Lord Derby unfortunately induced the majority to sanction the policy of moving the rejection of the Bill. The debate in the House of Lords lasted all through the week, beginning on the 14th of June, and it was remarkable for sustained eloquence and intellectual power. The Bishops, especially Dr. Magee, carried off the honours of the fray. The Archbishop of Canterbury produced a strong impression against rejecting the Second Reading, for the burden of his argument was that the State should establish a church in order to keep it from becoming fanatical, and then maintain it only as long as it could do so without defying the will of the people. The Liberal Peers were timid and feeble, and the case for passing the Second Reading was really made out by Lord Carnarvon, Lord Salisbury, the Bishop of St. David's, the Duke of Richmond, and Lord Stanhope. Perhaps the most striking point in the discussion was the clear indication it gave that the Peers, with the exception of Lords Salisbury and Carnarvon, were at heart partisans of concurrent endowment, and it was in this direction that most of the Amendments they proposed pointed, after the Second Reading had been carried by a majority of 33.* Lord Grey, for example, desired to cut out of the preamble of the Bill the clause forbidding the application of the Church surplus to religious uses, and Lord Russell wanted to authorise the purchase, out of the surplus, of churches, parsonages, and graveyards for all the sects in Ireland.

On going into Committee the Peers forced several amendments on the Bill. The date at which the Bill was to take effect was changed from 1871 to 1872. Existing Irish Bishops were to hold their seats in the House of Lords till they died out one by one. Curates' salaries were not to be deducted from life interests—an alteration that increased the compensation to the Church by about £300,000. Life interests were to be taken at fourteen years' purchase—the capital value to be paid to the Church, which would pay the annuities, a clear gain of about £2,000,000 to the Church. Glebes and glebe-houses were

* There was a majority of all orders for the Bill, except among Bishops and Viscounts. The vote of the new families was much more Conservative than that of the old ones.

to be handed over to the Irish Church, but when the Duke of Cleveland proposed that the same provision should be made for the clergy of other churches in Ireland, he was defeated by a combination of Ministerialists and Orangemen, who thereby destroyed the principle of religious equality on



DR. SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

(From the Photograph by S. A. Walker.)

which the Bill was founded.* On no single amendment, save one, did the Bishops vote for the Government, and on that one—the amendment delaying the division of the surplus *sine die*—the only Bishop who voted for the Ministry was Wilberforce. “Some one,” writes Lord Malmesbury, “observing him going out with them [Ministers] in the division, said, ‘The Bishop of Oxford is going the wrong way.’ ‘No,’ observed Lord Chelmsford, ‘it is the

* It is worth noting that the Roman Catholic Peers voted against all plans for concurrent endowment of Catholicism in any shape or form.

road to Winchester.'''* After the Third Reading of the Bill the Lords, however, accepted a re-amendment by Lord Devon that Irish Bishops should cease to sit in the Upper House, and Lord Stanhope carried another restoring the principle of religious equality by granting residences and glebes to Catholics and Presbyterians. The House of Commons rejected all the important amendments of the Lords, Mr. Gladstone contemptuously observing that the Peers seemed to judge affairs from a balloon. A bitter and protracted struggle between the two Houses was averted by Lord Cairns, who privately negotiated a compromise with Lord Granville. Its main point was that in return for the concession of an additional 5 per cent. on the commutation of life interests (making it 12½ per cent.), the Tory Peers would let the Bill pass. In plain English, Lord Granville bought off the opposition of the Peers by a re-endowment of £500,000 for the Free Protestant Church of Ireland, and the Act received the Royal Assent by Commission on the 26th of July. It was understood that the Queen was prepared to use her influence to bring about a compromise less humiliating to the House of Lords. But the matter was taken out of her hands. Lord Malmesbury says, "Lord Cairns settled it with Lord Granville, taking the whole responsibility upon himself, for he never consulted any of his party, and a great many are much displeased. Lord Derby was so angry that he left the House."

Great interest attached this Session to Mr. Lowe's first Budget. Mr. Ward Hunt had been mistaken in his estimate of income, for while he anticipated a revenue of £73,180,000, only £72,591,991 had been received. But a saving in expenditure of £511,000 almost balanced this loss of revenue. Mr. Lowe estimated his expenditure for the coming year at £68,223,000, and, as taxes then stood, his income at £72,855,000, so that he had a surplus to handle of £4,632,000. Unfortunately, the cost of the Abyssinian War had been sadly under-estimated by Mr. Disraeli's Government, and £4,600,000 of Lord Napier's bill was still outstanding. Mr. Lowe's plan for replenishing reduced balances and meeting unexpected liabilities whilst still remitting taxes was at once original and ingenious. Long credit is given for taxes in England. By abolishing this credit and exacting the full tax within the financial year—that is to say, by collecting in 1869–70 the half of the tax that in ordinary circumstances stood over to 1870–71—Mr. Lowe estimated he would have what he called "windfalls" of £600,000 on assessed taxes, £950,000 on the land and house tax, and £1,800,000 on income tax, which gave him £3,350,000. Applying this to the reduction of the Abyssinian War debt he left of it only £500,000 standing. But the estimated surplus was £4,632,000, so that even after

* Wilberforce was subsequently promoted to the See of Winchester. But Chelmsford's sneer was unjust. Wilberforce thought honestly that the nation having decided the question of immediate Disestablishment and Disendowment, delay would simply damage the interests of the Irish Church, and provoke a futile conflict with the people. Hence he voted against this amendment.—See *Life of Wilberforce*, Vol. III., pp. 287–289, and *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 408.

deducting the Abyssinian debt, he still had in hand £4,100,000 for remission of taxes, and the replenishment of the Exchequer balances which Mr. Ward Hunt's policy had exhausted. Mr. Lowe therefore remitted the shilling duty on corn, the duty on fire insurances, the hair powder tax, the duty on tea licences, and a penny of income tax. The carriage duty he simplified and reduced. The duty on horses he reduced—an announcement that gave infinite satisfaction to the House of Commons—and he abolished the special duty on post-horses. He said that as he could not take off the duty on armorial bearings, “it appeared to him the best thing he could do was to increase it.” The perplexing and complex discussion which the scheme provoked, and the indignation of the small traders at being called upon to pay all their taxes in full instead of in two half-yearly instalments obscured the real issue. The real point to consider, however, was whether it was worth while to pay the April quarter's taxes in January, in order to get the remissions which Mr. Lowe promised. The House thought that the gain was commensurate with the sacrifice, and so the Budget passed without serious opposition.*

That the new House of Commons was leavened by a spirit of reform was manifest from the record of its legislative achievements. In March Mr. Forster introduced his Endowed Schools Bill, the gist of which was the appointment of a Commission, empowered, if need be, to reorganise compulsorily old endowed schools, and to adapt them to modern requirements. One curious feature in it marked the growth of opinion on the education of women. Girls, as well as boys, were to have a fair share of these endowments. Mr. Austin Bruce, the Home Secretary, passed an Habitual Criminals Act, in deference to the growing feeling of the people that the large class who lived by crime were far too gently treated by the authorities. It put habitual criminals, or persons twice convicted of crime, under police supervision for seven years, and in cases of fresh charges threw on them and on receivers of stolen goods the burden of proving their innocence, a burden that heretofore was laid on Society. Lord Hartington's Bill for purchasing the telegraphs carried out a bad bargain, to which Mr. Ward Hunt had committed the nation.† But all other legislation

* It is not generally known that the repeal of the shilling duty on corn, as indeed many of the ideas on which Mr. Lowe based his Budget were suggested to him by the late Mr. Stanley Jevons. “Having been consulted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer,” writes Mrs. Jevons, “as to the pressure of taxation upon different classes of the people, Mr. Jevons sent to him on the 13th of March a report which he had prepared with much care. The result of his inquiries was, that the artisan, with only a moderate use of beer and tobacco, was less heavily taxed than the classes above or below him, but that the labourer, if he only moderately indulged in stimulants, was rather the most heavily taxed of any class in proportion to his income. Mr. Jevons, therefore, recommended the repeal of the remaining duty of a shilling a quarter on corn, which he believed formed an appreciable burden of about one per cent. of income upon the very poorest class on the borders of pauperism.” Another proposal of Mr. Lowe's for re-coining the gold currency, owing to the defective weight of the coins in circulation, was also suggested by Mr. Jevons.—See *Letters and Journals of W. Stanley Jevons*, edited by his Wife (Macmillan, 1886), pp. 245—248.

† According to Lord Hartington's measure the purchase-money came to £6,750,000.

of importance was wrecked by the House of Lords. For example, the Commons in 1869 passed a Bill giving married women control over their own property; the Lords threw it out. The Commons affirmed the principle of abolishing University Tests; the Lords again stopped the way. The Commons passed a Bill abolishing the law of primogeniture; the Lords rejected it. The Commons accepted a Bill rating all Scottish landowners for the support of a universal unsectarian compulsory system of education in Scotland; the Lords quashed the project, which was denounced even by so Liberal a newspaper as the *Daily Telegraph* because it was "too revolutionary, too full of compulsion, and too Scotch." The Commons passed a Bill legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister; here again the Lords undid the work of the Commons. The questions relating to purity of election, forced on the country by the revelations made at trials of election petitions during the recess, were by the Commons referred to a Select Committee, on the understanding that it would report, as it did report, in favour of the ballot; but the Lords did not disguise their hostility to that project either. The first Parliament that met under household suffrage therefore demonstrated alike the intense devotion of the Commons and the intense hostility of the Lords to all progressive legislation.

And yet any shrewd observer could see that the Ministry, despite its reforming zeal, was not gaining strength in a reforming House of Commons. The belief in Mr. Gladstone's ability and earnestness had not decayed; but his colleagues were busy accumulating a baneful crop of private hatreds. Mr. Cardwell and Mr. Childers cut down expenditure in the army and navy, and Mr. Baxter, as Secretary to the Admiralty, insisted on buying stores for the public on the economical business-like principles that guide private firms. Mr. Childers found the Admiralty in a state of chaos. When anything went wrong everybody was generally responsible, but nobody in particular could be punished. Mr. Childers fixed responsibility for patronage and discipline, for building and equipping ships, and for finance on three subordinates. To reduce the redundant officers he offered to give them a lump sum down, instead of half-pay, if they would retire. He, or rather Mr. Baxter, laid down the rule that it was better to buy stores in the open market instead of contracting for them. As to the fleet, he introduced the principle of reducing it as much as possible at foreign stations, where it was difficult to control, and concentrating it as much as possible at home, where it was easily within reach of his arm. In ship-building he insisted on concentrating expenditure, not on repair, but on construction, and on building, not a great many ships of a semi-obsolete type, but a few heavily-armed and armoured swift vessels, which would be guaranteed to beat any craft afloat. The Tory Opposition somewhat unpatriotically joined in the "hue and cry" which every incompetent official and every useless clerk who was shelved by these reforms raised against Mr. Childers. The dockyard men actually assaulted Sir C. Wingfield, Member for Gravesend, because he defended reductions. The words and deeds of Mr. Childers and Mr. Baxter were misrepresented by Tory partisans,

who tried to make political capital out of the storm of prejudice which dispossessed jobbers raised against them. Yet, as a matter of fact, whereas the Tory Ministry discharged 3,948 dockyard hands, and pensioned 411, Mr. Childers merely pensioned 617 men, aided 666 to emigrate, and gave gratuities to 117.



VICTORIA EMBANKMENT, LONDON.

Forthwith a powerful body of officials, most of whom had the means of influencing the newspaper press, foreseeing that the corrupt spending departments were in danger of being reorganised, began to wage a "paper war" against the Ministry. Mr. Lowe's vitriolic insolence to deputations who came to do business with him, his quarrel with the legal profession over the site of the New Law Courts, his contemptuous criticism of the Money Market, his proposal to coin a new sovereign with enough alloy to cover the cost of mintage, and his

determination to collect the income-tax in a lump sum in the January quarter of the year, also raised up hosts of enemies. Mr. Bruce annoyed people by his obstinate officialism, and Mr. Ayrton by his overweening niggardliness, his too obvious desire to effect mean savings meanly, and his foolish fancy for rubbing pepper into the wounds of those whom he cut by his sharp tongue. Mr. Bright's speeches on the Irish Church Bill should have vastly augmented his reputation; but his indolence as an administrator was notorious. His resolve to prevent the Board of Trade from doing any work for the people which it could avoid doing disgusted Tories and Radicals alike. His opposition to Lord Edward Cecil's Resolution in favour of a Bill to check adulteration, based as it was upon the ideas of the old Whigs, and informed as it was by the prejudices of the vulgarest type of small tradesman, did much to destroy his popularity. Adulteration, he said, was only another form of competition. The use of false weights, as a rule, was a pure inadvertency, and if traders were to be spied on every hour by inspectors he (Mr. Bright) would advise them to emigrate. All his arguments, curiously enough, were those by which the coining of counterfeit money might be defended, and the effect of them on the public mind was not favourable to the Cabinet of which he was a member. Lord Granville, too, had sadly mismanaged the Colonial Office. His policy of gradually withdrawing Imperial troops from the self-governing colonies, and teaching them to rely on themselves and their territorial militias for defence was wise and prudent. But it was carried out with a lack of tact that irritated the susceptibilities of the Colonists. Lord Granville hardly concealed his approval of the wild doctrines of Professor Goldwin Smith to the effect that colonies were a burdensome nuisance, and that the best thing to do with them was to cut them adrift. The tone of Colonial Office despatches at this time was studiously impertinent. As for Lord Granville's subordinates at Whitehall, they prided themselves on treating eminent Colonists as if they were returned convicts. Lord Granville's refusal to permit a British regiment to remain in New Zealand, then engaged in a Maori war, and his recommendation to the Colonists to recognise the independence of the Maori king, naturally rendered his Colonial policy hateful to all colonists.

Foreign affairs alone seem to have been prudently managed. The only serious question with which the Foreign Office had to deal was that of the *Alabama* Claims. The Tory Ministry, reversing the somewhat defiant policy of Lord Russell, had conceded to the American Minister—Mr. Reverdy Johnson—every claim he was instructed to prefer.* This policy was continued by Lord Clarendon. Mr. Johnson's method of working was to stupefy the English nation with gross flattery and with ecstatic post-prandial outbursts of brotherly love, and then cajole it into immeasurable concessions. He was a professional

* They even retreated from the position of Lord Russell, who very properly refused to admit to arbitration any question as to the right of England to recognise the South as a belligerent Power—a concession which was not only an abject surrender of Sovereign rights, but *ultra vires* on the part of any Minister.

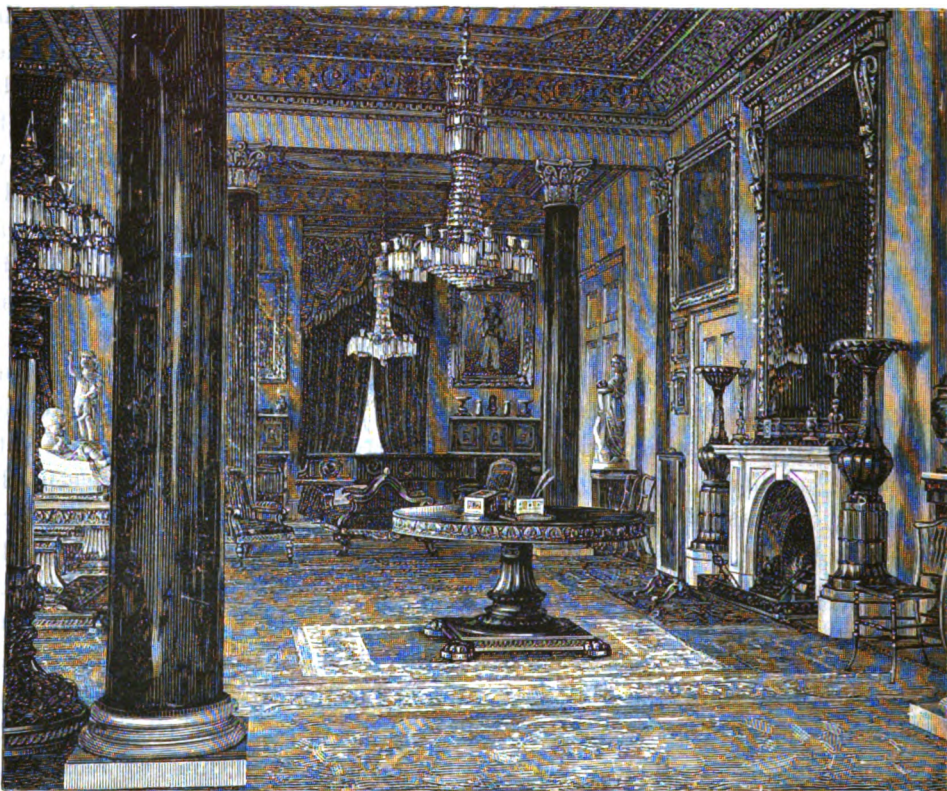
diner-out, and he took in his hosts as well as their dinners. But the American democracy ignored the concessions their Minister had obtained. Their attention was fixed on his exaggerated assurances of their goodwill, at a time when they desired him to convey the impression that they still regarded with dignified displeasure the unfriendly attitude of England during the Civil War. The Convention negotiated between Mr. Johnson and the Foreign Secretary was accordingly denounced by Mr. Sumner in the Senate in a speech in which he not only demanded an apology from England for recognising the Confederate States as belligerents, but consequential damages for all injuries to America, that were indirectly as well as directly due to the escape of the Confederate cruisers from British ports. When the Senate refused to ratify the Convention, the reply of Lord Clarendon was a courteous and decisive refusal to conduct negotiations on the absurd basis put forward by Mr. Sumner. Mr. Johnson was recalled. Mr. Motley, the eminent historian, was sent in his stead to the Court of St. James's, and towards the end of the year American public opinion began to favour a reopening of the negotiations on a more reasonable basis, but at Washington, and not in London.*

The India Office, too, under the Duke of Argyle, was managed so as to add considerably to the *prestige* of the Government. The affairs of India had indeed been conducted, since the accession of Sir John Lawrence to the Viceroyalty, with consummate ability. The struggle for power in Afghanistan between the descendants of Dost Mahomed had been watched by Lawrence with masterly inactivity. At last, as if by a Providential inspiration, Lawrence came to the conclusion, in 1867, that of all the rival aspirants the fugitive Shere Ali was the one who was to be favoured by Fortune. He avoided an alliance with the usurper Azim Khan, and when Shere Ali at last ascended the throne his friendly overtures were amicably met. When Lord Mayo succeeded Lawrence in 1868, his appointment was denounced as a Tory job. Mr. Gladstone, with great generosity, refused to yield to those who pressed him to recall Mr. Disraeli's viceroy in 1869, and Lord Mayo developed an unexpected capacity for government. He carried out Lawrence's frontier policy only with greater warmth of feeling. On the 27th of March Shere Ali met Lord Mayo in *darbar* at Umballa, and was splendidly entertained. There Lord Mayo formally

* It was to some extent ignored at the time that for much of the damage done to American commerce the Federal Navy was to blame. It afforded the most meagre protection to the American mercantile marine. Though it was known a few days after its escape that the *Sumter* was roaming in West Indian waters, yet off none of the ports it visited during the next two months was there a Federal war-ship waiting to sink it. The *Alabama* did most damage at the points which one would have thought would be swarming with prowling Federal cruisers, namely, the Azores, the crossing of the Gulf Stream, the Brazilian Coast, the "calm belts," where ships from the South cross the tropics at the Cape, and in the China seas. Yet in none of these quarters was Captain Semmes attacked or waited for. Captain Semmes admits in "My Adventures Afloat," that but for the gross negligence and incompetence of the United States Naval Department he could not have done the damage he did. The admission discounts much of the argument in favour of supplying swift, unarmoured cruisers in war time.

recognised his guest's position, and on behalf of the Indian Government arranged to supply him with arms and a subsidy of £120,000 a year to defend his throne.

Foreign affairs had little interest for the Queen in 1869. In Germany the policy of Von Bismarck was directed to prevent the premature development of the national sentiment in favour of forming a new German Empire. France was engaged in hastily reorganising her military system, and the



THE QUEEN'S DRAWING-ROOM, OSBOURNE.

(From a Photograph by Hughes and Mullins, Ryde, Isle of Wight.)

French Emperor, broken in health and depressed in spirits, had to meet, with anxious heart, the rising tide of Liberalism, which the elections that followed the dissolution of the Legislature, showed was beginning to flow in France. In July, when the Legislative Body met, the Opposition, which used to number about six, numbered 120, and when they threatened to attack the Government M. Rouher offered to come to terms with them.* The Emperor's illness postponed matters for two months, but meantime the old Ministry resigned in favour of a more Liberal one. Finally, a still more Liberal one

* The Senate was to be assembled to pass Bills which the Opposition had demanded. The Legislative Body was to control the Budget. Independent Members were to be allowed to initiate Bills. Ministers, though not responsible actually to the Legislature, would be allowed to sit in it.

was formed by M. Emile Ollivier, at the end of the year, charged with the mission of transforming Bonapartism into Constitutional Monarchy, on the basis of Parliamentary Government. In Spain the revolution of the previous year



ISMAIL PASHA. (*From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.*)

still dragged on. The financial embarrassments of Italy had rendered the House of Savoy a little unpopular, but the recovery of Victor Emmanuel from a perilous illness, and the birth of an heir presumptive to the Italian Crown, soon restored the popularity of their Monarchy among the Italians. The Pope attained the summit of his ambition by assembling at Rome, on the 8th of

December, a grand council of the Latin Church, for the purpose of sanctioning formally the doctrine of the personal infallibility of the Holy Father, speaking *ex cathedra* and *quoad sacra*.

We may presume that the Queen's domestic circle was, early in the year, alarmed by the strangely sudden illness of Prince Leopold, which prevented her from receiving in person the Address from the House of Commons in reply to the Speech from the Throne. No notice of this illness is, however, taken in the letters of the Princess Louis of Hesse; in fact, it seems to be the only illness of the Prince to which that illustrious lady does not allude in her correspondence with the Queen. The sole reference to Prince Leopold at this period is in a letter from the Princess to her mother, dated 30th January, in which she says, "Our thoughts and prayers are so much with you and dear Leopold on this day [his Confirmation]. May the Almighty bless and protect that precious boy, and give him health and strength to continue a life so well begun and so full of promise." A month later the Queen had sad tidings of further domestic anxieties from her tender-hearted daughter. One of her servants had fallen ill, and the Darmstadt household was so seriously underhanded, that the Princess herself had to drudge in her nursery. "You will be amused," she cheerily writes, with an obvious effort to spare her mother unnecessary anxiety, "when I tell you, that old Amelung is coming to sleep with baby, and take charge of him; but she is too old and out of practice to be able to wash and dress him morning and evening besides, so I do that, and it is, of course, a great assistance to all my being able to do it, and I don't mind the trouble. Of a morning, as Louis is usually out riding or at his office, I take Victoria and Ella out, who are very good little girls, and very amusing."* It was fortunate for the amiable Princess that her illustrious mother had brought her up to be a helpful housemother, competent at any moment to cope with the *res angustæ domi*.

In the beginning of the year the Queen had an interview with Mr. Carlyle, in whose sorrowful life Dean Stanley had interested her. Her Majesty expressed a desire to become personally acquainted with a man whose genius had shed so much lustre on her reign, and, according to Mr. Froude, Carlyle felt for the Queen "in her bereavement as she had remembered him in his own." The meeting took place in the Westminster Deanery, and Carlyle's account of it is as follows:—"The Queen was really very gracious and pretty in her demeanour throughout; rose greatly in my esteem by everything that happened; did not fall in any point. The interview was quietly very mournful to me."†

On the 17th of April the Queen visited Aldershot, and reviewed the troops stationed there. The weather was so bad in the morning that it was supposed that the review would be abandoned, but eventually, about midday, the clouds

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. *Biographical Sketch and Letters*, p. 211.

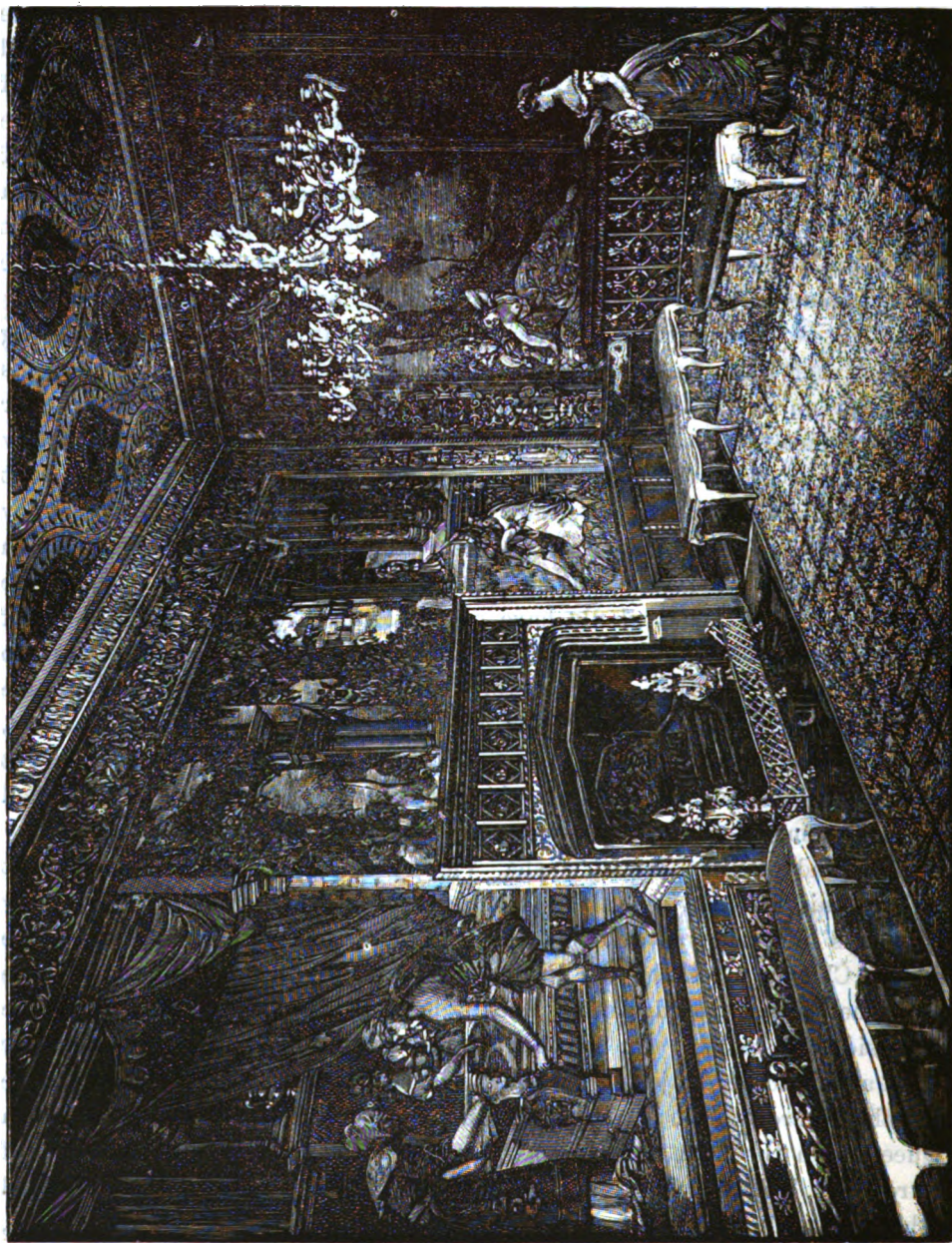
† Carlyle's *Life in London*, by J. A. Froude, Vol. III., p. 380.

cleared off and the "Assembly" sounded. The Queen, accompanied by the Princess Louise and Princess Beatrice, left Windsor a little before noon, and was escorted by a troop of Life Guards as far as Bagshot, where a troop of the 5th Dragoon Guards relieved them, and conducted the Royal party to the camp. Her Majesty drove to the Royal Pavilion, where she partook of luncheon, and as the weather at this time was exceedingly threatening—rain falling heavily—the signal was hoisted at headquarters for the troops to "wait further orders." At three o'clock, the weather having somewhat cleared, the review took place, about 8,000 of all ranks being on parade.

But in spite of diversions of this sort the Queen felt at times the increasing loneliness of her life. In reply to some expression of this the Princess Louis writes to her on the 16th of April, "We shall, indeed, be so pleased, if later you wish to have any of the grand-daughters with you, to comply with any such wish, for I often think, so sadly for your dear sake, how lonely it must be when one child after another grows up and leaves home; and even if they remain, to have no children in the house is most dreary. Surely you can never lack to have some from among the many grandchildren; and there are none of us who would not gladly have our children live under the same roof where we passed such a happy childhood, with such a loving grandmamma to take care of them." In May, however, the secluded life of the Queen was to some extent brightened and cheered. "How glad I am," writes the Princess Louis, "that the dear Countess [Blücher] is with you again; she is the pleasantest companion possible, and so dear and loving, and she is devoted to you and dear papa's memory as never any one was."

On the 22nd of June Ismail Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, paid a second visit to England (his first having taken place in 1867), and during his short stay of eight days his time was well occupied with *fêtes*, reviews, and banquets. He was met at Charing Cross by the Prince of Wales with a royal greeting in the name of the Queen, and drove to Buckingham Palace amid cheers from the crowd outside the station. On the 24th he left Buckingham Palace for Windsor Castle on a visit to her Majesty. The Prince and Princess of Wales and Prince Hassan, the Viceroy's son, accompanied him, and with a select party dined with the Queen. On the 26th the Queen entertained the Viceroy with a review of 5,000 troops in Windsor Great Park. Next day he returned to town and dined with the Prince and Princess of Wales at Marlborough House. On July 1st, having taken leave of the Prince and Princess of Wales, Ismail Pasha started on his return journey. He was at this time endeavouring to strengthen his independent position in Egypt, and though he met with little encouragement, he considered it advisable to try to secure English support against the Sultan.

Her Majesty had taken a deep interest in the statue to Mr. Peabody, executed by Mr. Story, the American sculptor-poet, which was to be erected within the precincts of the Royal Exchange, in the City of London. Accordingly, the Prince of Wales unveiled the memorial on the 23rd of July, and his neat, natural, and

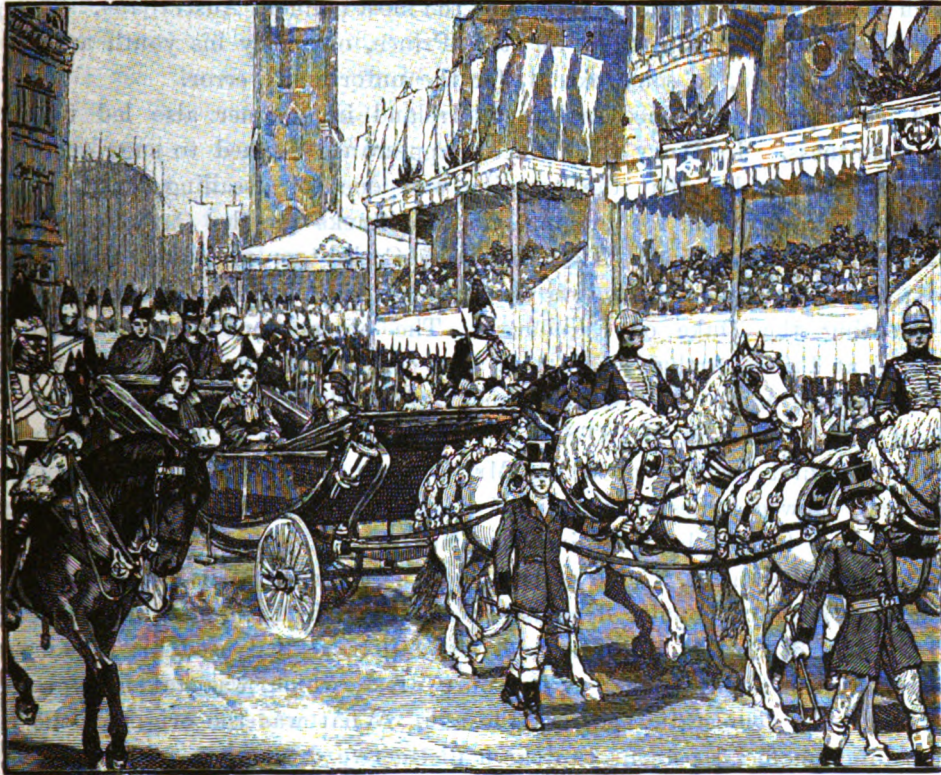


THE TAPESTRY ROOM, ST. JAMES'S PALACE. (From a Photograph by H. N. King.)

polished oratory, especially his graceful allusions to his own reception in America, attracted some notice at the time.*

* The speeches on this occasion were all good or eccentric. Mr. Motley, the United States Minister, for example, said of Mr. Peabody, "That fortunate as well as most generous of men has discovered a secret for which misers might sigh in vain—the art of keeping a great fortune for himself through all time. For I have often thought in this connection of that famous epitaph inscribed on the monument of an old Earl of Devonshire commonly called the Good Earl of Devonshire—'What I spent I had, what I saved I lost, what

In the autumn the Queen enjoyed a series of excursions from Inver-trosachs, to which the Princess Louis of Hesse refers in one of her letters from Kranichstein. "What charming expeditions you must have made," writes the Princess to her Majesty, "in that lovely country. What I saw of it some years ago I admired so intensely. You can well be proud of all the beauties of the Highlands, which have so entirely their own stamp that no Alpine scenery, however



THE QUEEN OPENING HOLBORN VIADUCT. (See p. 352.)

grand, can lessen one's appreciation for that of Scotland. . . . Many thanks for the grouse, which have just arrived—the first since two years ago!"*

During the year the Queen was subjected to considerable annoyance, owing to the mismanagement which seemed to mar the success of the Duke of Edinburgh's tour in Australia. At the time he was shot at by O'Farrell the Legislature of New South Wales passed at one sitting a Treason-felony Bill, the provisions of which were of the drastic character enforced in modern times

I gave away remains with me.' " When Mr. Story's turn came to address the company he pointed to his statue, and merely said "That is my speech."

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. *Biographical Sketch and Letters*, p. 221. For a detailed description of the excursions, see *More Leaves from a Journal of a Life in the Highlands*, pp. 116—147.

only by the autocrats of *opera-bouffe*. But after a while from across the sea whispers of heart-burnings and discontent were wafted, which first took definite form in spring, when an ugly item was discovered in the Civil Service Estimates. It was a sum of £3,500 for gifts and presents made by the Duke of Edinburgh while voyaging in Australian waters with the *Galatea*. The Colonists were, not unnaturally, irritated at what they considered the lack of taste shown in throwing on the Estimates the expense of those trifling gifts which the Prince had made to several of the most eminent Australians. Though no defence was formally made for the Prince, obviously his youth and inexperience accounted, to some extent, for the unfortunate error.

A visit paid by Prince Arthur to Ireland in summer also led to some unpleasantness. In Derry the Prince's appearance seemed to suggest to the Orangemen the idea that the occasion was one for assailing Mr. Gladstone and the Ministry, and for making riotous attacks on the Catholics who retaliated after their kind. The Mayor of Cork, too, presiding at a dinner given to two released Fenians on the 28th of April, lauded O'Farrell's motive in shooting the Duke of Edinburgh. The observations were so pointedly directed at Prince Arthur's visit, that they constituted practically an invitation to assassinate him. The Government accordingly brought in a Bill on the 5th of May to dismiss Mr. O'Sullivan from office "as if he were naturally dead," the first reading of which Mr. Disraeli, to the consternation of his followers, showed a desire to resist.* Mr. O'Sullivan, however, saved everybody further trouble by resigning his office.

On the other hand, if two of the Queen's sons were a little unfortunate in their experience of popular demonstrations, the Heir Apparent was fast becoming the idol of Society. It was understood that he had used his influence in order to bring about a change in Court dress, which was taken as a concession to the democratic spirit of the age. What was the origin of the rule compelling unofficial persons to wear a distinctive dress when presented to the Queen? In the early Georgian period no such rule existed. Nobody but a gentleman could go to Court, and so people who were presented, as a matter of course, wore the ordinary dress of a gentleman, just as officers have always approached the Queen in uniform, which, in theory, is their ordinary dress. But in time persons who were not, technically speaking, gentlemen, were presented to the Sovereign. The introduction of what is now known as "evening dress" for persons of all grades abolished costume as a mark of rank. Yet the Court still adhered to the theory that any one presented to the Sovereign must bear about him an outward and visible sign that he was a

* It was objectionable, he said, because it was a Bill of pains and penalties for mere words. Government had released the Fenians. Why, then, object to Irishmen honouring them? He also complained that the House was asked to act on the *ipse dixit* of "an Irish Attorney-General." Mr. Beresford Hope promptly rebelled against his leader, and approved of the Bill as a "manly step." Mr. Gathorne-Hardy also deserted his chief, and said he would stand by the Government.

gentleman, and as the ordinary "swallow-tail" coat was common to all classes, the rule was laid down at Court that what had been the peculiar costume of a gentleman down to the time of George III. should always be worn. The new Court costume, as sanctioned by the Lord Chamberlain in February, 1869, was, however, a compromise between the old fashion of the Georgian period and the conventional "swallow-tail." In form and colour the levee dress resembled an ordinary evening dress. But the material was to be velvet and not broadcloth, and the collar of the coat was to be straight and embroidered with gold. The dress sword and cocked hat were still to be worn. As for the full-dress to be worn at Drawing Rooms, it was also a compromise. Trousers were not to be worn unless they were decked out with broad gold stripes down the sides.

On Saturday, the 23rd of October, Lord Derby died in the seventy-first year of his age, forty-nine years of which had been spent in political life. For a quarter of a century his name and influence had worked like a wizard's spell on the minds and hearts of the Tory Party, and yet, as a statesman and a legislator, he had done comparatively little. Passionate unwisdom was too often the leading trait of his policy, but his impetuous and imperious self-confidence, his stately presence, his eager spirit, fiery partisanship, and irrepressible pugnacity rendered him an invaluable Party leader. He passed away amid the wreckage of most of his political idols, conscious that he had failed in what he had haughtily asserted was his mission—to stem the tide of democracy. That a superb air of aristocratic distinction surrounded even his blunders was perhaps the secret of his success as leader of the House of Lords. As a fluent, stimulating, passionate speaker, with a style at once incisive, stately, and sonorous, he ranked as one of the last of the rhetoricians among the Peers of England.

On the 11th of September the Queen lost a good friend, in whose widowed life she had frequently displayed her sympathetic interest. That friend was Lady Palmerston, who had long reigned as the leader of Whig society in London, and who died at Bocket Hall in her eighty-third year. She was the last of four great ladies of quality whose social influence did much to shape the fortunes of their country and the course of politics—Lady Jersey, Lady Willoughby, Lady Tankerville, and herself—and who, by a curious coincidence, not only began life together, and married at the same time, but were firm allies and friends to the end, and died at the same age.* She was, when Countess Cowper, one of the first six patronesses of Almack's. She kept at Panshanger the most brilliant political *salon* of the time when the Princess de Lieven, the Duchess de Dino, Talleyrand, Pozzo, Alvanley,

* *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 411. The best sketch of Lady Palmerston that has appeared was the obituary notice in the *Times* of the 15th of September, from the pen of Mr. Abraham Hayward, Q.C.—See Mr. Hayward's *Correspondence*, Vol. II., p. 201, also *Hayward's Selected Essays*, Vol. II. (Longmans, 1878.)

Luttrell, and Lord and Lady Holland were among her closest and most confidential friends. She was Lord Byron's patron in 1814, and as the sister of Melbourne, and the wife of Palmerston, she was the social centre of Whiggery till within four years of her death. Mr. Hayward has done ample justice to the pure refinement and sweetness of her disposition, to the constancy of her friendships, and the easy placability of her resentments. "For myself," writes her son-in-law, Lord Shaftesbury, "I may say that until I lost her, I hardly knew how much I loved her."* And again in his Diary, Lord Shaftesbury writes, "forty years have I been her son-in-law, and during all that long time she has been to me a well-spring of tender friendship and affectionate service. . . . Few great men, and no women, except those who have sat on thrones, have received after death such abundant and sincere testimonies of admiration, respect, and affection. The Press has teemed with articles descriptive of her life and character, all radiant with feeling and expression of real sorrow."† Lady Palmerston, in fact, reaped the reward of a long career, which she spent for the sole purpose of making everybody with whom she came in contact, happy. Her second husband, Lord Palmerston, who to his last hour treated her with the tender gallantry of a lover, was the hero of her career, and one of the prettiest stories told of her is to the effect that she once said his death had prolonged her own existence. Her explanation of the paradox was, that latterly she had been pursued by the fear that his strength would give way without his being conscious of it, and that she looked with horror to the possibility of the man she worshipped sinking into senility.‡

On the 6th of November the Queen visited the City of London for the purpose of opening the new bridge over the Thames at Blackfriars and the new Viaduct over the Fleet Valley, from Holborn Hill to Newgate Street. When it was announced in October that this visit would take place, a rumour was spread abroad to the effect that the unemployed poor of London were to be organised by agitators so as to line the route which was to be traversed by the Queen. Curiously enough, the representatives of the unemployed, greatly to their honour, discouraged this proposal on the ground that the spectacle would pain the Sovereign deeply at a moment when she was striving, in spite of her shattered nerves and sorrowing heart, to do her

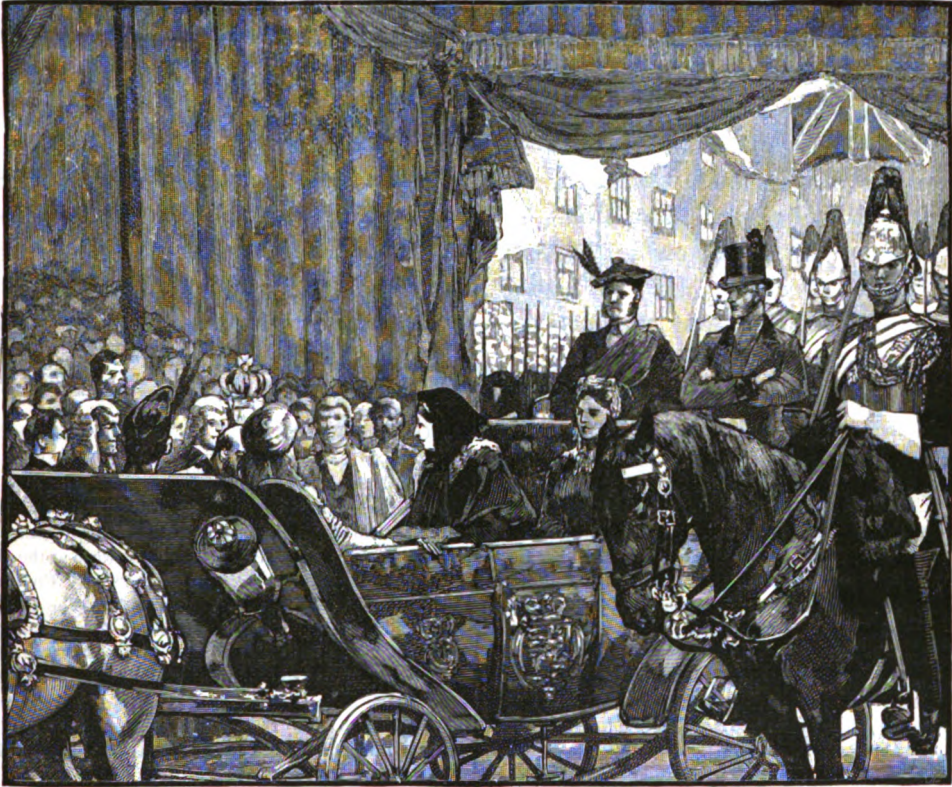
* Hayward's Correspondence, Vol. II., p. 202.

† Hodder's Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G., Vol. III., pp. 251-252. (Cassell and Co., 1886.)

‡ It may be interesting to record that the most brilliant Queen of Society in the Victorian period was a hard-working, thrifty house-manager. During her reign she managed personally not only the sumptuous hospitalities, but the accounts of Cambridge House, Broomfield Hall, and Broadlands, and kept Palmerston's private affairs in admirable order. Even her visiting cards were filled up by her own hand till within a very few years of her death. There was one other trace of old-fashionedness about her. She was the last lady of quality who pronounced the word oblige as if it were spelt "obleege."

public duty to the best of her power. Then it was rumoured that Fenians would interfere with the Royal procession, but, as a matter of fact, no mishap marred the double ceremony. The great concourse of people who received the Queen was unusually enthusiastic, and she herself was obviously charmed with the warmth of her reception.

The year closed with gloomy news from Ireland. The electors of Tipperary,



THE QUEEN OPENING BLACKFRIARS BRIDGE.

acting under Fenian intimidation,* had returned the Fenian "convict" Jeremiah O'Donovan, or "O'Donovan Rossa," as he called himself, to Parliament, an election which was of course void, and which was alleged, by opponents of the Ministry, to demonstrate the futility of Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy of conciliation. Dark rumours also flew round to the effect that the Government had in contemplation the summoning of Parliament and the suspension of Habeas Corpus in Ireland. The Orangemen, who had resented the disestablishment of the Irish Church by menaces of rebellion, now threatened to

* Two-thirds of the electors abstained from voting. Jeremiah Donovan prefixed the aristocratic "O'" to his surname to give himself social importance. To distinguish him from other O'Donovans the place of his birth, Rossa, was now added to his name, thus: "Jeremiah O'Donovan (Rossa)." In England it soon came to be written as if "Rossa" were actually his surname.

stand aloof in any conflict between the Crown and the Fenians.* At a time when Englishmen were being persuaded to adopt a conciliatory Irish policy, when, after having disestablished the Church, they were meditating the disestablishment of the rack-renting landlords, the Irish people deemed it wise to increase their demands. They raised the old agitation against the Union. By the Tipperary election, however, they showed that Repeal was meant to be a stepping-stone to an Irish Republic, and it was in vain that English Liberals, who feared lest this extravagance might create a violent anti-Irish feeling in England, remonstrated with the Nationalist leaders. They remained—

"Deaf as the blue-eyed cat,
And thrice as blind as any noonday owl."

CHAPTER XV.

FALL OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

Social condition of the Country in 1870—Mr. Bright's "Six Omnibuses in Temple Bar"—Opening of Parliament—Mr. Gladstone's Irish Land Bill—Amendments to the Bill—Dual-Ownership Established—The Bill and the House of Lords—The Revolt of Lord Salisbury—The Education Bill—Mutiny of the Liberal Dissenters—Mr. Lowe's Second Budget—The Civil Service opened to Competition—Mr. Cardwell's Failure at the War Office—The Queen and the Army—Mr. Childers and Admiralty Reform—Mr. Baxter and Navy Contracts—The Wreck of the *Captain*—Lord Granville and the Colonies—Death of Lord Clarendon—The Franco-Prussian War—Collapse of the French Armies—Sedan—Fall of the Bonapartist Dynasty—Proclamation of the Third Republic—Investment of Paris—The Government of National Defence at Tours—M. Gambetta Rouses Prostrate France—Gallant Stand of the Mobiles—A Passing Glimpse of Victory—The Queen and the War—Prussia and England—Russia Repudiates the Black Sea Clauses of the Treaty of Paris—Papal Infallibility and the Italian Occupation of Rome—King William Proclaimed German Emperor—Opening of London University—Betrothal of the Princess Louise—Death of General Grey—Death of Dickens—The Novelist and the Queen—Garden Party at Windsor Castle—The Red River Expedition.

If the social condition of Ireland when the year 1870 opened was gloomy, that of England could not be considered bright. Trade was still bad, and desponding critics began to hint that it would not for many years recover from the disaster of 1866. Raw cotton was still scarce and dear, and high prices had rendered the demand for manufactured goods stagnant. The feud between the capitalists and the trades unions was still disturbing the peace of the industrial world, and the political horizon of the Continent was heavy with the bodeful war cloud that broke during the latter half of the year in the sudden storm that wrecked the Second Empire. Irish land tenure,

* On the 7th of December Mr. W. Johnston, M.P., one of the Orange leaders, told an Orange Lodge at Derry that between Fenians and Papists he chose Fenians, and added, amidst enthusiastic cheers, that "it is no part of the duty of an Orangeman to fire a shot or draw a sword as between the English Government and the Fenians."

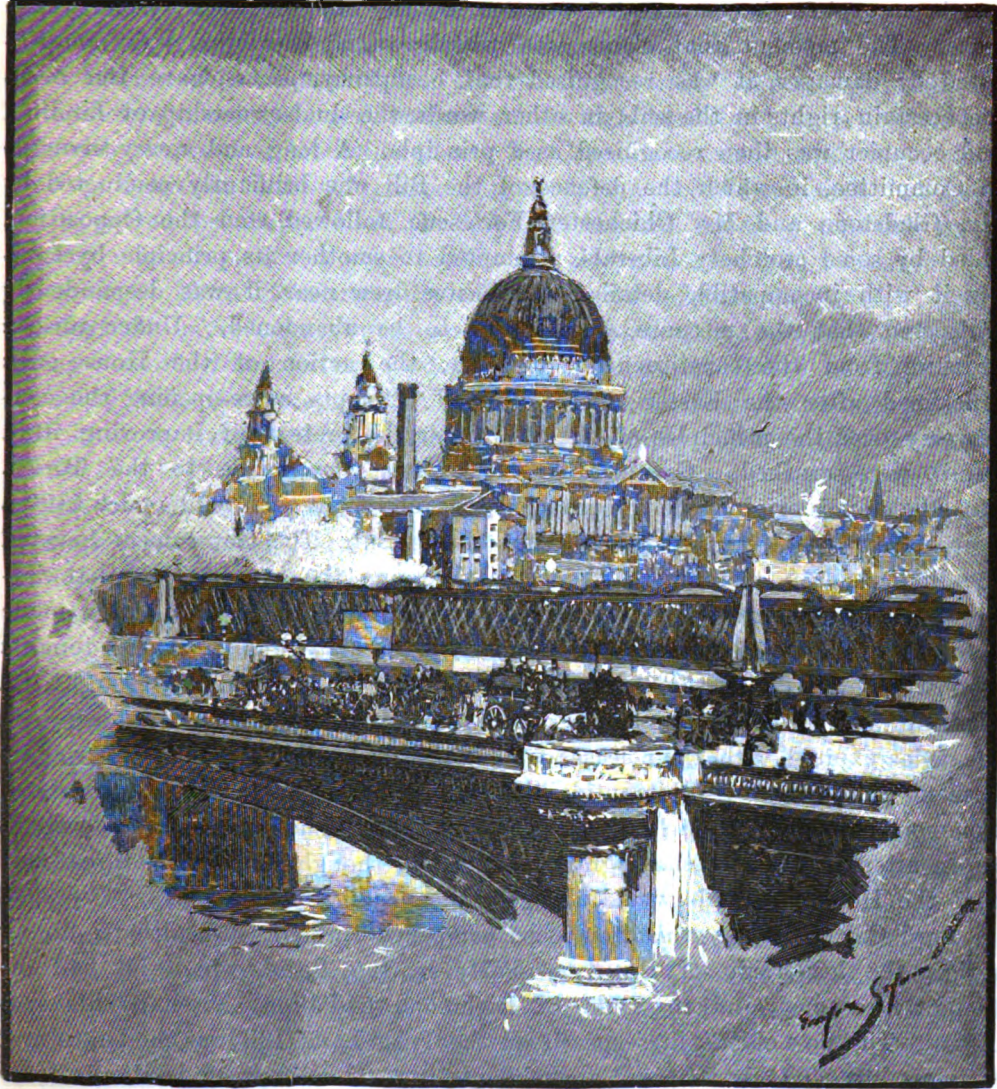
the establishment of a national system of elementary public instruction in England, and the admission of candidates to the Civil Service by competitive examination, were the topics that were most keenly canvassed in the early weeks of the year. From this discussion it was clear that public opinion was set against what was derisively called "the one-horse system of legislation"—that is to say, the exhaustion of the Session by one great measure like the Irish Church Bill. At least four measures were expected from Parliament ere the year closed—the Irish Land Bill, the Primary Education Bill, the Bill abolishing University Tests, and a Bill introducing Election by Ballot. In the end of 1869 a few changes had occurred in the composition of the Ministry. Mr. Layard had been appointed Minister to Madrid. To him Mr. Ayrton succeeded as First Commissioner of Works, while Mr. Stansfeld took Mr. Ayrton's place as Financial Secretary to the Treasury. Lord Cairns resigned the leadership of his Party in the House of Lords, and it seemed likely that the Duke of Marlborough or the Duke of Abercorn would be his successor. But from this calamity the Tories were saved by the self-denial of Lord Cairns, who withdrew his resignation and resumed his post. Speculation was busy as to the Ministerial programme, and Mr. Bright's speeches at Birmingham, in which he dwelt on the difficulties of legislation, had a depressing effect on the country. "You cannot drive six omnibuses abreast through Temple Bar," was the phrase with which Mr. Bright endeavoured to moderate the expectations of the people. On the other hand, Mr. Forster, addressing his constituents at Bradford, endeavoured to neutralise Mr. Bright's pleas for delay. It was true, he said, that it was hopeless to drive six omnibuses abreast through Temple Bar, but that was no reason why they should not go through one after the other. The "Irish Land Omnibus," said Mr. Forster, must go through first, after which the "Education Omnibus," driven by himself and Lord de Grey, must follow.

Parliament was opened by Commission on the 8th of February with a Queen's Speech, from which, at the last moment, paragraphs congratulating France on the re-establishment of constitutional government, and rejoicing over the reception of the Duke of Edinburgh in India, had been mysteriously excised. The Royal Speech promised reduced estimates, an Irish Land Bill, an Education Bill, a Licensing Bill, a Land Transfer Bill, an Intestacy Bill, a Bill to legalise Trades Unions, and a Merchant Shipping Bill. The Ballot Bill was ignored, and the Bill for the abolition of University Tests dimly alluded to, rather than definitely promised. In the House of Lords Opposition criticism was in the main a complaint that the Government had abdicated its functions of maintaining order in Ireland. In the House of Commons Mr. Disraeli admitted that the Irish policy of the Cabinet was not *per se* the cause of Irish disturbances. But it had been so susceptible to misapprehension that it had sent Ireland into "spontaneous combustion" and "riotous hallucination." It was a policy which had excited the wildest of false hopes,

both as to the Repeal of the Union, and the transference of the landlords' property to the tillers of the soil. But both Lord Cairns and Mr. Disraeli avoided committing their Party either to a demand for coercive legislation in Ireland, or to any position on the Land Question that would prevent them from attacking or supporting the Ministerial Bill when it was produced. On the Liberal benches, however, it was felt that the only weak point in Mr. Gladstone's policy touched by his Tory critics was what he called "the discriminating amnesty" to the Fenian prisoners. It was generally admitted that if Ministers had only clearly said at the outset that they did not intend to extend their amnesty, the hopes that had unsettled and agitated the Irish people during the recess would never have been raised.

On the 14th of February Mr. Gladstone introduced his Land Bill, which legalised all Ulster customs of selling tenant-right, gave the tenant a right to compensation for his improvements and for capricious eviction, and provided means for peasants buying their holdings through advances made out of the Irish Church surplus, in cases where the tenant deposited one-fourth of the purchase-money. Mr. Disraeli was, on the whole, generous in his treatment of the Bill. Irish landlords, like Lord Granard, recognised its moderation, and, though they did not quite approve of its principles, they deprecated all factious opposition. It was soon seen that the Tory leaders meant to let the measure pass. But Mr. Disraeli, ever mindful of the great secret of successful leadership, resolved, with masterly strategic skill, to show his followers "sport" by advising them, at a meeting held in Lord Lonsdale's house, to attack three points. On each of these they were in full accord with him. On one of them they had a chance of winning; on another they might safely yield, and yet get great credit for the highest patriotism; whilst on the third, though defeat was probable, it could not be attended with dishonour. The first point was that police-cess—incurred to protect landlords from assassination—which the Bill divided between landlord and tenant, should be paid by the latter alone. The second was that where there was doubt about an improvement, the law should presume it was made by the landlord, and not, as stipulated, by the tenant. The third was to cut out of the Bill everything that interfered with freedom of contract. In other words, Mr. Disraeli desired to leave landlords and tenants free to contract themselves out of the Bill in a country where the landlord, and not the tenant, was really the only one of the two contracting parties who could be plausibly called free. Upwards of three hundred amendments to the Bill were, however, put down before Easter, and the first clause, legalising Ulster customs, took twelve hours' debating before it passed the ordeal of Committee. The Government soon found it necessary to modify the measure so as to separate compensation for improvements, from compensation for eviction. Then they struck out a clause which enabled landlords to get rid of all claims by offering a tenant a thirty-one years' lease. These changes, Mr. Disraeli alleged,

formed a breach of the terms on which he had promised the Government conditional support, and for a time factious obstruction prevailed.* For the clause enabling landlords to nullify the Bill by offering leases, Ministers



BLACKFRIARS BRIDGE, LONDON.

substituted a clause permitting landlord and tenant to come to a voluntary arrangement for a thirty-one years' lease, but allowed the Courts to take this offer of a lease, if it were refused, into consideration in assessing compensation for eviction. Mr. Disraeli's argument here was far-seeing. He

* Mr. Disraeli did not object to compensation for disturbance when it meant compensation for unexhausted improvements, or for the "interruption of a course of good husbandry."

said these changes would tempt the landlords to use ruthlessly the only power left to them by the Bill—that of eviction for non-payment of a rent which, however, they were permitted to raise, till it was impossible for any tenant to pay it. This, indeed, was what happened. At first the Bill, as has been explained, compensated eviction by the offer of a thirty-one years' lease. The moment that clause was withdrawn, and eviction was compensated by damages, it was recognised that occupancy, *per se*, gave the occupier certain rights in the soil; in other words, the dual-ownership of landlord and occupier was then recognised as a principle. A long and weary struggle in Committee, in which the defence of the Bill was brilliantly conducted by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chichester Fortescue, followed, and the Opposition, aided by some crotchety Liberals, attempted to smother its principle by loading it with incompatible details. As Easter drew near, it was despondently whispered that the measure would have to be abandoned. Under unseen pressure from the constituencies, however, the action of the House was quickened after the Easter Recess, and all attempts at re-opening the controversy over the principles of the Bill under the pretext of improving it in detail, were crushed. Considerable concessions were made to the Tories. Mr. Gladstone's original scheme provided that no tenant who paid under £100 a year of rent could contract himself out of the Bill. The Government lowered the limit to £50 of rental. The clause creating the presumption that improvements were made by the tenant, was limited as regards those made before the Act took effect. In Committee nothing was done for tenants who were evicted after it was known the Land Bill would be brought in. Nothing was done for reclaiming occupiers under middlemen, whose own tenancies expired with their leases from superior landlords. But before Parliament adjourned for Whitsuntide the Bill had passed through the House of Commons substantially unchanged. The landlords' friends preferred to accept it as an alternative to further agrarian agitation, though Mr. Hardy threatened that the House of Lords would abrogate the penalty on evictions.

Lord Cairns had by this time been compelled through ill-health to finally resign the leadership of the Tory Party in the Peers, which he had reluctantly resumed, and the Duke of Richmond had been chosen as his successor. The new chief's first speech on the Irish Land Bill was moderate and business-like, and his proposed amendments were to exempt all landlords from the Bill if they offered twenty-one instead of thirty-one years' leases, to fix a date beyond which no tenant's claim for improvements would be considered, to let landlord and tenant settle their disputes privately, without going into court, and to cut out a clause limiting distress for rent to persons who had contracted to submit to it. Though he disapproved of the Bright clauses creating a peasant proprietary, they were defended by Lord Salisbury and Lord Cairns. Lord Athlumney, as an Irish proprietor, said the Bill contained nothing which a humane landlord would object to accept, and the Duke of

Abercorn gave the measure a general support. Lord Derby's criticism was more subtle. The Bill did not apply to large farms. That was offering landlords an inducement to clear out small tenants, for it gave landlords what the custom of the country had denied them—a moral right to evict on paying damages for the privilege. Lord Lurgan on the Second Reading said the Bill no more hurt him than would a Bill legalising his debts of honour, but Lord Leitrim objected to it “from the title downwards,” and thought that disputes between landlords and tenants should be settled by Quarter Sessions—a tribunal composed of landlords alone. In Committee amendments were passed cutting down the scale of compensation, denying compensation to assignees not approved by the landlord (Duke of Richmond), enacting that no tenant paying more than £50 a year was in any circumstances to get compensation for eviction (Lord Salisbury), asserting that the presumption of law was to be that all improvements were made by landlords (Lord Clanricarde), prohibiting tenants from letting gardens to their labourers (Duke of Richmond), in fact, with the exception of the Bright clauses, the Peers mangled the Bill so as to make it utterly useless to the tenants. The excitement usually stirred up by a conflict between the two Houses grew every day, and men began to talk of an autumn session, the rapid passing of the Bill again through the Commons, and a creation of new Peers to force it through the House of Lords. For this dead-lock Lord Salisbury was chiefly responsible, for he practically ousted the Duke of Richmond from the leadership. After a day's reflection, however, the Peers, influenced by Lord Cairns and Mr. Disraeli, retreated from the perilous position they had taken up. They withdrew their amendments on report, accepting instead a few plausible but transparently illusory compromises suggested by Lord Granville by way of saving their dignity. The result was that, for a time, Lord Salisbury was discredited, and the position of the Duke of Richmond, whose hand he had admittedly forced, was strengthened in the leadership. The Commons accepted all the amended amendments of the Peers except three,* and so the Bill passed. It marked an epoch in the political development of England. It was the first great constructive measure which recognised the right of the poorest class as distinguished from the middle class, to participate in beneficial legislation. It recognised the justice of legislating for the interests of the masses on the principle that it was not safe to leave them to the mercy of Supply and Demand, and of the economic Moloch of *laissez-faire*.

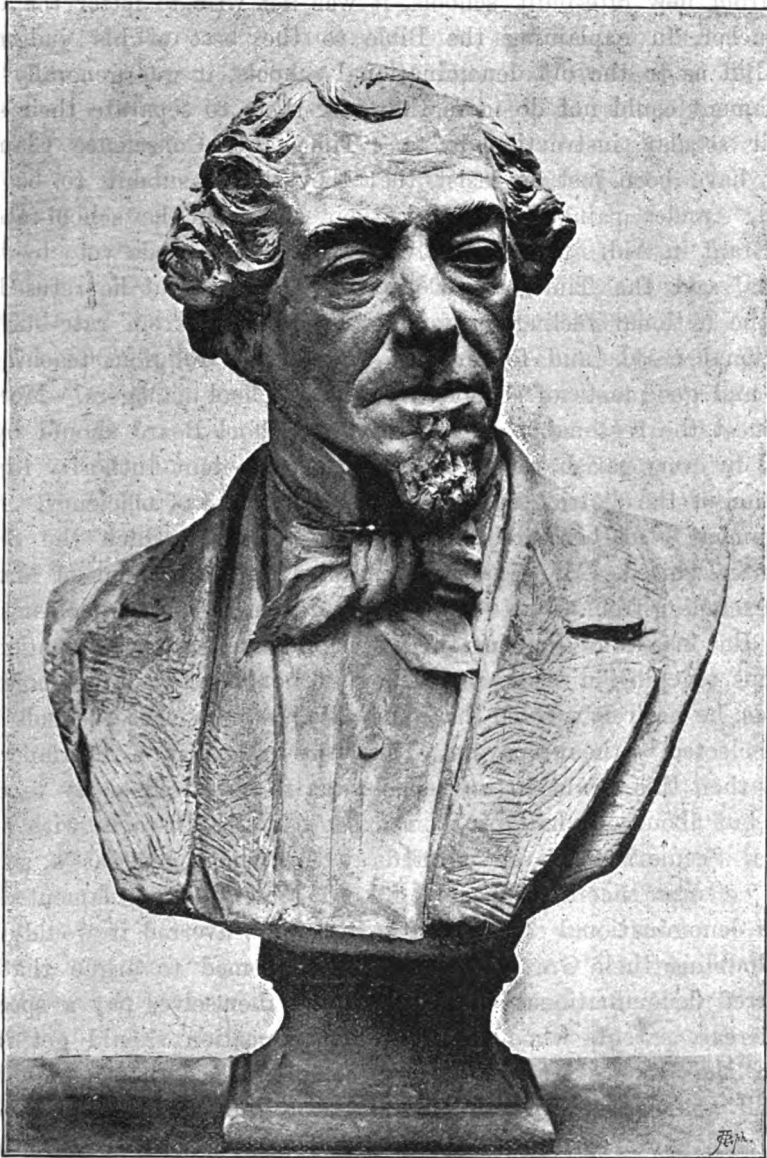
The other great measure of the Session—Mr. Forster's Education Bill—illustrated the change in the drift of English legislation during the Victorian age still more strikingly. On the 17th of February Mr. Forster introduced his

* The Commons restored the original scale of compensation for eviction, the original duration of the lease exempting holdings from the Bill, and they restricted the permission to settle disputes between landlord and tenant to cases where they acted in concert, and not to those in which the offer came from one party alone.

Education Bill. The problem to be solved, as Mr. Forster said, was "how to cover the country with good schools." The conditions under which it must be solved were two: (1), the interests of the parents and children must be harmonised with those of the ratepayers; and (2), the new system must not be so built up as to destroy the old one where it was efficient. England was mapped out by Mr. Forster into school districts.* If in any of these more schools were needed, the people would have a year of grace in which to provide them by voluntary subscription. If not, an elected local School Board would provide them compulsorily, and maintain them out of fees, rates, and the usual Government "Grants in Aid." Religious teaching was not proscribed—the kind and quantity of it to be given, subject to a Conscience Clause, being left to the Boards. The Boards might also assist existing schools, or adopt compulsory education if they chose, and the Bill dealt with children between the ages of five and twelve. Where districts or Boards refused to provide efficient schooling for the people, the Education Department was to have power to force them to do so. The opposition to the Bill centred round the religious question. As Mr. Lowe said in his speech on the Second Reading, the House agreeing on the general principle, fixed their whole attention on one narrow point, like a "fierce herd of cattle in a large meadow deserting the grass which is abundant about them, and delighting themselves by fighting over a bed of nettles in a corner of the field." The opposition of the Anglican clergy was anticipated. They naturally objected to any system that gave the parish schoolmaster something approaching the endowed status of the parish priest, and which released him from abject servitude to the Church. They could not conceal their hostility to a scheme of education which was National without being Anglican, and in which the principle of religious equality, so fatal to the claims of an Established Church, was not only recognised, but endowed by the State. But what had not been foreseen was the opposition of the Dissenting ministers and churches—an opposition that culminated in personal animosity to Mr. Forster. Representative Dissenters, like Mr. Winterbotham, told the House that they would prefer to delay the settlement of the whole question, till the country was prepared to accept secular education pure and simple. Their belief was that the Bill would tempt the different religious bodies to fight for control over the School Boards, so as to influence their decision on the question of religious teaching, and that in this struggle the Established Church, from the *prestige* of its connection with the State, would again assert its ascendancy. The Party of Free Thought, led by Mr. Mill, joined the Dissenters in their attacks on Mr. Forster, Mr. Mill's objection to the Bill being, that under it the whole body of the ratepayers might be taxed to pay for teaching a particular religion to the majority. Lord Russell, who also pleaded for delay, advocated

* These were (1), in towns, the municipal boroughs; (2), in the Metropolis, workhouse school districts, or failing these, vestry areas; and (3), in counties, the civil parishes.

a compromise which would have legalised formal Bible-reading and hymn-singing during school-hours, divorced from any distinctive religious instruction,



MR. DISRAELI (AFTERWARDS LORD BEACONSFIELD).

(From the Bust by J. E. Boehm, R.A., in the Possession of the Queen.)

whereas Mr. Mill and Mr. Fawcett would have preferred compulsory secularism, to permissive sectarianism. Bible-reading, without note or comment, it was felt, might be unobjectionable in the case of children reared in religious families. But it was obviously useless to the "wastrels" of the gutter

whom it was the primary object of the Bill to instruct. The great majority of Englishmen believed that moral teaching was a powerful agent for civilising this class of children, and that though catechisms and formularies should be excluded from new rate-built schools, it was not wise to fetter the discretion of the teacher, in explaining the Bible to the best of his judgment and ability. But as to the old denominational schools, it was generally admitted that Parliament could not do more than ask them to separate their sectarian, from their secular instruction by a "Time-table Conscience Clause." It would not have been just to insist that they should submit to be virtually secularised,* under pain of forfeiting their share in the school-rate or the Imperial Grant in Aid. Mr. Forster was willing to concede vote by ballot for the Boards, and the Time-table Conscience Clause. But he refused to give effect to the national feeling in favour of excluding from rate-built schools denominational creeds and formularies, and leaving religious teaching to the discretion and good taste of schoolmasters and school managers. Moreover, he failed to meet the reasonable demand that a School Board should by law be established in every parish, so as to provide a competent authority for keeping the education of the district up to the proper standard of efficiency. At length the Government bent before the tempest of agitation which the Secularists and Dissenters raised. Mr. Gladstone accepted an amendment of Mr. Cowper Temple's, excluding from all rate-built schools denominational catechisms and formularies. But instead of limiting the power of denominational managers to control religious teaching in cases where they did not supply a large moiety of the school funds, he entirely severed the connection between these schools and local authorities elected by the ratepayers. They were to depend on the Imperial Grant alone, but then this Grant to *all* schools was to be raised so as to cover not one third, but about one half of their expenses. Mr. Disraeli, with an eye to the Radical Secularist "Cave," scoffed at the compromise as a scheme for endowing "a new sacerdotal caste." Lord John Manners lamented that it would ruin denominational schools. The Dissenters averred it would encourage them by doubling their Grants in Aid. They seemed to argue that parents who preferred denominational education should themselves pay a special price for it, whereas, parents who desired secular education should get it at the expense of the State. Mr. Gladstone's compromise, however, was accepted, and the Bill was passed by both Houses. But it created a feud between the Dissenters and the Liberal Party, which irretrievably weakened the Government.

With the exception of a Bill to enable persons in Holy Orders to get rid of Clerical Disabilities when they desired to quit the ministry of the

* Mr. Winterbotham said that the Dissenters must insist on every rate-aided school giving no religious instruction except Bible-reading without note or comment, and that, too, only in terms of "The Time-table Conscience Clause," *i.e.*, at specified hours before or after those for secular instruction, so that parents might use the Conscience Clause without sacrificing the educational interests of their children.

Church, and a Coercion Bill for Ireland, the legislative results of the Session were not of much importance. Mr. Lowe's second Budget, introduced on the 11th of April, showed the amazing surplus of £7,870,000 on the accounts for 1869-70. He had spent out of this sum £4,300,000 for the Abyssinian War,* £1,000,000 in retiring Exchequer bills, and the remainder in swelling the Exchequer balances in hand at the Bank, which stood at £8,606,000—a sum which, he admitted, was excessive. He had sold £3,000,000 of new Consols privately to the public, and £4,000,000 of them to the National Debt Commissioners, which enabled him to pay the cost of buying up the telegraphs. To wipe out this fresh debt of £7,000,000, he had created terminable annuities which would cease in 1885. For the coming year he estimated a revenue of £71,450,000 and an expenditure of £67,113,000, so that, if taxes were not altered, he would have a surplus of £4,337,000. Of this he disposed by reducing the Income Tax to fourpence in the £, halving the sugar duties, and altering the tax of 5 per cent. on the passenger receipts of railway companies to 1 per cent. on their gross receipts. After these remissions, Mr. Lowe still kept in reserve a probable surplus of £311,000. He proposed, however, with the consent of the Committee, to increase the rigour of tax-collection, to substitute for game licences, licences to carry guns, and to abolish hawkers' licences and several other trade licences. The Budget was well received, but it was not one that strengthened the Government politically. With such a large surplus, Mr. Lowe might have conciliated the farmers by dealing with the Malt Tax, more especially as he admitted he owed much of his surplus to the fall in wheat. In three years it had dropped from 72s. to 42s. a quarter, and cheap food had produced an increased consumption of dutiable articles, *i.e.*, an "elastic revenue." Still he was credited with having influenced one decision of the Ministry which was extremely popular in the country—their decision to throw the whole Civil Service, with the exception of the Foreign Office, open to competition, like the Civil Service of India. This heavy blow at privilege was struck on the 4th of June, when the Queen signed the Order in Council which gave rich and poor alike the same passport to the service of the State, and relieved members of Parliament from the annoyance of being pestered for "nominations" by aggressive constituents.

The management of the defensive services of the country in 1870 further illustrated the susceptibility of the Ministry to democratic pressure. Mr. Cardwell, however, failed to get credit for that portion of his work which was good, mainly because he gave the House of Commons the impression that he strove to evade inconvenient questions by cloudy verbosity, that he was too much at the mercy of his official subordinates, and had not the knowledge or the vigour to check the accuracy of the soothing and roseate

* This left £500,000 still to pay.

statements which they poured through his facile lips into the House of Commons. His estimates (£13,000,000) showed a reduction of £2,000,000. and, with Reserves and Auxiliaries, he asserted that he had a force of 322,000 men in the nine military districts of the United Kingdom. He proposed that recruits should serve for six years in the Line, and six in the Reserve, and he reduced the number of subaltern officers. These estimates



COWES, ISLE OF WIGHT.

and figures were, however, vitiated by the suspicion that the strength of the Army was mainly on paper, that it lacked efficient transport and artillery, and that even when Mr. Cardwell said, as he did towards the end of the Session, when the Franco-Prussian War created a panic as to national defences, that he could detach for active service a perfectly-equipped force of 30,000 men, he had an inadequate conception of national wants. The Ministerial policy raised up two different classes of opponents. To conciliate the Radicals, the Government cut down the Estimates by reducing the fighting power of the Army. The militant Radicals, however, declared that they desired to increase, rather than reduce the strength of the Army, and complained that the money for this purpose was not obtained by checking waste at the War Office and Horse Guards. The Party of "the Colonels" in the House of Commons

were incensed against the Government for making reductions, that interfered with their professional interests. In midsummer, however, Mr. Cardwell effected one reform, by sanctioning which the Queen won great popularity at the time. Her Majesty, by signing an Order which made the Duke of Cambridge, Commanding-in-Chief, subordinate to the Secretary of State for War, ended a conflict which had been waged for years between the War Office and the Horse Guards. Every Sovereign of the House of Hanover had fought with stubbornness for the direct control of the Army, and Parliamentary influence over it was still indirect. To make it absolute, it would have been necessary to refuse supplies, and the Secretary of State, as the agent of Parliament, could only address requests, and not orders, to the Commander-in-Chief. Mr. Gladstone's ears were quick to hear the first murmurings of the democracy against exempting this Department of the State, from Parliamentary control and supervision. There was also a suspicion abroad that no reform could be forced on the Army, whilst the Queen's cousin held absolute power over it as the Queen's agent. Rather than give enemies of the Monarchy a pretext for a Republican agitation based on a popular cry, Mr. Gladstone advised the Queen to surrender to the Secretary of State that part of the Royal prerogative by which the internal discipline of the Army was entirely regulated by her direct action.

Mr. Childers, not being hampered by a rival authority like that which the Duke of Cambridge wielded over the army, was able to adopt a vigorous policy of Reform at the Admiralty. His estimates amounted to £9,000,000, and for that sum he promised to strengthen the fleet by fifty of the most powerful iron-clads in the world, and to build at the rate of 13,000 tons a year till twenty more first-class iron-clads were afloat. He reduced the clerical staff of his office, effected sweeping reductions in the dockyards, and instead of keeping vessels in dock, sent as many to sea as were fit for service. Mr. Baxter, the Secretary to the Admiralty, abolished the old system of making purchases by contract, and instead, bought stores in the open market after the manner of private firms. The outcry raised against both Ministers from the vested interests which they assailed was loud and deep. Their policy was unscrupulously misrepresented, and it created for the Government a host of active and irrepressible enemies. The fatigues of office and the harassments of the attacks which were made upon him in the House of Commons for saving the taxpayers' money, undermined Mr. Childers' health in June, and for a month he had to abandon all work. The loss of the turret-ship *Captain*, one of the most powerful iron-clads in the Navy, which was capsized off Cape Finisterre in a gale in September, with all her crew—including her designer, Captain Coles, and Mr. Childers' son, who was serving on board as a midshipman—clouded the naval administration of the Government. The ship went down because she was overmasted and overweighted, and had not enough freeboard. It was, moreover, unfortunate that naval experts who had in vain pointed out

these defects to the Admiralty had warned them that she was unsafe before she was sent to sea.

Lord Granville's Colonial policy, it has been stated, was directed to further the severance of the Colonies from the Mother Country. The controversy was chiefly fought out over New Zealand, which had been seriously grieved by the withdrawal of Imperial troops when she was engaged in Maori warfare. After much irritating discussion, Lord Granville attempted to conciliate the colonists by a niggardly offer of a guarantee for a loan of £500,000, which was rejected by the Colonial Commissioners. But in May he became alarmed when he found out that his policy was forcing separation on the colony, and that the idea of separation was hateful to the English people. He then offered to guarantee a loan of £1,200,000, and this was accepted as a token that the scheme he was supposed to favour—that of cutting the Colonies adrift—was, for a time, abandoned.* But the death of Lord Clarendon on the 27th of June enabled Mr. Gladstone to transfer Lord Granville to the Foreign Office, and Lord Kimberley reigned in his stead over the discontented Colonies.

Lord Clarendon's death happened at an evil time, for Europe was distracted by the war between France and Prussia which had at last broken out. It is a curious fact that at the beginning of the year none of the diplomatists—not even Von Bismarck himself—had the faintest suspicion that ere six months had passed, this war would be declared. The Emperor of the French was watching in July, 1869, with straining eyes the election of a new Legislature. This election, as we have seen, ended in the return of a strong Opposition, headed by M. Thiers, M. Jules Favre, and M. Emile Ollivier, whose criticism of personal Government drove Napoleon to make popular concessions. A Parliamentary Constitution was granted, and at the end of the year the Emperor had induced M. Ollivier and a few moderate Liberals to form a Cabinet charged with the mission of reconciling Parliamentary Government with Universal Suffrage and the claims of the Imperial dynasty. The Emperor discarded the old friends who had been the servile instruments of his will, but shrewd Liberals still held aloof from the Imperial Court and Government, apparently distrusting his sincerity. And they were right. The Emperor considered that his new Liberal Constitution should be revised by the Senate, and the ever-subservient Senate accordingly inserted in it a provision authorising the Emperor to "go behind" his Parliamentary Ministry, and submit any question to a *plébiscite*. This of course meant that whenever Parliament thwarted the Emperor, he could set aside its decision and appeal

* Lord Granville had refused New Zealand military aid on the general principle that the sooner colonies took care of themselves and became independent the better. To save his dignity, he now said that the loan was to be advanced for public works, &c. But no device could conceal his change of front, for obviously advances to help a colony to build public works, set free its local resources to meet its military expenditure.

on a confused issue to a hasty vote of an ignorant democracy, whose verdict was pre-arranged by subservient Prefects. The new Constitution itself was submitted to such a vote, and though M. Ollivier remained in office, most of his abler colleagues resigned. By a majority of five and a quarter millions against a million and a half, the people cast their suffrages for the Emperor. The issue on which they voted was nominally whether they approved of the Constitution reforms which he and the Senate had effected. In reality, it was whether Napoleon III. should, in spite of Parliament, be allowed still to rule France from above. The first result of the vote was the appointment of a Ministry in which M. Ollivier was the sole representative of Liberal feeling, or Constitutional instincts. The Duc de Gramont became Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Marshal Leboeuf, the Minister of War. But fifty thousand soldiers had voted against the Emperor in the *plébiscite*, and Napoleon III. was accordingly warned that to conciliate the army something must be done by France to eclipse the fame which Prussia had won at Sadowa. His envoys and agents in Germany assured him that the German States hated Prussia, and in their hearts looked to France for deliverance. As a matter of fact, it was German hatred of France and the German terror of a French occupation, that was binding them closer to Prussia. French intrigues might have delayed the union of Germany, but French aggression was certain to precipitate it, and yet Napoleon resolved to adopt an aggressive policy. As for the means, they were ready to his hand. Did not Marshal Leboeuf report that the re-organised army of France could go anywhere and do anything? There was not even a button wanting, and the new *chassepot* and *mitrailleuse* must annihilate any troops that faced their fire. The pretext for the quarrel was soon found. Spain had long been looking for a King. She offered her crown to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern. On the 6th of July the Duc de Gramont angrily declared in the Legislature that if Prussia permitted a Prussian Prince to accept the Crown of Spain, France would consider his acceptance as a cause of war. In vain did the Opposition warn the Emperor and his Ministers that such a war would be unjustifiable and disastrous. Paris went into a frenzy of delight at the prospect of a march to Berlin. Ever anxious to promote the cause of peace, the Queen personally strove to avert hostilities, and so far as Prussia was concerned with some success. The English Court and the English Cabinet induced King William to advise Prince Leopold to refuse the Spanish Crown. King William's magnanimity and moderation in making this concession to the arrogant demands of France were ill-requited. M. Ollivier, it is true, announced to the Legislature that the dispute was at an end, and Europe breathed freely. But to the amazement of everybody it soon appeared that M. Ollivier had been duped, for instead of crossing the golden bridge of retreat which the King of Prussia generously built for him, Napoleon put forward a fresh demand. It was not enough, said he, that Prince Leopold's candidature should be withdrawn. King William,

as head of the Hohenzollerns, must give a pledge that he would never in all time coming permit a Hohenzollern to aspire to the Crown of Spain. The insolent claim was rejected. A sensational and mendacious statement in the French Ministerial Press, to the effect that King William had rudely refused even to grant an audience to the French Ambassador, lashed the Parisians into a warlike mood. This insult, the Duc de Gramont, amid a tempest of



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cheering, told the French Chamber could only be avenged by a war—a war into which M. Ollivier airily observed he went “with a light heart.” On the 16th of July the French Declaration of War was delivered at Berlin, and French armies were moving towards the Rhine, with Parisian screams of “*À Berlin!*” ringing in their ears.

Napoleon commanded in person, with Lebœuf as his lieutenant; Marshal Macmahon led the right wing, or Army of Strasbourg; Bazaine, with Frossard, Douay, and De Failly, commanded the corps that held the line northward as far as Metz and Thionville. The aggressiveness of France had flung the German States into the arms of Prussia, and Napoleon delayed his march so long, that he lost his only chance of thrusting himself between the

hosts of Prussia and her South German allies. The administration of the French army was soon seen to be in confusion, and its strength only on paper. Its transport and commissariat broke down, and almost from the outset it acted on the defensive, while the Imperial Staff seemed ignorant of the geography of their own country. In the meanwhile Von Bismarck biassed the opinion of England against France by publishing, on the 25th of July, the



FRENCH TROOPS LEAVING METZ. (See p. 371.)

draft of a secret Treaty which our ally Napoleon III. had proposed to the King of Prussia, by which France was to consent to the union of Prussia, or North Germany, with the States of South Germany, in consideration of Germany helping France to seize Belgium. As England stood pledged to defend Belgium, such a proposal revealed a depth of perfidy which disgusted Europe with Bonapartism.* It was a plot to make war on England, concocted by Napoleon at the very time (August or September, 1866) when he was

* The publication of the Treaty might have damped German enthusiasm had Germany suspected she was asked to fight France in order to save Belgium. But Napoleon dissipated that suspicion by proclaiming that the object of the war was to "maintain Austria in her elevated position" in Germany, and make the South German States independent.

pretending to be her ally.* North and South Germany swiftly mobilised their armies under the supreme command of the King of Prussia, with Von Moltke as Chief of the Staff. The Crown Prince of Prussia, with Blumenthal as his Chief of Staff, led the South German troops. His cousin, Prince Frederick Charles, and General Steinmetz, commanded the corps that marched on the valley of the Moselle. When the Parisians were vaunting the success of the French troops in a slight skirmish at Saarbrück, the Crown Prince defeated the French at Weissenburg on the 4th of August, and on the 6th shattered Macmahon's army at Wörth, while Steinmetz—the "blood spendthrift," as Bismarck called him—crushed Frossard on Spicheren heights. A German corps was sent to invest Strasbourg, whither part of Macmahon's army had fled. The Crown Prince started after the rest of that ill-fated force, then retreating on Châlons. The relics of Frossard's army had fled to join Bazaine near Metz, whose design was to unite with Macmahon at Châlons. The Emperor of the French had appointed the Empress as Regent when he took command in person of the army near Metz. This command he now resigned to Bazaine. The Legislative Body, infuriated by the defeats on the frontier, turned the Ministry of Ollivier out of office, and General Montauban, Duke of Palikao,† was called to power. To secure the Emperor from the political consequences of retreat, Bazaine had delayed his departure from Metz to Châlons for a fortnight after the rout at Wörth. This obviously enabled the Germans to come up in time to prevent him from joining hands with Macmahon. On the 14th Steinmetz held him for a day at Courcelles. Then Prince Frederick Charles advanced and harassed Bazaine with impetuous cavalry charges till reinforcements arrived, which drove the French back on Gravelotte St. Privat. On the 18th the Germans fought and won the battle of Gravelotte, but at the cost of one-seventh of their effective strength,‡ and finally shut Bazaine up in Metz. Von Moltke immediately made arrangements to crush Macmahon's reorganised army at Châlons. It is due to Macmahon to say that he himself and the Emperor desired to fall back on Paris, but the Empress-Regent, fearing that the Emperor's appearance in Paris, with an army in retreat, might have had political results, foolishly insisted on Macmahon hastening eastwards to Metz to relieve Bazaine. Macmahon obeyed these orders, and, as might have been expected, was intercepted and surrounded by the Germans at Sedan, where the Emperor and his army, after a disastrous fight, surrendered to the King of Prussia as prisoners of war on the 1st of September. The Second Empire was consumed in the circle of fire at Sedan.

* Von Bismarck, in his despatch of the 28th July, 1870, to Count Bernstorff, said the Draft Treaty (which also stipulated for the sale of Luxembourg to France) was communicated to him after the Luxembourg Question was settled in 1867. But M. Benedetti, in whose handwriting it was, said it was discussed by Bismarck in 1866, just after Sadowa. The facts favour Benedetti's statement of the date. See Lowe's *Life of Bismarck*, Vol. I., p. 423 *et seq.*

† He was called "Duke of Pillage" after he looted the Summer Palace of the Chinese Emperor.

‡ The French lost one-eighth.

On the 4th of September the Imperial dynasty was deposed, and a Republic proclaimed. The Empress and the Ministry fled for their lives, the Empress making good her retreat to England. A Provisional Government was formed under General Trochu, Commander of the garrison of Paris, M. Jules Favre, M. Gambetta, and M. de Rochefort, and M. Thiers undertook to roam over Europe in the futile attempt to get some of the European Powers to mediate between France and Prussia.* Germany now demanded the cession of Alsace and Lorraine, and on the 19th of September Paris was invested and practically cut off from all communication with the rest of France. M. Jules Favre opened up pacific negotiations with Von Bismarck, but, as he refused to admit that some transfer of strongholds and territory to Germany was necessary, they were broken off. "Not an inch of our territory nor a stone of our fortresses," was the reply of M. Favre to the Prussian Minister's proposals. Bazaine might have escaped from Metz and relieved Paris, but then the result of his skill and the valour of his army would have been to strengthen the new-born Republic. He delayed too long, and he also opened up negotiations with Von Bismarck through a secret envoy, General Boyer. Bismarck had only one object—to conclude peace with some kind of French Government which would be strong enough to keep its pledges. Hence he had been willing to consent to an armistice, so that the Government of the Republic might, by means of a General Election, obtain an authoritative mandate from the people. This project having failed, he was quite willing to conclude a peace with the Imperial Government covered by Bazaine's bayonets. He was willing to let Bazaine leave Metz and proceed with his troops to some place where they might form a rallying-point for the defeated dynasty.† The Empress-Regent in England was consulted, but she declined to consent to any proposals which made cession of territory a basis of peace. On the 25th of October the King of Prussia wrote to the Empress that negotiations were at an end, and on the 28th the great army of Metz—the last hope of the Bonapartes—surrendered unconditionally. Bismarck's policy was now to foster the Third Republic till it became authoritative enough to undertake and uphold Treaty obligations.

* According to Mr. T. H. S. Escott's brilliant sketch of the late Mr. Hayward in the *Fortnightly Review* for March, 1884, the first person M. Thiers sounded in England on the subject was Mr. Hayward. "My friend," said Hayward, when M. Thiers began to argue about the balance of power, "put all that stuff out of your head. We care for none of these things." Writing to his sister on the 17th of September, 1870, Mr. Hayward says:—"I passed yesterday evening with the Thiers party, and breakfasted with them this morning. They are himself, his wife, sister-in-law, and secretary. His mission seems to be to persuade England to interfere on behalf of France, which England won't do. I saw Gladstone yesterday, who told me he *could* not mediate, as he knew neither what Prussia meant to demand nor France to concede."—Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., Vol. II., p. 217.

† This proposal he carried against Von Moltke, who sternly demanded the complete and unconditional surrender of the army of Metz.

Though Paris was invested, a delegation of the Government of National Defence, headed by M. Gambetta, a brilliant and eloquent young advocate, who leapt into popularity by his attacks on the Emperor during a political trial, escaped to Tours in a balloon, and on the 9th of October he set up a civil and military administration for provincial France. M. Gambetta displayed astounding courage, irrepressible energy, and the highest practical administrative ability. Armies rose at his word as if by magic, and a force of from 150,000 to 200,000 men, with 506 guns, under D'Aurelle de Paladines, was concentrated on the Loire. Had Bazaine only held Metz for another month the siege of Paris must have been raised. But the fall of Metz liberated the investing army of Prince Frederick Charles, and Gambetta's legions were for the most part raw militiamen. Hence, when D'Aurelle de Paladines drove Von der Tann out of Orleans he could not follow up his victory. Prince Frederick Charles came up with the army of Metz, and Manteuffel stood between the besiegers of Paris and any relief from the south-west. In vain did D'Aurelle de Paladines and Trochu by concerted movements endeavour to break the ring of steel which encircled Paris. Their rough, raw peasants and improvised officers fought with the utmost gallantry, as if in contrast to the Imperial troops at Sedan and in the battles before Metz, where the rank and file in too many cases shrank from closing with the enemy. But they could not stand against the superb troops of the German States led by the ablest generals in Europe. After the recapture of Orleans by the Germans on the 4th of December, D'Aurelle de Paladines was superseded. His army was broken up into two corps, and under Bourbaki and Chanzy retreated to the south-east and south-west of the right bank of the Loire. The "Red Prince" (Frederick Charles) pursued Bourbaki, and the Duke of Mecklenburg, after a series of obstinate conflicts, pushed Chanzy slowly but surely from his positions near Marchenoir. The French Government had now to quit Tours and remove to Bordeaux, whereupon Chanzy retreated westwards. In the north-west, Faidherbe, the only strategist of signal ability whom the war brought to the front on the French side, had many toughly contested engagements with Von Goeben and Manteuffel, in which the Germans usually had the advantage. But after Christmas the French leader fairly claimed to have beaten his German antagonists at Noyelles, where he held his main position in spite of the attacks of the enemy, though he voluntarily evacuated it next day, and fell back on his old line at Lille.* Werder was not fortunate in the east. He could not hold Nuits, and he had to let Dijon fall into the hands of Garibaldi, who, in a fit of Republican enthusiasm, had given his sword to France after the Empire fell. The net result of the war at the end of the year was this: Paris was

* It was difficult to say which side won this battle, but on the whole the balance of advantage rested with Faidherbe. The Germans appreciated his ability very highly, and their two best generals next to Von Moltke, were detached to crush him.



VERSAILLES, 1871: PROCLAIMING KING WILLIAM GERMAN EMPEROR. (See p. 377.)

completely invested. But, thanks to M. Gambetta's fiery genius and practical organising power, France, after the surrender of the regular troops of the Third Empire, with their trained officers at their head, had actually more troops in the field than she possessed when Napoleon III. advanced to Saarbrück. These improvised armies of the infant Republic consisted of the rawest recruits. But they freed Normandy and Picardy, and all accounts showed that on the whole they fought with more pluck than the Imperial legions who surrendered at Metz and Sedan.

The effect of the war on English public opinion was curious. At the outset Englishmen of the better sort without distinction of class seemed to sympathise with Prussia. But the Roman Catholics both in Ireland and England became partisans of France. After Sedan a change took place. The enthusiasm of the Roman Catholic party rather cooled, whereas the working-classes and the advanced democrats in England transferred their moral support from Prussia to France. The Queen, though she felt the deepest personal sympathy for the fallen Emperor and his consort, was naturally drawn to the German cause. It was freighted with those high aspirations after German unity, which had been the central idea of her husband's foreign policy. The brilliant victories of the South German armies had been won under the leadership of her favourite son-in-law, in whom the romance and chivalry of mediæval Teutonic Knighthood seemed to live again. The husband of her favourite daughter and constant correspondent (the Princess Louis) was a Divisional commander in the great host, whose iron grasp held Bazaine in Metz. Writing in July to the Queen, the Princess says, "How much I feel for you now, for I know how truly you must feel for Germany; and *all* know that every good thing England does for Germany, and every evil she wards off her, is owing to your wisdom and experience, and to your true and just feelings. You would, I am sure, be pleased to hear how universally this is recognised and appreciated. What would beloved papa have thought of this war? The unity of Germany, which it has brought about, would please him, but not the shocking means."* Unfortunately the personal relations of friendliness which often bind Courts have in these days but slight influence on the relations that subsist between Governments. The Prussian Government was not contented with English sympathy. England, said the Prussians, might by timely diplomatic action have prevented the outbreak of the war.† But she

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. *Biographical Sketch and Letters*, p. 243.

† Lord Granville himself admitted that the weak point in the policy of neutrality adopted by the Government was its starting-point. The war was plainly and deliberately aggressive on the part of France. If England had offered to head a league of neutral Powers in joining Prussia to repel unprovoked French aggression, France would not have drawn her sword. A great precedent would have been created for the establishment of an international police of neutrals for keeping the peace of Europe. At the Lord Mayor's Banquet on the 9th of November, Lord Granville discussed this view very honestly and very candidly. His reply was that the peevish jealousy with which France

had a selfish motive in eliminating Imperial France from Europe as a dominating force. Prussia, in crushing France, was incidentally doing the work of England in defending Belgium, and hence England made no effort to keep the peace. Then there had been some trivial exports of arms from England to France, and the Prussian Minister—forgetting how Prussia had supplied Russia during the Crimean War—pretended to consider these exports a breach of neutrality. Oddly enough, though the Americans had engaged much more extensively in this traffic, Prussia made no complaint against them. The German case, as argued by Count Bernstorff, was obviously weak. So long as a country carries on its trade with belligerents, not as a partisan but as a neutral, it is impossible for diplomacy to stop that trade. Count Bernstorff, however, argued that as Prussia did not need to buy arms from England, whereas France did, the English trade in arms with France must be necessarily one-sided or partisan. His despatches laying down his eccentric doctrine of “benevolent neutrality” simply amounted to the assertion of a new principle. The usage had been that the neutral was free, subject to the usual risks, to trade with either of two belligerents just as if there were no war at all. The new principle asserted by Count Bernstorff was that the neutral, before selling a belligerent anything, must consider carefully whether the transaction will confer a benefit on him which it is beyond anybody’s power to confer on the other belligerent on the same terms. Neutral traffic must, according to the Prussian Foreign Office, cease whenever its results give one belligerent certain advantages direct and indirect over the other. Lord Granville had little difficulty in disposing of a chimerical doctrine which would have cast on a neutral the burden of weighing his lawful trade with belligerents to see that each got exactly the same fair share of it. But the absurd paradox was advanced merely to give Von Bismarck an excuse for conniving at an act of diplomatic hostility to England, on the part of Russia, his connivance being the price he had to pay the Czar, who held back Austria, for “benevolent neutrality” in 1870–71.

In the middle of November the Russian Government suddenly issued a Circular repudiating the clause in the Treaty of Paris which prevented Russia from keeping a fleet in the Black Sea. Lord Granville protested with high spirit against the claim of Russia to repudiate any clause in a Treaty she

regarded the growing power of Germany rendered the outbreak of war inevitable, and that the menace of the neutral Powers would at best have postponed the fray for a brief period. But these menaces might have failed, and then the area of war would have been widened, the combatants multiplied, and the struggle could not have been conducted, as it was, under the restraining neutral criticism which did much to temper the passions and mitigate the horrors of the strife. No doubt this was the national conviction, and after it had been decided not to join Germany in preventing France from perpetrating a crime, it was absurd to depart from neutrality, in order to help France to escape the logical and just punishment of her own turpitude. The organs of the Tory Opposition, however, rather unpatriotically tried to make political capital out of the policy of the Government by teaching the people that the neutrality of the Cabinet was due to Ministerial cowardice and incapacity.

had signed, save with the consent of the cosignatories. Austria, Turkey, and Italy supported England, but Bismarck told Lord Odo Russell, who was sent on a diplomatic mission to the King of Prussia at Versailles, that Prussia had always thought the Treaty needlessly harsh to Russia, and that, as German interests were not involved, he had no intention of taking any notice of the Russian Circular. "Resolved, as Bismarck therefore was," says Mr. Lowe, "to let the Russians have their own way, and even help them to attain it, his only care was how to do this in the manner least objectionable to England. The Black Sea Clause had been knocked on the head, and was already as dead as a door-nail; but there was no reason why it should be flung into a ditch like a dog, and not interred with the decent ceremony of undertakers' woe. . . . Thus too, doubtless, thought Bismarck when he proposed that the Powers should meet and wail a doleful dirge over the lamented body of their lifeless offspring. Ingenious idea! A coroner's inquest in the shape of a diplomatic Conference to sit on the murdered body of the Black Sea Clause!"* Lord Granville's position was an embarrassing one. It has already been pointed out that the Black Sea Clause was in many respects indefensible, and it was not possible to offer the English people any adequate return for the money and blood that must be spent in waging a futile war with Russia to maintain the Treaty. Yet the manner in which Russia had "denounced" it was meant to be humiliating to England, and it needed some adroit manœuvring to extricate the country from the situation which had been created for it by the foolish diplomacy of 1856. When the Conference met on the 17th of January, 1871, the representatives of the Powers kept their gravity when the President (Lord Granville) said that it met without any foregone conclusions. To save the honour of England and put on record a formal avowal of theoretical belief in the sanctity of Treaties, the Conference unanimously agreed to declare that no State could recede from its engagements with other States, save with the consent of these States. Then Russia was released from the obligations of the Black Sea Clause, which she had already declared she had no intention of respecting.

For a time the revolutionary forces in Spain were stilled by the election of the Prince Amadeus of Italy (the Duke of Aosta), second son of Victor Emmanuel, to the throne of the Cortes. The collapse of the French Empire naturally led to the annexation of Rome by Italy, and it was a strange coincidence that the year which saw the extinction of the temporal power of the Pope, saw his spiritual power asserted more firmly and extensively than ever. The Assembly of Roman Catholic prelates at Rome, known as the Œcumenical Council, met at the beginning of the year to proclaim the dogma of Papal Infallibility. The opposition to this proclamation was organised by

* Lowe's *Life of Bismarck*, Vol. I., p. 606.

the most eminent of the English, American, German, and Hungarian bishops, and at one time it was feared they would triumph. The Pope had, however, secured a majority of votes by the somewhat sublunary method of creating new bishops governing mythical sees. The doctrine of Infallibility was accordingly proclaimed a few days after the declaration of war by France against Germany, a war which had been vigorously promoted by the secret agents of the Vatican, who had acquired a controlling spiritual influence over the French Empress. After the annexation of Rome by Victor Emmanuel on the 20th of September, the Pope refused to hold any intercourse with the Italian Government. Immuring himself in the Leonine City as a voluntary prisoner, he pathetically appealed for sympathy to the blunted sensibilities of a wicked world.

As the year wore on, and the German armies strengthened their hold on France, it became clear that German unity under Prussian leadership was an accomplished fact. The autumnal negotiations for the absorption of the South German States in the North German Confederation ended well, mainly because Bismarck made generous concessions, reserving the sovereign rights of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and abandoning on the part of Prussia an exclusive right to declare war. The King of Bavaria, the Grand Duke of Baden, and the other Sovereign Princes, then invited King William of Prussia to assume the Imperial Crown, and on the 18th of January, 1871, he was proclaimed German Emperor in the Hall of Kings at Versailles.*

During 1870 the Queen emerged from her seclusion on the 11th of May to open the splendid hall and offices of the University of London in Burlington Gardens. The ceremonial was conducted with a pomp and dignity worthy of the occasion. The senate and graduates wore their academic costume, Mr. Lowe being the only dignitary who appeared in any other garb. He, however, had donned for the occasion the official robes of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a sumptuous garment for which it was whispered he had been so extravagant as to pay £130. The Queen was accompanied by the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Princess Louise, and a brilliant train of distinguished persons. The Chancellor (Lord Granville) read an address to the Queen. Her Majesty handed him a reply, and having declared the building open the

* King William had doubts as to whether he should be called Emperor of Germany or German Emperor. At last he decided in favour of the latter, which is his legal and correct title, though the wrong one—"Emperor of Germany"—was actually used on passports issued through the British Embassy at Berlin. To have called him "Emperor of Germany" would have meant that the territories of the German Sovereign Princes were in a country which belonged to him, whereas no part of Germany belonged to him save Prussia. The title "German Emperor" was a concession to the sentiments of autonomy and independence cherished by the small States. Indeed, the Hohenzollerns, when they became kings, were in a somewhat similar difficulty. They ought to have been Kings of Brandenburg. But Brandenburg was part of the old Empire, in which there could be only one King of the Germans and Holy Roman Emperor. Hence they took their title from Prussia, a new German colony, but not an integral part of the German Empire.—For a careful discussion of this quaint point of punctilio, see Lowe's *Life of Bismarck*, Vol. I., pp. 613—618.

silver bugles blew a blast of joy. When the Queen retired, Lord Granville, in distributing the prizes, referred felicitously to Queen Elizabeth's visits to Oxford and Cambridge — those visits during which she is described as "questioning and answering and scolding not only in Latin but also in Greek."

In the autumn of the year the Queen in Council gave her consent to the marriage of the Princess Louise and the Marquess of Lorne, the eldest son of the Duke of Argyll. When it became known that the Queen had violated the exclusive traditions of the House of Brunswick, and reverted to old precedents set by the Plantagenets, the Tudors, and the Stuarts, who all contracted marriages with subjects, society was greatly excited. The marriage was regarded as a triumph of aristocratic and democratic ideas over the monarchical principle—that is to say, of the triumph of the two ideas that have ever been most popular in England. The Queen with great tact had consciously or unconsciously responded to the instinctive feeling that had silently grown among her people. They had always disliked, though they had never dared to repeal, the Royal Marriage Act. It was felt to be a sacrifice to expediency—and it was passed mainly because Englishmen did not desire to see Mrs. FitzHerbert crowned as Queen of England. The Act bound all the descendants of George III. who wished to marry to obtain the written consent of the Sovereign,* and it was felt that as Princes and Princesses were very apt to form *mésalliances*, it would be difficult to maintain the *prestige* of the monarchy, save under some such restrictions as the Act imposed.† But when the Royal Family increased and multiplied, so that the Princess Louise only stood twentieth in the line of succession to the Queen, it was time to relax the usage. No State interest could, in such a case, be practically endangered, by permitting a daughter of England to indulge her personal preferences in the selection of a husband.

The death of General Grey in the spring of the year was deeply felt by the Queen. The Princess Louis in one of her letters to her mother says, "Lady Car (Barrington) wrote to me how very grateful Mrs. Grey was to you

* But it was so clumsy in wording that it did not bind the Sovereign. This fact explains the anxiety of Melbourne to see the young Queen Victoria well married. So far as the law went, after her accession she might, if she had chosen, have married a laquey. William IV., for example, could not have married Mrs. Jordan, who bore a large family to him, when he was Duke of Clarence. But he could have done so when he became King.

† The restrictions are not of course absolute, for a Prince may refuse to be bound by them. He may defy the Act and marry a subject without the consent of the Sovereign. The marriage is then quite valid for him as a private individual. He could not after it marry anybody else whilst his wife lived, save at the risk of a prosecution for bigamy. But the marriage confers no Royal *status* on his wife, and no Royal rights of inheritance on his children. The wife of the Duke of Sussex was simply Lady Augusta Murray, and took merely her own rank as an earl's daughter. The wife of the Duke of Cambridge was not Duchess of Cambridge, but merely Mrs. FitzGeorge, and the Duke's family take the name of FitzGeorge, and the rank of Commoners. Yet it would have been impossible for the Duke to marry any one else, even with the consent of the Queen.

for your great kindness and consideration. In trouble no one can have a more true and sympathising friend than my beloved mamma always is. How many hearts has she not gained by this, and how many a poor sufferer's burdens has she not lightened!" General Grey's services as Private Secretary to the Sovereign, indeed, were such as to render his death a matter of serious political interest. At this time the Queen exercised a personal supervision over every department of State, more especially over the Foreign Office, War Office, Admiralty, and Poor Law Board. On all matters of importance connected with the administration of these offices it was her custom to send to the Government of the day her own views, and such notes of precedents and of the opinions of former Ministers, as her carefully-kept series of State commonplace books supplied. It was the duty of General Grey to take the rough drafts of memoranda as they came from the Queen's hand, and give them the form of State papers. In fact, he did the work which the Prince Consort had been in the habit of doing, and his position was really that of a supernumerary Minister in attendance at Court, but without a seat in the Cabinet, and without any responsibility to Parliament. After General Grey's death it was suggested that a new Cabinet office should be created, to be held by a Minister who should have no other duty than that of residing in personal attendance on the Queen, and acting as her Private Secretary. The suggestion was happily not pressed, because it would obviously have led to Constitutional difficulties. The new Minister must have become either the Queen's clerk, in which case he would have been an encumbrance to the Cabinet, or he must have become a real Minister of State confidentially representing the Sovereign, in which case he would have become its master. Colonel Ponsonby was therefore selected to succeed General Grey, and the revival of Government by favourites, which was the bane of the early years of George III.'s reign, was prevented.

The death of Charles Dickens on the 9th of June robbed England of a great humourist, whose genius was consecrated not only to the delight, but to the service of the English people. It was his mission to soften the harsh contrasts of society, and quicken the consciences, and touch the hearts of the governing classes, to whose apathy and ignorance of life among the poor he traced most "of the oppression that is done under the sun." Whether Dickens will survive as an English classic has been doubted. But no doubt exists as to the qualities which gave him an unique position among men of letters in the Victorian period. His sense of humour was singularly keen and delicate. His faculty of observation exceeded that ever given to mortal man; in fact, what he saw, he saw so vividly that by his descriptive method he could print it on his reader's mind with photographic fidelity. His power of characterisation, it is true, was limited, but that was because his characterisation was invariably idiosyncratic. It was always an isolated phase of a character that impressed him—a single trait to which he gave corporeal reality. On the other hand,

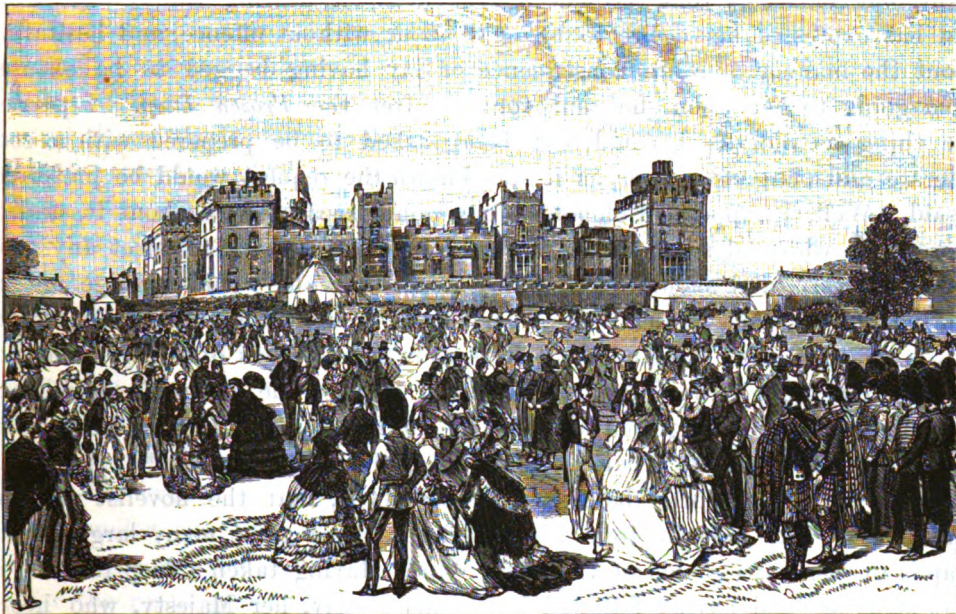
there was no limit to his power of producing fresh illustrations of this phase or trait under an infinite variety of circumstances and conditions. If he rang the changes on one theme, his capacity for producing variations on the



CHARLES DICKENS.

original air with unfailing freshness, and seductive spontaneity, imparted some semblance of the roundness and many-sidedness of Nature even to the oddest of his oddities. But his sense of colour was faulty, and his passion for melodramatic effect, and his habit of harping too much on one string of feeling, gave to his pathos, a false note of theatrical sentimentality. None of his

readers in England, it may fairly be said, was a more consistent and devoted admirer of the genius of Dickens than the Queen. Next to Scott and George Eliot, Dickens was her favourite novelist. It had been her desire in the early days of her married life to make his acquaintance personally, but the touch of false pride which marred Dickens's character, and rendered him morbidly sensitive as to "patronage," prevented their meeting. In 1857, the Queen had been compelled to refuse her name for the dramatic performance of the *Frozen Deep*, given for the benefit of Douglas Jerrold,* but she offered to allow Dickens and his company of players to select a room in the Palace



GARDEN PARTY AT WINDSOR CASTLE. (See p. 383.)

and perform the play there before her and the Court. Dickens begged leave to decline the offer, as he could not feel easy about the social position of his daughters at a Court under such circumstances. He suggested that the Queen might come to the Gallery of Illustrations a week before the subscription night, with her own friends, and witness a private performance of the play. "This," writes Dickens, "with the good sense that seems to accompany her good nature on all occasions, she resolved within a few hours to do." So delighted was the Queen with the performance that she sent round a kind message to Dickens asking him to come and see her and receive her thanks personally. "I replied," says Dickens, in his account

* Being for the benefit of an individual, if the Queen had consented to "bespeak" them she would have been compelled to assent to an endless number of similar applications, or give a great many people bitter offence by refusal.

of the affair, "that I was in my farce dress, and must beg to be excused. Whereupon she sent again, saying that the dress 'would not be so ridiculous as that,' and repeating the request. I sent my duty in reply, but again hoped her Majesty would have the kindness to excuse myself presenting myself in a costume and appearance that was not my own. I was mighty glad to think, when I awoke this morning, that I had carried the point." This incident occurred in 1857.

In 1858 the Queen made another attempt to bring the great novelist to Court. "I was put into a state of much perplexity on Sunday" (30th March, 1858), writes Dickens. "I don't know who had spoken to my informant, but it seems that the Queen is bent upon hearing the 'Carol' read, and has expressed her desire to bring it about without offence, and hesitating about the manner of it, in consequence of my having begged to be excused from going to her when she sent for me after the *Frozen Deep*. I parried the thing as well as I could, but being asked to be prepared with a considerate and obliging answer, as it was known the request would be preferred, I said, 'Well, I supposed Colonel Phipps would speak to me about it, and, if it were he who did so, I should assure him of my desire to meet any wish of her Majesty, and should express my hope that she would indulge me by making one of some audience or other, for I thought an audience necessary to the effect.' Thus it stands, but it bothers me." This difficulty could not be got over, though the Queen, by buying a copy of the "Carol," embellished with the author's autograph, at the sale of Thackeray's library, testified to her interest in the two great humourists of the Victorian age.* Indeed, it was not till 1870, shortly before Dickens's death, that the novelist met the Queen. He had brought from his American tour a great many large photographs of the battle-fields of the Civil War. Having taken a deep interest in that struggle, and having followed its details closely, her Majesty, who heard of the photographs through Mr. Arthur Helps (Clerk of the Privy Council), expressed a desire to see them. Dickens, on hearing of this from Mr. Helps, at once sent the photographs to Buckingham Palace, and then received a message from the Queen inviting him to see her, that she might thank him in person. "The Queen's kindness," says Mr. Forster, "left a strong impression on Dickens. Upon her Majesty expressing regret not to have heard his readings, Dickens intimated that they had become now a thing of the past, while he acknowledged gratefully her Majesty's compliment in regard to them. She spoke to him of the impression made upon her by his acting in the *Frozen Deep*, and, on his stating, in reply to her inquiry, that the little play had not been very successful on the public stage, said this did not surprise her, since it no longer had the advantage of his performance in it. Then arose some mention of some alleged discourtesies shown to Prince Arthur

* Thackeray's attacks on the Queen's family and ancestors apparently had not rendered him a *persona grata*, like Dickens.

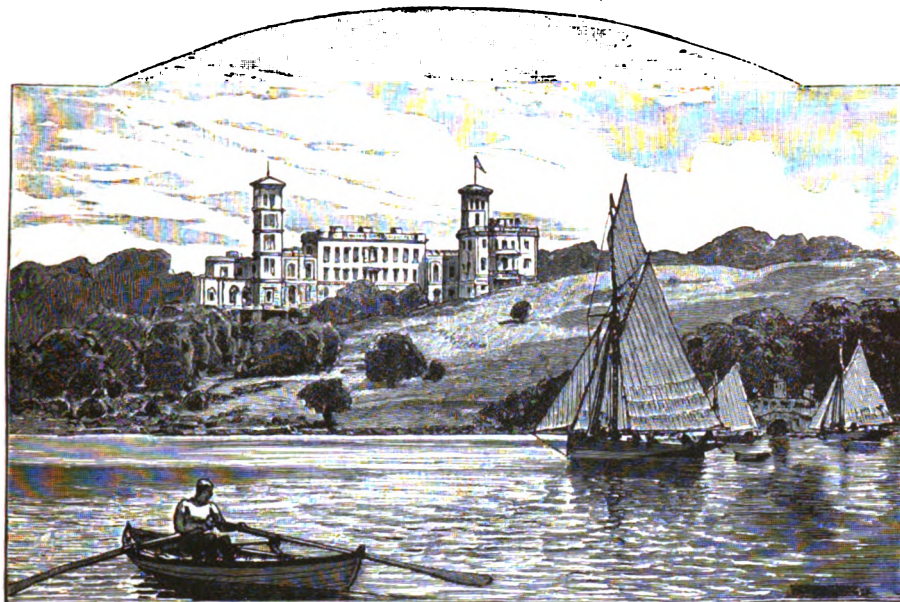
in New York, and he begged her Majesty not to confound the true Americans of that city with the Fenian portion of its Irish population, on which she made the quiet comment that she was sure the people about the Prince had made too much of the story. He related to her the story of President Lincoln's dream the night before his murder. She asked him to give her his writings, and could she have them that afternoon? but he begged to be allowed to send a bound copy. Her Majesty then took from a table her own book on the Highlands, with an autograph inscription to 'Charles Dickens,' and saying that the 'humblest of writers' would be ashamed to offer it to 'one of the greatest,' but that Mr. Helps, being asked to give it, had remarked that it would be valued most from herself, closed the interview by placing it in his hands." Though Dickens refused a baronetcy, which the Queen would have gladly conferred on him, he was persuaded to go to Court. In March, 1870, he writes to a friend:—"As my Sovereign desires that I should attend the next levee, don't faint with amazement if you see my name in that unwonted connection. I have scrupulously kept myself free for the 2nd of April, in case you should be accessible." His name is among those who attended the levee, and his daughter's name appears among those who were at the Drawing Room that followed. "I never saw Mr. Dickens more agreeable," says Lady Houghton in a letter to Mr. Forster, "than at a dinner at our house about a fortnight before his death, when he met the King of the Belgians and the Prince of Wales, at the special desire of the latter."*

The chief social function of the season of 1870 was the Garden Party at Windsor, which took place on the 25th of June. Great preparations were made for the event. A series of tastefully arranged tents had been erected on the lawn under the East Terrace, and in the grounds of the Home Park towards Frogmore, and the State Apartments of the Castle were also thrown open for the reception of guests, who were conveyed from the station by forty carriages. They began to arrive about four o'clock, and the Prince and Princess of Wales and other members of the Royal Family came on the scene later. The street and road to the Castle were kept by a large body of the Metropolitan Police; a guard of honour of the Scots Fusilier Guards was posted in the quadrangle of the Castle, and the Yeomen of the Royal Body Guard were on duty inside. The Queen, who looked well and cheerful, received her visitors in a tent near the wall of the East Terrace, and was surrounded by members of her family, and attended by the Lord Chamberlain, the Duchess of Sutherland, and the Marchioness of Ely. The London Glee and Madrigal Union and her Majesty's private band supplied the music that delighted the gay and brilliant crowd of promenaders, who did not break up and return to town till about seven o'clock in the evening. It had been expected that the Queen would be able to attend and open the Thames

* See Forster's *Life of Dickens*.

Embankment early in July, and her appearance at the Garden Party at Windsor strengthened popular anticipations. Unfortunately, when the time came round, her Majesty felt herself unable to endure the strain of the public ceremony, and the consequence was that, when it was performed on her behalf by the Prince of Wales (13th July), at least a thousand seats were vacant for which tickets had been issued.

Ere the year ended the rebellion in the Red River Settlement, or the "Revolt of the Winnipegers," as the Americans called them, was quelled. The history of the rising was as follows:—The Hudson's Bay Company had enjoyed powers of proprietorship and exclusive trade in the vast region extending from the American frontier to the Frozen Ocean. Early in the century Lord Selkirk had established in the extreme south of this region, and close to the American line, a colony of mixed blood, descended from French, Canadian, English, and Scottish parents, servants of the Company. They squatted on a strip of fertile land on the Red River, which flows from Minnesota into Lake Winnipeg. These people increased to the number of 10,000, and they inhabited, perhaps, the most secluded spot ever reached by European colonists, in the centre of the North American Continent. They had been ruled by the Company under a "Governor of Assiniboia," and a Recorder. In 1869 the Company agreed to sell all their territorial and sovereign rights in Rupert's Land to Canada for £300,000. This cession included the Red River Settlement. The "Winnipegers," however, objected to be transferred to what they called a "foreign power," and they split into two parties—the Canadians, almost all half-breeds, speaking French and professing the Catholic religion, and who rose in rebellion, and a minority of English and Scots who remained loyal. The rebels refused to admit into the district Mr. Macdougall, who was sent by Canada as Governor. A leading agitator, Louis Riel, was proclaimed (in February) "President of the Republic of the North-West," and the insurgents appealed to the United States for protection. A contingent under command of Colonel Wolseley was despatched to suppress the insurrection. The expedition reached Fort Garry, the headquarters of Riel and his rebel followers, on the 23rd of August. They were welcomed by the loyal party, and found that Riel himself had disappeared, with a considerable amount of plunder, into the neighbouring American territory. The British force was admirably handled, and did not lose a single man, despite the enormous difficulties of its march over a rough and broken country. For from its point of disembarkation in Lake Superior, it had to travel through 600 miles of an unknown wilderness of water, rocks, and forests, where no supplies were obtainable. The whole expense was under £100,000, of which one quarter only was to be paid by England. Order was re-established on the Red River at the end of 1870, and, as the "province of Manitoba," it was added to Canada.



OSBORNE, FROM THE SOLENT.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ILLNESS OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

Effect of Prussian Victories on English Opinion—Sudden Changes of Popular Impulse—Demand for Army Reform—Opposition to the Princess Louise's Dowry—Opening of Parliament—The Army Bill—Abolition of Purchase—Opposition of the Tory Party—Mr. Disraeli Throws Over his Followers—Obstructing the Purchase Bill—Mr. Cardwell's Threat—Obstruction in the House of Lords—A Bold Use of the Queen's Prerogative—The Wrath of the Peers—They Pass a Vote of Censure on the Government—The Ballot Bill—The Peers Reject the Ballot Bill—The University Tests Bill—The Trades Union Bill—Its Defects—The Case of *Purchon v. Hartley*—The Licensing Bill and its Effect on Parties—Local Government Reform—Mr. Lowe's Disastrous Budget—The Match Tax—*Ex luce lucellum*—Withdrawal of the Budget—The Washington Treaty and the Queen—Lord Granville's Feeble Foreign Policy—His Failure to Mediate Between France and Germany—Bismarck's Contemptuous Treatment of English Despatches—*Vae Victis!*—The German Terms of Peace—Asking too Much and Taking too Little—Mr. Gladstone's Embarrassments—Decaying Popularity of the Government—The Collier Affair—Effect of the Commune on English Opinion—Court Life in 1871—Marriage of the Princess Louise—The Queen Opens the Albert Hall—The Queen at St. Thomas's Hospital—Prince Arthur's Income—Public Protests and Irritating Discussions—The Queen's Illness—Sudden Illness of the Prince of Wales—Growing Anxiety of the People—Alarming Prospects of a Regency—Between Life and Death—Panic in the Money Market—Hopeful Bulletins—Convalescence of the Prince—Public Sympathy with the Queen—Her Majesty's Letter to the People.

THE closing weeks of 1870 and the early days of 1871 were full of anxiety to the Queen. Despite its services to the country, the Cabinet was obviously losing ground. The Franco-Prussian War had brought about a great change in the minds of the people as to the kind of work they wanted their Government to do, and it was certain that Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues did not respond quickly to the new impulse which the fall of Imperialism in France, and the rise of the new German Empire had given to public opinion in

England. When the Cabinet took office, retrenchment and reform at home, and isolation abroad, were objects which the nation desired the Government to pursue. The victories of Prussia certainly strengthened the hands of the Ministry in carrying out their education policy. But in every other department of public life the people began to expect from the Cabinet what the Cabinet was not, by its temperament, likely to give. Ministers, in their handling of the Army and Navy, for example, made economy the leading idea of their policy. The country, on the other hand, alarmed at the collapse of France, put efficiency before economy. Non-intervention in Foreign Affairs, which was the policy of the Ministry, and which had been the policy of the Tory Opposition, was discredited when Russia repudiated the Black Sea Clauses of the Treaty of Paris, and when it was discovered that somehow Lord Granville's management of Foreign Affairs had left England with enemies, and not with allies, in the councils of the world. Forgetful of the stormy sea of foreign troubles through which Palmerston was perpetually steering the labouring vessel of State, the nation began to long for a Minister who could make England play a great part in the drama of Continental politics. Lord Granville's "surrender" in the Black Sea Conference was admittedly dignified and adroit, but it did not on that account satisfy the country. Why had he not pressed for an equivalent right on the part of England and the Powers to pass the Dardanelles? That would, at all events, have made the Black Sea an European instead of a Russian lake, or rather a lake whose waters Russia shared with a weak and decaying Power like Turkey. Why did he not recast the Foreign Policy of England, and proceed to check Russia diplomatically by strengthening Austria in the Danube? If the irritation of the United States was paralysing England in Europe, why was no decided action taken to bring about an equitable settlement of the *Alabama* Claims? Why was the recognition of the new French Republic delayed, when it was known that even Von Bismarck deigned to treat with it for peace, and when its recognition would raise up for England a friendly feeling in France? All these and other questions were asked by men who were not partisans, and who were, on the whole, well disposed to Mr. Gladstone's administration.

The only reform movement, indeed, that excited any popular enthusiasm at the beginning of 1871, was that which Mr. Trevelyan had started after he resigned his Civil Lordship of the Admiralty, because Mr. Forster's Education Bill increased the grant to denominational schools. It was significant, too, that this movement was one for making the army more efficient by abolishing the system that permitted officers to buy their commissions and their promotion. It had been said that nothing could be done to render the army formidable, so long as the Commander-in-Chief was its absolute ruler. The result was that the Duke of Cambridge was made subordinate to the Secretary of State. Next it was said that

nothing could be done to improve the army so long as it was pawned to its officers, who had acquired by purchase something like a vested right in maintaining the existing military system. Abolition of Purchase, therefore, in 1871, seemed to be the only point of contact between the nation and the Cabinet, who were supposed to favour Mr. Trevelyan's agitation. The demand for increasing the army, when sanctioned by a Parliamentary vote, Mr. Cardwell evaded. When merely sanctioned by public opinion he either ignored it, or, as in the case of issuing breech-loading rifles to the Volunteers, yielded to it after resisting it for about eight months. The changes in the Cabinet due to Mr. Bright's resignation further lessened confidence in the Government. Mr. Chichester Fortescue, in spite of his half-hearted Fenian amnesty, was on the whole a popular and active Irish Secretary. He, however, was appointed to succeed Mr. Bright at the Board of Trade, where he had to guide a department charged with interests of which he was utterly ignorant. Lord Hartington, on the other hand, whose transference to the War Office would have been gratifying to the country, was sent to the Irish Office, to the consternation of those Liberals who had been dissatisfied with the reactionary tone of his speeches on Irish affairs. The general desire for new War and Foreign Ministers was ignored.*

But perhaps the most extraordinary change in public sentiment in 1871 was that which marked public opinion in relation to the marriage of the Princess Louise. When it was announced, popular feeling was clearly in favour of the alliance. But towards the end of January, 1871, there was hardly a large borough in England, the member for which on addressing his constituents, was not asked menacingly if he meant to vote for a national dowry to the Princess. Too often, when the member said he intended to give such a vote, he was hissed by the meeting. Mr. Forster escaped a hostile demonstration by humorously parrying the question. He said he could not consent to fine the Princess for marrying a Scotsman. At Halifax Mr. Stansfeld was seriously embarrassed by the question. At Chelsea both members nearly forfeited the usual vote of confidence passed in them by their constituents. Mr. White at Brighton had to promise to vote against the dowry; at Birmingham Messrs. Dixon and Muntz could hardly get a hearing from their constituents when they defended it. The annoyance which the Queen suffered when she saw her daughter's name rudely handled at angry mass

* Nothing did more to sap and undermine the popularity of the Government than an evasive statement of Mr. Cardwell's as to the arms in store. On the vote for increasing the army by 20,000 men on the 1st of August, 1870, Sir John Hay asked what was the use of voting the money when the Government "had not 20,000 breechloaders ready for service for the army, the militia, and volunteers." Mr. Cardwell, in reply, said he had 300,000 rifles "in store," and left the House of Commons when it rose, under the impression that the weapons were ready for use as surplus weapons on any emergency. Of these, however, it was subsequently admitted by Mr. Cardwell in an interview with Lord Elcho that 100,000 were needed to meet existing demands, and that a considerable number of the rest were in Canada.

meetings was unspeakable. This unexpected ebullition of public feeling was due to a belief among the electors that when Royalty formed matrimonial alliances with subjects it ought to accept the rule which prevails among persons of private station, and frankly recognise that it is the duty of the husband



THE PRINCESS LOUISE.

(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

to support the wife. To demand a dowry of £40,000 and an income of £6,000 a year for the Princess Louise, it was argued, was preposterous. The lady, it was said, could not possibly need it, seeing that she was to marry a nobleman who was able to maintain his wife, and who, had he not married a princess, would have been expected to maintain her in the comfort befitting his inherited rank and social position. But common sense soon reasserted its sway over the nation. It was then speedily admitted that a great country lowered its dignity when it chaffered with the Sovereign over

allowances which were necessary to sustain a becoming stateliness of life in the Royal Family.*

In the course of the discussions that were carried on as to the dowry of the Princess Louise many ill-natured allusions had been made to the Queen's



THE MARQUIS OF LORN.

(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

life of seclusion, and it had been broadly hinted that she was neglecting her public duties. It was unfortunate that steps were not taken by some person in authority to refute this calumny, for, if her Majesty shunned the nervous excitement of public ceremonials, it was for the purpose of husbanding her strength for the transaction of official business. Still, the people were kept

* There were also many whose objection to the grant to the Princesses was based on the delusion that the Queen, by living in retirement, had accumulated savings out of which she could well afford to dower her daughter.

in ignorance of that fact, and the result was that when the Queen proceeded in person to open Parliament on the 9th of February, 1871, she was for the first time in her life rather coldly received on the route from the Palace to Westminster. The Speech from the Throne dealt chiefly with Foreign Affairs, and it represented fairly the national feeling in favour of a policy of neutrality, tempered, however, with a strong desire to preserve the existence of France as "a principal and indispensable member of the great Commonwealth of Europe." Two points in it were recognised as being in a special sense the expression of the Queen's own views. These were (1), the cordial congratulation of Germany on having attained a position of "solidity and independence," and (2), the carefully-guarded suggestion that Germany should be content with the cession of a mountain barrier beyond the Rhine on her new frontier, and not endanger the permanence of the peace, which must soon come by pressing for the cession of French fortresses, which, in German hands, must be a standing menace to France. Perhaps the most popular paragraph in the Speech was the one which indicated that the Governments of England and the United States, after much futile and bitter controversy, were at last agreed that the *Alabama* dispute should be settled by friendly arbitration before a mixed Commission. The instinct of the masses taught them that the "latent war," as Mr. Hamilton Fish called it, between the two kindred peoples, explained why England had suddenly lost her influence in the councils of Europe. By its reference to Home Affairs, the Royal Speech, for the time, strengthened the popularity of the Ministry. It promised a Ballot Bill, a Bill for abolishing University Tests, for readjusting Local Taxation, for restricting the grants of Licences to Publicans, for reorganising Scottish Education, and for reforming the Army. When the Debate on the Address was taken, the House of Commons was obviously in a state of high nervous tension. It was half angry with Mr. Gladstone because he had not pursued a more spirited Foreign Policy, and because, by submitting to the abolition of the Black Sea Clauses of the Treaty of Paris, and assuming an isolated attitude towards France and Germany, he had made England the mere spectator of great events, the course of which she yearned to influence, if not to control. On the other hand, the House showed plainly that it was thankful that the country had been kept out of the embarrassments and entanglements of war. Indeed it was clear that, if Mr. Gladstone had pursued a more spirited policy at the risk of enforcing it by arms, he would have been hurled from power by the votes of the very men who now sneered at his policy because it was spiritless.

Mr. Disraeli's tone was less patriotic than usual. He was careful to say nothing that would commit him and his party to any other policy than that of neutrality; but he was equally careful to encourage a belief that this policy had been adopted, not from prudence, but from cowardice. To use one of his own phrases, he "threatened Russia with a clouded cane;" though, as

he knew well, the Black Sea dispute had by that time ended. He endangered the prospects of peaceful arbitration on the *Alabama* Claims, by his bitter allusions to the United States. He poured ridicule on the military feebleness of the country at a crisis when a patriotic statesman would have naturally preferred to remain silent on such a theme. But the effect of his attack was somewhat diminished by his attempt to show that military impotence was naturally associated with Liberal Governments. Everybody knew that all governments, Liberal or Tory, were equally responsible for the bad state of the army, and that they had all equally resisted the popular demand for reform, till it grew so loud that Mr. Cardwell was forced to yield to it.

The great measure of the Session was of course the Army Bill, which was introduced by Mr. Cardwell, on the 16th of February. It abolished the system by which rich men obtained by purchase commissions and promotion in the army, and provided £8,000,000 to buy all commissions, as they fell in, at their regulation and over-regulation value.* In future, commissions were to be awarded either to those who won them by open competition, or who had served as subalterns in the Militia, or to deserving non-commissioned officers. Mr. Cardwell also proposed to deprive Lords-Lieutenant of Counties of the power of granting commissions in the militia. He laid down the lines of a great scheme of army reorganisation which bound the auxiliary forces closer to the regular army, gave the country 300,000 trained men, divided locally into nine *corps d'armée*, for home defence, kept in hand a force of 100,000 men always available for service abroad, and raised the strength of the artillery from 180 to 336 guns. This, however, he did at the cost of £15,000,000 a year—a somewhat extravagant sum, seeing that 170,000 of the army of defence consisted of unpaid volunteers. The debate that followed was a rambling one. The Tory Party defended the Purchase system because good officers had come to the front by its means. Even a Radical like Mr. Charles Buxton was not ashamed to argue that promotion by selection on account of fitness, would sour the officers who were passed over with discontent. Lord Elcho, though he made a “palpable hit” in detecting the inadequacy of Mr. Cardwell's scheme of National Defence, sedulously avoided justifying the sale of commissions in the army. He based his objection to the abolition of Purchase on the ground that it would involve “the most wicked, the most wanton, the most uncalled for waste of the public money.” Here we have depicted a vivid contrast between the House of Commons of the Second, and the House of the Third Reform Bill. In these latter days Lord Wemyss—who in 1871 was Lord Elcho—would hardly venture to obstruct any measure of reform because there was tacked on to it a scheme for compensating “vested interests” too generously. The Representatives of the People would now meet such an objection by simply

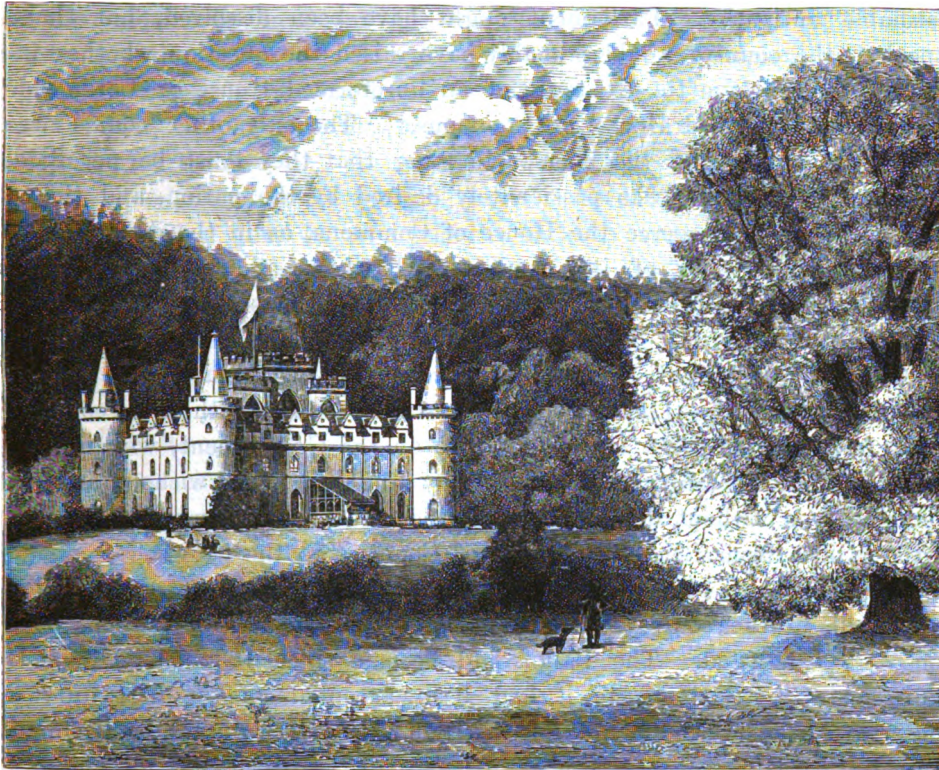
* A Royal warrant fixed the legal price of commissions. But they were sold in defiance of the law at prices far above the legal ones, and these were called “over-regulation prices.”

cutting down the compensation. And Mr. Cardwell had an excellent opportunity for doing this ready to his hands. The money paid for commissions was far above the regulation price, and yet it was a statutory offence punishable by two years' imprisonment to pay over-regulation prices. In fact, Parliament may be said to have betrayed the country in this transaction. Not only had it connived at the offence of paying over-regulation money, but it made its connivance a pretext for compensating the offenders for the loss of advantages they had gained by breaking the law.

Only two arguments worthy of the least attention were brought forward by the Opposition. The first was that abolition of Purchase would weaken the regimental system. For it was contended that promotion by selection for officers above the rank of captain—which was the substitute proposed for promotion by Purchase—involving, as it did, transfers from one regiment to another, must destroy the regimental home-life.* The second was, that it would tend to create a professional military caste, who might, as Mr. Bernal Osborne argued, prove dangerous to the liberties of the people. It was, however, felt that it was absurd to sacrifice the efficiency of the Army to its regimental home life, and that one of the strongest objections to the Purchase system was that it rendered the Army amateurish rather than professional. But in the long controversy that raged through the Session no argument told more effectively than Mr. Trevelyan's citation of Havelock's bitter complaint that "he was sick for years in waiting for promotion, that three sots and two fools had purchased over him, and that if he had not had a family to support he would not have served another hour." Mr. Cardwell, too, left nothing to be said when he told the House of Commons that Army reformers were paralysed by Purchase. Every proposal for change was met by the argument that it affected the position of officers who had paid for that position. In fact, the British Army was literally held in pawn by its officers, and the nation had virtually no control over it whilst it was in that ignominious position. The debate, which seemed interminable, ended in an anti-climax that astonished the Tory Opposition. Mr. Disraeli threw over the advocates of Purchase, evidently dreading an appeal to the country, which might have resulted in a refusal to compensate officers for the over-regulation prices they had paid for their commissions in defiance of the statute. The Army Regulation Bill thus passed the Second Reading without a division. In Committee the Opposition resorted to obstructive tactics, and attempted to talk out the Bill by moving a series of dilatory and frivolous amendments. The clique of "the Colonels," as they were called, in fact anticipated the Parnellites of a later date in inventing and developing

* It might be said that promotion could still be kept going on in the regiment itself. Officers need not have then been transferred for promotion. But in that case rich officers might have bribed their seniors to retire. Or, the subalterns might have made up a purse by subscription to induce one of their seniors to retire and let them each get a step upwards.

this form of factious and illegitimate opposition. Mr. Cardwell so far succumbed that after weary weeks of strife he withdrew his reorganisation scheme, merely insisting on the Purchase clauses, and on the transference of control over the auxiliary forces from Lords-Lieutenant of Counties to the Queen. But the Opposition still threatened to obstruct the Bill, and it was not till Mr. Cardwell warned them that he could stop the payment of over-regulation money for commissions by enforcing the law, that the measure was allowed to



INVERARY CASTLE.

(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co.)

pass. In the House of Lords the Bill was again obstructed, in spite of Lord Northbrook's able argument that until Purchase was abolished the Government could not develop their scheme of Army reorganisation, which was to introduce into England the Prussian system without compulsory service. The Tory Peers did not actually venture to vote in favour of Purchase. But they passed a resolution declining to accept the responsibility of assenting to its abolition without further information. Mr. Gladstone met them with a bold stroke. By statute it was enacted that only such terms of Purchase could exist as her Majesty chose to permit by Royal Warrant. The Queen therefore, acting on Mr. Gladstone's advice, cancelled

her warrant permitting Purchase, and thus the opposition of the Peers was crushed by what Mr. Disraeli indignantly termed "the high-handed though not illegal" exercise of the Royal Prerogative.* The rage of the Tory Peers knew no bounds. And yet what could Mr. Gladstone have done? The Ministry might have resigned, but in that case the Tory Party, as mere advocates of Purchase, could not have commanded a majority of the House of Commons. New Peers might have been created, but to this obsolete and perilous method of coercing the Lords the Queen had a natural and justifiable antipathy. Parliament might have been dissolved, but then the appeal to the country would probably have raised the question whether it was desirable to continue the existence of an unreformed House of Lords side by side with a reformed House of Commons.† The only other course was to bow to the decision of the Peers, admitting that they must be permitted to quash a reform, which was passionately desired by the nation, and that they must be allowed to coerce the House of Commons, as in the days when they nominated a majority of its members. To have adopted either of these courses would have been fatal to the authority, perhaps even to the existence, of the Upper House. Thus the excuse of the Royal Prerogative, which removed the subject of contention between the two Houses, was really the means of saving the Lords from a disastrous conflict with the People. The Peers, however, carried a vote of censure on the Government, who ignored it, and then their Lordships passed the Army Regulation Bill without any alteration, nay even without dividing against the clauses transferring the patronage of the Militia from Lords-Lieutenant of Counties to the Crown.

The Session of 1871 was also made memorable by the struggle over the Ballot Bill, in the course of which nearly all the devices of factious obstruction were exhausted. The Ballot had become since 1832 the shibboleth of Radicalism.‡ Resistance to it had been accepted as the first duty of a Conservative. The arguments for the Ballot were (1), that by allowing men

* It may be mentioned that this course was suggested as a possible one in the debate by Lord Derby.

† The alternative courses of a creation of new Peers, and a dissolution, it should be noted, also involved an exercise of the Royal Prerogative—a fact forgotten by those who denounced Mr. Gladstone as a "tyrant" for coercing the Peers by the use of Prerogative.

‡ According to Addison, the House of Commons as far back as 1708 began to discuss the Ballot. After 1832 it became a popular cry with the Radicals, and in the first Session of the Reformed Parliament Mr. Grote brought in a Ballot Bill which was rejected by a majority of 211 to 106. Year after year Mr. Grote was beaten in his attempt to carry his measure. To him succeeded Mr. Henry Berkeley, who every year brought forward a resolution in favour of secret voting, and in 1851 even carried it by a majority of 37 against the opposition of Lord John Russell and the Whig Government. The odious corruption and scandalous scenes of violence which were associated with open voting at elections gradually made Lord John and Mr. Gladstone converts to Mr. Berkeley's views. In 1868 the revelations of Lord Hartington's Committee as to the manner of conducting elections convinced the country that the Ballot must be adopted. In 1869 another Committee on Electoral Practices reported in favour of it.

to vote in secret they were free from intimidation, and (2), that when votes were given in secret men were not likely to buy them, for they had no longer any means of knowing whether value was ever given for their money. On the other hand, the Tories argued (1), that to vote in secret was cowardly and unmanly; (2), that it was unconstitutional; and (3), that it weakened the sense of responsibility in the voter who had no longer the pressure of public opinion on him.* But though these arguments were elaborated at enormous length, they were felt by the average elector to be wiredrawn and academic. To him the practical object of any system of election was to get the voter to give effect to his own real opinion, and not the opinion of somebody else, in choosing a member. There could be nothing constitutional, or moral, or distinctively "English," in a man who desired to be represented by A voting for B, either because his landlord or his employer or some of his neighbours intimidated or bribed him into doing so. Nor could his sense of duty be strengthened under a system which enabled him to cast the responsibility for a false vote on those who had coerced or bribed him into giving it. No doubt the prospect of getting rid of violent scenes and of the demonstrations of turbulent mobs round the polling-booths where men voted in public, induced many independent politicians, who were not insensible to the weight of some of the Conservative arguments, to accept the Ballot. Strictly speaking, when the question was lifted out of the mire of mere party controversy it came to this—whether Englishmen, in giving their votes, preferred the protection of secrecy, to the protection of a strong law punishing those who attempted to interfere with their independence. To set the law in motion against a rich man in England is a costly, and sometimes a dangerous, process. Hence the majority of Englishmen preferred the protection of secrecy.

Mr. Forster's Ballot Bill was introduced on the 28th of February, and when the Second Reading had been passed after three nights' dull debate in June, the Conservatives attempted to talk it out by reviving, on various frivolous pretexts, a discussion on the principle of the Bill in Committee.† After these tactics had been exhausted, the Opposition endeavoured to smother the Bill with dilatory amendments. The supporters of the Government, on the other hand, attempted to defeat the factious obstruction of their opponents by remaining silent during the debates. The obstructive party, after

* Philosophical Radicals, like Mr. Mill, disliked the Ballot because they feared that one influence would always operate on the ignorant elector's mind, even in the secrecy of the polling booth—that of the priest who had threatened him with "the pains of Hell" as a punishment for voting on the wrong side.

† Mr. Disraeli, it is fair to say, had endeavoured to save the time of the House by suggesting that there should be no debate on the Second Reading—the discussion of the principle of the measure to be taken on the next stage—the motion that the Speaker leave the Chair. This arrangement was agreed to by the Government, but it provoked a mutiny in the Conservative ranks, or rather in the section of the Party represented by Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Newdegate, and Mr. G. Bentinck, the first-named of whom jeered at Mr. Disraeli's late Administration as a "disorganised hypocrisy."

a long and tedious fight, were beaten, and the Bill passed through Committee, but shorn of the clauses which cast election expenses on the rates, and made all election expenses not included in the public returns, corrupt expenses.* When the Bill reached the House of Lords, the real motive which dictated



MR. W. E. FORSTER.

(From a Photograph by Russell and Sons.)

the apparently futile and stupid obstruction of the Conservative Opposition in the House of Commons, was quickly revealed. The Lords rejected the Bill on the 18th of August, not merely because they disliked and dreaded it, but because it had come to them too late for proper consideration.†

* Mr. Gladstone and the Government supported the first, but opposed the latter of these proposals, greatly to the annoyance of the Radicals, who saw in it the most effective check to bribery that could be devised.

† Large numbers of Liberal Peers did not even attend the debate or the division.

Ministers were more successful with some other measures. In spite of much Conservative opposition they passed a Bill abolishing religious tests in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and throwing open all academic distinctions and privileges except Divinity Degrees and Clerical Fellowships to students of all creeds and faiths. Mr. Bruce passed a Trades Union Bill, which gave all registered Unions the legal *status* and legal protection of ordinary corporations.* The vague language of the old Act touching intimidation was swept away, and only such forms of coercion as were not only in themselves obviously brutal, but could also be clearly defined, were made punishable. A decision of the law courts, however, deprived the Unions of many of the benefits they had expected to gain under the Act.† Mr. Bruce's Bill, regulating the licensing of public-houses, another large measure, was abandoned, but not till it had converted all the Radical and Liberal publicans and their *clientèle* into stern and uncompromising Tories. Mr. Goschen's scheme for reforming Local Government and Taxation was far-reaching and comprehensive, but it alarmed the landlords, for it divided rates between owners and occupiers, and levied rates on game rents.‡

But by far the most damaging failure of the Session was Mr. Lowe's Budget. It was known that the large outlay on the Army, due to the abolition of Purchase and other causes, would leave a deficit of about £2,000,000 to be met by Mr. Lowe in the coming year's accounts. How was he going to meet it? An elastic revenue and rigid economy in expenditure had left Mr. Lowe with a surplus of £396,681. But he had on the next year's account an estimated deficit of £2,713,000,§ which he proposed to meet by a tax on matches—"not on matrimonial engagements," as he remarked,

* Previous to this Act the Unions were so far without the law, that they could not even prosecute their office-bearers for stealing their funds.

† This was given by Sir James Hannen in the case of a man called Purchon, a member of the Glassbottlers' Union of Yorkshire. Three members of the Union, professing to believe certain disgraceful charges against Purchon, procured his expulsion from that body. Then his employers dismissed him because they were threatened with a strike if he remained in their service. Purchon sued the three Unionists who got him expelled from his Union for conspiring to deprive him of employment. Mr. Justice Hannen ruled that there was an undue interference with the rights of labour, and £300 damages were awarded by the jury. The case of *Purchon v. Hartley* proved that though the Unions had got rid of a limited term of imprisonment for coercion, they were now punishable by unlimited damages.

‡ Mr. Goschen based his case on the fact that Local Government was a chaos of areas, rating, and authorities. He proposed (1), that each parish should have an elected chairman who, aided but not controlled by it, should be the rating authority; (2), that county rates should be levied by a financial board, half being elected by justices and half by parish chairmen; (3), that a new department of State or Local Government Board should be created to supervise local finance and administration; (4), that rates should be split between occupier and owner, and levied on all exempted property, such as Crown property, charitable property, moneys, and game; (5), that the house duty (£1,200,000 a year) should be surrendered to the local ratepayers.

§ His estimated expenditure was £72,308,000, and his estimated revenue £69,595,000 on the existing basis of taxation, and without any new duties.

—by a readjustment of the Probate and Succession Duties, and by an increase of about one penny farthing in the £ of income-tax.* The Radicals attacked the Budget furiously, and Mr. Disraeli formed with them what Mr. Gladstone termed an “unprincipled coalition.” But the Tories and the Radicals objected to the Budget on entirely different grounds. Mr. White, member for Brighton, quoting Mr. Bright’s declaration that a Government which could not rule the country with £70,000,000 of revenue did not deserve public confidence, complained of the increase in the Army Estimates, and warned the House that if such enormous sums were spent on the protection of property, the people would elect a Parliament pledged to tax property to pay them. Mr. Disraeli, correctly gauging popular feeling, objected to the match tax, the proposal of which enraged the poor match-makers of the East End of London. He gave just expression to the feeling not only of his own Party, but of almost all the rich men on the Liberal benches, when he denounced any increase in the Succession Duties. The Government only escaped defeat by hinting that they would abandon the Match Tax. After some fencing, the whole Budget was reconstructed, the Succession Duties being also given up, and the additional supplies needed by the Government being met by a two-penny income-tax.† There could be no better illustration of the strength and weakness of the Gladstone Government than this Budget. Theoretically and logically, it was quite defensible. Purchase in the Army had existed for the convenience and advantage of the wealthy classes. It was, therefore, fair to increase the Succession Duties in order to pay the expense of abolishing it. The Match Tax again satisfied the ideal of public financiers, who all yearned for the discovery of an impost that should fall on an article which, though used by the masses, was yet not food, or one of those “luxuries” like tea, which can with difficulty be distinguished from necessities. Moreover, as Professor Stanley Jevons proved, the Match Tax would have laid even on the very poor less than one-third of the burden which had been imposed by the shilling duty on corn, that Mr. Lowe had repealed in 1869.‡ Unfortunately, however, Mr. Lowe, in preparing his Budget, ignored the prejudices and foibles of the people. He imagined that if he could defend his proposals logically, they would be accepted with gratitude and unanimity.

In Foreign Affairs, the Government did not improve their position in 1871, and yet they achieved one success, for which they failed to obtain sufficient credit. In May, the Queen was gratified to learn that a basis for settling the outstanding

* There was to be a halfpenny stamp on boxes of wooden matches, and a penny stamp on boxes of wax matches or fuses. It was expected that these duties would yield £550,000 the first year. Mr. Lowe invented a motto for the stamp—*ex luce lucellum* (“out of light a little profit”)—a classical pun, which, however, did not reconcile the people to his proposals.

† Mr. Lowe desirous of not putting more than 1½d. in the £ on the income-tax, proposed to calculate it at 10s. 8d. per cent. This novel method of calculating the tax, which was not necessary when the round sum of 2d. in the £ was adopted, was unpopular because it was puzzling.

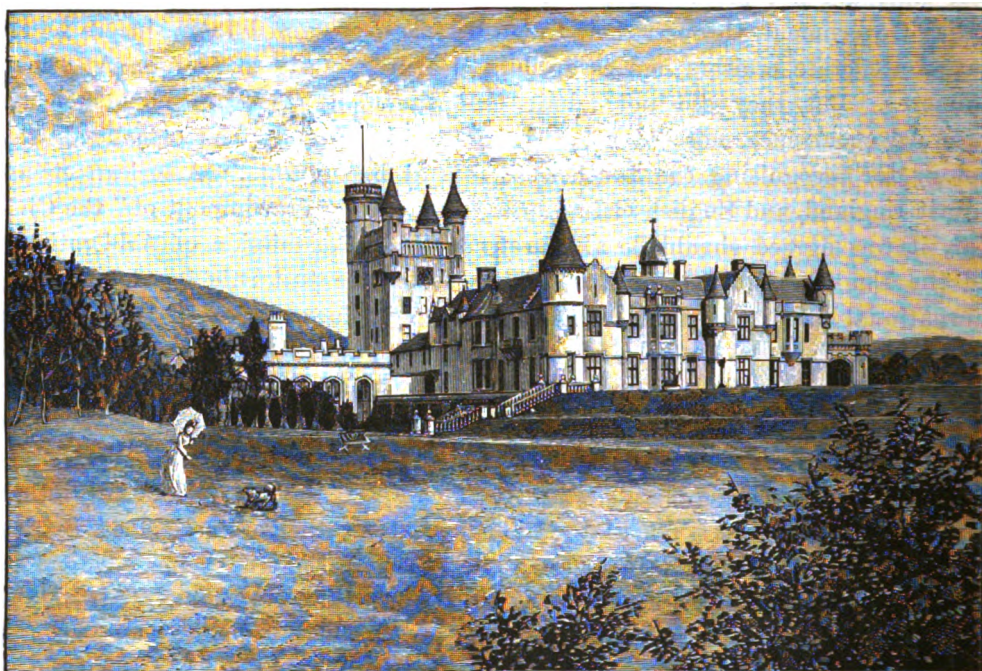
‡ Letters and Journals of W. Stanley Jevons, p. 252.

dispute between the United States and Great Britain had been at last discovered. It had been her firm conviction that this quarrel had caused England to lose her traditional influence over the affairs of Europe. The first essential step towards regaining that influence, in her opinion, was taken when it was agreed to submit to a Joint Commission of eminent Englishmen and Americans in Washington the points at issue between the two nations.* The American Commissioners, when they met their English colleagues, refused to consider claims for damages due to the Fenian raids in Canada. Not ignoring the Confederate raids from Canada on Vermont, the English Commissioners, on their side, did not press this point. With great courage and frankness, the British Government, through their Commissioners, expressed their sincere regret that Confederate cruisers had escaped from British ports to prey on American commerce. But they did not admit that they were to blame for such an untoward occurrence, nor did they offer what Mr. Sumner had demanded, any apology for recognising the Southern States as belligerents. American claims against England, and English claims against America, "growing out of" the Civil War, it was agreed should be alike referred to a Commission of Arbitration,† and the English Commissioners admitting that some just rule for determining international liability in such cases should be laid down, accepted the principle that neutrals are to be held responsible for negligence in allowing warships to be equipped or built in their ports for use against a belligerent. The English Commissioners next agreed to let this principle be applied to the *Alabama* Claims, and though they were blamed for allowing these claims to be determined by an *ex post facto* rule, it was difficult for them to adopt any other course. The rule was one that was essential to the protection of British commerce from American privateers in the event of England being engaged in any Continental war. To adopt it as just and right for claims that might accrue in the future, rendered it hardly possible to reject it as unjust and wrong for outstanding claims that had accrued in the past. As to the Fishery dispute, citizens of the United States, it was agreed, were to have for ten years the right to fish on the Canadian coast, and Canadians were to have a similar right of fishing on the coasts of the United States down to the 39th parallel of latitude. As the British Commissioners insisted that the balance of advantage was here conceded to the United States, and that it therefore ought to be paid for by them, that point was by mutual agreement referred to another Commission for adjustment. The chronic controversy as to the San Juan boundary was to be referred to the Emperor of Germany. These

* The British Commissioners were Earl de Grey, whose services on the Commission were rewarded by his elevation to the Marquisate of Ripon, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Montagu Bernard, and two distinguished Canadians.

† One arbitrator was to be chosen by the Queen and one by the President of the United States. The three others were to be nominated by the King of Italy, the President of the Swiss Republic, and the Emperor of Brazil.

arrangements as embodied in the Washington Treaty were subjected to some carping criticism in England. Lord Russell moved, in the House of Lords, that the Queen should be asked to refuse to ratify the instrument, and Lord Salisbury taunted the Government with sacrificing the position of England as a neutral power. But the tone of the debate showed that in their hearts the Conservatives and the old Whigs were thankful that the country had been so honourably extricated from an embarrassing diplomatic conflict, and their attack on the Treaty was like that made by Mr. Sumner and General Butler



BALMORAL CASTLE, FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co., Aberdeen.)

on the other side of the Atlantic, merely a Party sortie.* In a few weeks it was universally admitted that the object which the Government had in view had been attained. As if by magic, the feeling of the United States towards England changed from one of menacing exasperation, to one of growing sympathy and friendliness. For the first time in the course of eighty years the average American stump orator found he could not evoke a round of applause, by hotly-spiced denunciations of England and Englishmen.

But, speaking generally, the Foreign Policy of the Government discredited it. In the struggle between France and Germany the Cabinet preserved a cold

* Lord Russell, however, took a personal rather than a Party view of the question. He could not forget that he was individually responsible for the occurrences and acrimonious despatches that had embittered Americans against England.

neutrality, at a time when popular feeling would have supported it in protesting against the cession of Alsace and Lorraine to the conquering power. For this



General Wimpfen.

Von Moltke.

Von Bismarck.

General Faurer.

AFTER SEDAN : DISCUSSING THE CAPITULATION. (From the Picture by Georg Elshöten.)

attitude, however, Lord Granville had a plausible excuse. Though the nation was sulky because an effective protest had not been made, it would not have tolerated any policy that might have led the country into war. Moreover, the

Army had yet to be reorganised, and till that was done the voice of England was naturally of little account in the affairs of Europe. At the same time the meek and spiritless expression which Ministers habitually gave to their neutrality, irritated a proud and sensitive democracy who were every day taunted by Tory orators and writers with permitting themselves to be governed by a cowardly Cabinet. It seems just to say, even when one makes every allowance for the difficulties of their position, that in their handling of the diplomacy of the Franco-German War, Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville missed a great opportunity. After the collapse of France at Sedan had been followed by that long series of German victories which ended in the capitulation of Paris, and the Armistice Convention between M. Jules Favre and Count von Bismarck (28th January, 1871), Englishmen were all agreed on one point. To cede Alsace and Lorraine to Germany was, in their opinion, to create a French Poland, or Venetia on the Rhine, whose chronic discontent must permanently imperil the peace of the world. But when the English Government in February attempted to dissuade Germany from exacting terms that inevitably rendered revenge the first duty of every French patriot, England found herself isolated. None of the Powers were prepared to join her in reviewing the conditions of peace which Germany might impose, and the German Chancellor never even deigned to answer the English remonstrance. England, in fact, had moved in the matter too late.

As far back as the 17th of October, 1870, Sir Andrew Buchanan told Lord Granville that the Czar, in his private letters to King William of Prussia, had expressed a hope that no French territory would be annexed. On the 4th of November the Italian Minister informed Lord Granville that whilst Italy admitted that French fortresses must be surrendered to the Germans, yet she held that there should be no cession of territory. Sir A. Paget, writing from Florence, also conveyed to Lord Granville about the same time the views of Signor Visconti to the effect that "the Italian Government had several times expressed the opinion that a peace in which Germany would seek her guarantees by the dismantling of fortresses, &c., would afford better securities for its duration than one which would be likely to create a new question of nationalities." Here there was a basis for a joint representation on the part of the European Powers—for Austria all through had only been held back through fear of Russia—both to France and Germany. France might have been warned that, in spite of M. Jules Favre's formula,* she, as the defeated aggressor, had no right to object to her menacing strongholds being razed. Germany might have been reminded that, in the interests not of France but of Europe, it was her duty as a great and civilising Power not to demand a cession of territory, the recovery of which must be to France an object of ceaseless striving.

* "Not an inch of our territory, and not a stone of our fortresses."

The Queen would gladly have used her personal influence with the German Emperor in urging on the Court of Berlin the policy and justice of this representation. Lord Granville's subordinates had assured him that France, despite M. Favre's heroics, would agree to anything if spared the surrender of territory. It is now known that even Bismarck himself was not desirous of the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine against the will of their inhabitants.* The German generals had, however, claimed what they deemed a safe, military frontier, and though Von Bismarck induced them not to insist on the cession of Belfort, he could not repel their demand for Alsace, a third part of Lorraine, and Metz and Strasburg. The German Crown Prince was, moreover, understood to be opposed to any irritating and unnecessary annexation. Hence all the chances were in favour of success, if Lord Granville, acting with Russia and Italy, had approached Germany with a cordial and courteous appeal, to reject the advice of her military party, and moderate their demands in the interests of Europe.† But the golden opportunity of strengthening Von Bismarck's hands was lost. Lord Granville not only refused to abandon his attitude of rigid neutrality, but he couched his policy in phrases so ostentatiously deferential to Germany, that they almost justified the half-contemptuous replies which Von Bismarck at this time sent to all despatches from the English Foreign Office, which he did not entirely ignore. In February, 1871, when Lord Granville at last plucked up heart to remonstrate with Germany, her victorious armies had made sacrifices that rendered his tardy protests impertinent. Italy and Russia had sense enough to recognise this fact. They therefore refused to join England when Lord Granville sent his remonstrance to Von Bismarck, who tossed it into his diplomatic waste-paper basket.‡

It may be readily conceived, then, that, despite its public services, its invincible majority, and the failure of the Tory leaders to put before the country any policy of their own, signs of decay were already visible in the

* Bismarck's personal opinion of the terms of peace was that Germany asked too much or took too little. She should have either left France her territory, thereby depriving her of an incitement to revenge, or she should have broken and crushed her so utterly, that she must have been paralysed for a century. As it was, in spite of the heavy war-indemnity which Germany exacted, France in fifteen years recovered herself sufficiently to render her antagonism formidable, and as a standing inducement to a war of revenge, she had ever before her eyes the hope of recovering Alsace, Lorraine, and her lost fortresses.

† Bismarck would have let the French keep Metz for a milliard more of war-indemnity. Then with this money he would have built a fortress to mask it somewhere about Falkenberg, or towards Saarbrücken. "I do not like," he said one day at dinner during the peace negotiations, "so many Frenchmen being in our house against their will."—Lowe's *Life of Bismarck*, Vol. I., p. 631.

‡ The terms of peace proposed by Germany to France were an indemnity of six milliards of francs (£240,000,000), the cession of all Alsace, including Strasburg and Belfort, a third of Lorraine including Metz. The German Emperor, however, reduced the fine to five milliards. Von Bismarck induced the German generals to let France keep Belfort, in consideration of the French submitting to the triumphal march of the German troops through Paris as far as the Arc de Triomphe.

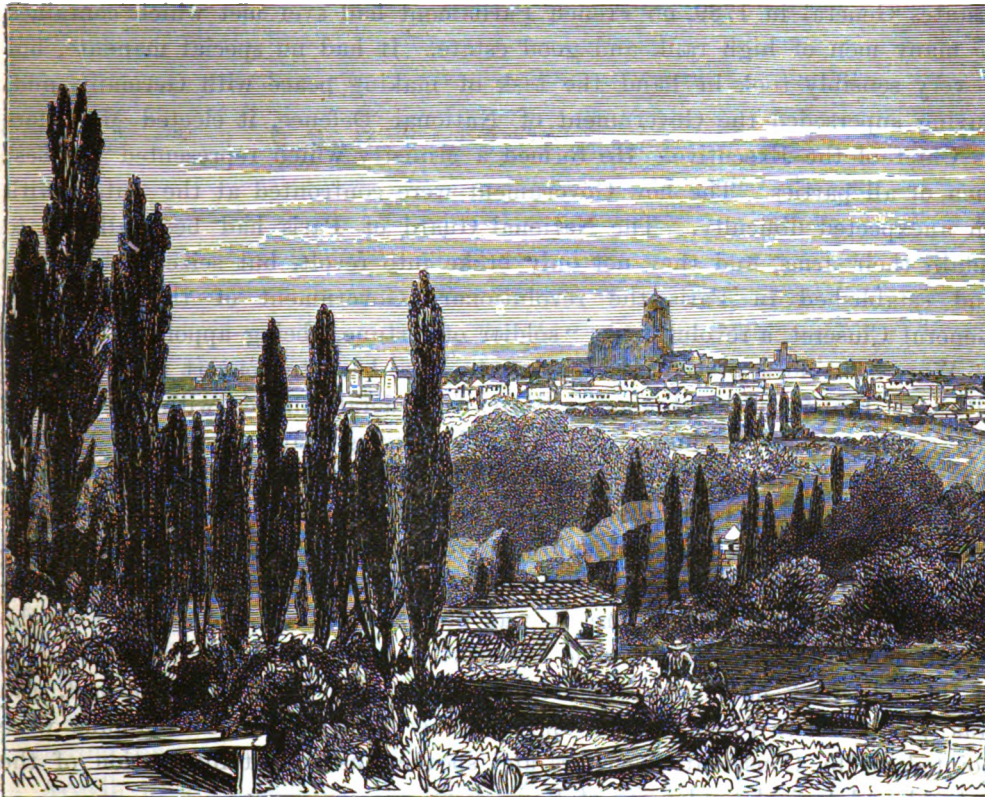
Government. Mr. Bruce had converted every publican into an enemy. The Dissenters had vowed vengeance against the Ministry, because Mr. Forster had increased the grant to denominational schools. The officers of the Army and the upper and upper-middle classes of society had resolved to punish Mr. Gladstone because he had allowed Mr. Cardwell to abolish Purchase. A few Radicals and many Whigs were also alarmed, because it had been abolished by Royal Prerogative, the use of which to coerce the Peers was resented by the aristocracy as an insult. The abolition of Purchase was to have been followed by an effective reorganisation of the Army. Hence the nation was profoundly disappointed to find the question of Army organisation made light of by Ministers during the recess. Mr. Cardwell's project for autumn manœuvres on a large scale on the Berkshire Downs had to be abandoned, because his Control Department could not feed or supply his troops. When he substituted for this scheme a sham campaign in the neighbourhood of Aldershot, the Transport Service was found to be so bad that the Artillery had to be drawn upon to supply it with horses, carts, and drivers. The disaster to the *Agincourt* and the wreck of the *Megara*, also gave colour to slanders against the Government which had issued from the Admiralty from the day that Mr. Childers began to reform its wasteful administration, and Mr. Goschen had continued his work.*

The Duke of Somerset, after the failure of the Berkshire campaign, had scoffed at the Government because they gave the nation "armies that could not march and ships that could not swim," and the epigram was soon everywhere repeated. Mr. Gladstone's appointment of Sir Robert Collier, the Attorney-General, to a seat on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was denounced far and wide as a job perpetrated by a tricky evasion of the law.† The Prime Minister's management of the House of Commons had also cost him many friends. As Mr. Disraeli once said, it was like that of a

* The *Agincourt*, an ironclad of 6,000 tons, was run aground on the Pearl Rock, off Gibraltar, on the 2nd of July. The accident occurred in broad daylight. The court-martial blamed the captain, staff commander, and one of the lieutenants, but public opinion condemned Vice-Admiral Wellesley, whose signals had, it was said, caused the disaster. Mr. Goschen and the Lords of the Admiralty decided that the Admiral was to blame for ordering an unsafe course to be steered, and compelled him to strike his flag. The *Megara* was a transport ship which had been sent to sea with her bottom honeycombed with rotten plates. On the 19th of June the captain had to beach her to save her crew. Yet the Admiralty officials had reported her quite seaworthy when her bottom was, as one of her officers said, "as full of holes as an old tea-kettle."

† The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had been reorganised so as to constitute a competent Court of Appellate Jurisdiction for India and the Colonies. A certain number of judges was appointed to it, but the Act laid it down that it was necessary for a man to be a judge before he got one of these appointments. In November, 1871, Mr. Gladstone was desirous of promoting Sir Robert Collier, then Attorney-General. The Lord Chancellor accordingly made Sir Robert a Puisne Judge so as to give him a technical qualification, and then immediately appointed him to the Judicial Committee. It is only right to say that personally and professionally Sir Robert Collier was well qualified for the post.

schoolmaster who was a little too fond of exhibiting the rod. Mr. Ayrton and Mr. Lowe during the Session even enhanced their reputation for irritating those who transacted business with them. But at every turn Mr. Gladstone was embarrassed by his Parliamentary majority. It had been elected to carry reforms which most of them individually dreaded. Their desire was therefore to discover, not pretexts for pushing the Ministry onward,



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but excuses which they could plausibly justify to their constituents for holding Ministers back. As for the working classes, they had imagined when Mr. Gladstone came to office "something would be done for them." But nothing except the Trades Union Bill had been conceded to their demands, and even that measure was defaced by irritating provisions, inserted to please their masters. Mr. Disraeli's strategy in these circumstances was artful, if not altogether admirable. He gently fomented every rising discontent. Without committing his Party to redress the wrongs of the discontented, he left on the country the impression that under his administration there would be less social friction than then existed, whilst there could not be much less social reform.

Other circumstances tended to strengthen Conservative feeling in England. Just as the triumph of democracy in the United States at the end of the Civil War gave a great impetus to English Liberalism, so did the march of events in France after the conclusion of peace produce a reaction in England against democracy. The French elections resulted in the return of the Assembly which met at Bordeaux on the 12th of February. Its majority consisted of Legitimists and Orleanists, and, since the Convocation of the Estates General in 1789, no French Parliament had ever met which contained so many men of high rank and good estate. It had no special mandate, but it very sensibly took in hand the task of making peace with Germany, and, having superseded the Government of National Defence, it elected M. Thiers as Chief of the Executive. He formed a Ministry which represented the best men of all parties. The new Government were confronted at the outset with an unexpected difficulty. The National Guard of Paris had been allowed to retain their arms, and they not only broke into revolt, but seized the capital and established in Paris the revolutionary Government of the Commune, General Cluseret, a revolutionary "soldier of fortune," being appointed Minister of War. The idea of the revolt seems to have been to convert the ten great cities of France into autonomous States in federal alliance with the rest of the country, and the insurgents began by giving Paris a separate Government, Executive, Army, and Legislature. The Red Republicans imagined that by this device they could emancipate the artisans from the control of the peasants, who, under universal suffrage, were masters of France. The Commune was founded by honest fanatics, but it let loose the suppressed blackguardism of Paris, and before it was stamped out by the Army and the Government of Versailles, terrible atrocities not unworthy of the worst days of the "Terror" had been committed by the rabble whom it had armed, and was powerless to restrain. In England the excesses of the Commune were pointed to by Conservative writers and speakers as an apt illustration of the natural and logical tendencies of Radicalism.

The Queen's domestic life during 1871 was not much disturbed by the petty demonstrations of Republican feeling which were in vogue at the beginning of the year. They did not influence either the Ministry or Parliament; and when, on the 13th of February, Mr. Gladstone proposed the vote for the Princess Louise's dowry in the House of Commons, only three Members voted against it.* Mr. Disraeli, though he supported the proposal,

* These were Mr. Peter Taylor, Professor Fawcett, and Sir Charles Dilke. The vote for it was 352, but half of the House was absent from the division which Mr. Taylor challenged. Mr. Taylor declared that the people were getting tired of the Monarchy. Sir Robert Peel suggested that if more money were granted to the Royal Family, it ought to go to the Prince of Wales, who was doing most of the Queen's ceremonial duties. He had also the bad taste to sneer at the Queen's alleged parsimony, and insinuated that she saved for her private purse the money voted to defray her State expenses.

gently tickled the sympathies of its opponents by suggesting that the system of voting Royal grants should be changed. His idea was to maintain the Crown by an estate of its own, ample enough to cover all its personal and family expenses, and that Parliament should not be called on to grant money to the Queen save for expenditure on public pageantry.

When it was announced that the Queen had fixed the 21st of March for the Princess Louise's marriage, the High Church Party were indignant that the ceremony was to be performed in Lent. They argued that when Royalty set an example contrary to the teachings of the Church, the influence of the clergy was weakened over, what the *Guardian* newspaper called, "the large area of society which lies between the inner circle of the devout and the multitude of the unattached outside the consecrated ground." No heed, however, was paid to these remonstrances, and the Royal wedding, when it took place at Windsor, completely diverted popular attention from the Communist Reign of Terror in Paris. The enthusiasm of the capital, it is true, was rather qualified. The West End tradesmen were sulky because of the withdrawal of the Queen from the gaieties of the London season; and the populace was annoyed because the marriage did not take place in Westminster Abbey or St. Paul's. But the provinces were unusually lavish in their demonstrations of sympathy with the Sovereign, and with the wedded pair who had broken down the barrier of caste which had been so long maintained between the Royal Family and the nation.*

The town of Windsor was *en fête* for the occasion, the people crowding the Castle Green, and the Eton boys occupying the Castle Hill. The police and soldiery kept a passage open for the guests who came from London by special train, and who were conveyed in Royal carriages to St. George's Chapel amid general cheering and joyous ringing of bells. The Ministers of State, Foreign Princes and Ambassadors, and other prominent persons, were gay in rich and glittering uniforms. Of the bridal party, the first to arrive was the Duke of Argyll, with his family. He wore the dress of a Highland chieftain, with philabeg, sporran, claymore, and jewelled dirk. A plaid of Campbell tartan was thrown across his shoulders, over which was also hung the Order of the Thistle. He was accompanied by the Duchess of Argyll, who shone in silver and white satin. The Lord Chancellor, in wig and gown, and Lord Halifax, in Ministerial uniform of blue and gold, walked up the central aisle and took their

* Some of the comments of the Press on the wedding were instructive. The *Times* said: "To-day a ray of sunshine will gladden every habitation in this island, and force its way even where uninvited. A daughter of the people, in the truest sense of that word, is to be married to one of ourselves. The mother is ours, the daughter is ours." *Vanity Fair*, a "Society" journal, considered that it was "an additional claim of the dynasty on our loyalty that means should have been found to enable us to keep so charming a Princess in the country." The *Daily Telegraph*, in describing the history of the marriage, said: "The old dragon Tradition was routed by a young sorcerer called Love, who laughs at precedents as heartily as at locksmiths, and has an equal contempt for etiquette and armour *cap-à-pie*."

seats, along with members of the Cabinet and the Privy Council, in the stalls to the left of the altar. Then came the Princess Christian, in pink satin, trimmed with white lace, and some Indian potentates, radiant in auriferous scarlet. Lord Lorne, the bridegroom, next entered, arrayed in the uniform of the Argyllshire Regiment of Volunteer Artillery, of which he was Colonel, looking pale and nervous. He was supported by his groomsmen, Lord Percy and Lord Ronald Leveson-Gower. The Princess Beatrice arrived evidently in high spirits, and wearing a pink satin dress, her sunny hair flowing freely down her back. The Princess of Wales, who received an almost affectionate greeting, was the last of the Royal party to come. All the members of the Royal Family were then present, with the exception of Prince Alfred. As the procession advanced up the nave, the bride was supported on the right by the Queen, and on the left by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. The Princess, in her dress of white satin and veil of Honiton lace, was voted one of the most charming brides on whom the sun had shone. Eight bridesmaids followed, all daughters of dukes and earls, clad in white satin, decorated with red camellias. The Queen appeared in black satin, relieved by the broad blue ribbon of the Garter, and by a fall of white lace, which nearly reached to the ground. The service was read by the Bishop of London, the Queen giving away her daughter.* After the ceremony, the Queen took the bride in her arms, and kissed her heartily, while the Marquis of Lorne knelt and kissed the Queen's hand. The Royal wedding breakfast was served in the magnificent oak-room of Windsor Castle, the company including the Prince and Princess of Wales, Prince Arthur, the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, Prince and Princess Teck, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, Prince and Princess Christian. Another breakfast for the general company was served in the Waterloo Gallery. When the newly-married pair left the Castle for Claremont, it was noticed that the bride wore a charming travelling costume of Campbell tartan. As they departed, their numerous relatives showered over them a quantity of white satin slippers, and, following an ancient Highland usage, a new broom was also thrown after them as they got into the carriage. The Oriental custom of flinging rice after a wedded couple, introduced into England by the family of Musurus Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador, had not then become the *mode* in the highest circles of Society.†

* "When the time came for putting on the ring, the bride took off her glove, which, with the bouquet, the Queen offered to take. The Princess, however, evidently did not observe the gracious attention, and handed them to Lady Florence Lennox, who let them drop. May this be an omen that flowers may strew the ground wherever the Princess's future life may lead her!"—(*Standard*, 22nd March, 1871.)

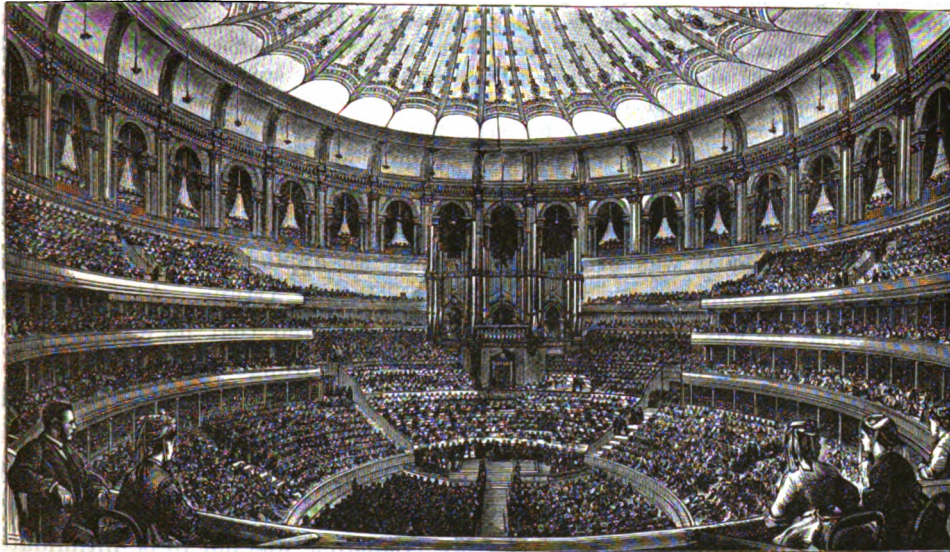
† It may be worth while to note the precedents for marriage between English Princesses and subjects:—Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I., and widow of the King of Bohemia, was supposed to have privately married Lord Craven. Princess Mary, sister of Henry VIII., married Charles Brandon, who was sent to escort her from France, when her husband Louis XII. died.



MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS LOUISE. (See p. 408.)

(After the Picture by Sydney P. Hall.)

On the 29th of March, in the presence of a brilliant and fashionable crowd of upwards of 10,000 persons, the Queen opened the Royal Albert Hall at Kensington. The Members of the Provisional Committee met the Prince of Wales, their President, and, on the arrival of the Queen at half-past twelve o'clock, the Heir Apparent read the address to her Majesty, which could hardly be heard, because a provoking echo mimicked the tones of his voice whilst he described the completion of the Hall. The Queen having handed to the Prince a written answer, said, "I wish to express my great admiration of this beautiful Hall, and my earnest wishes for its complete success." After



OPENING OF THE ROYAL ALBERT HALL.

a prayer from the Bishop of London, the Prince exclaimed, "The Queen declares this Hall to be now opened!" an announcement which was followed by a burst of cheering, the National Anthem, and the discharge of the Park guns. Then a concert was given, which included the performance of a cantata written expressly for the occasion by Sir Michael Costa.

Three of the daughters of Edward IV. married the heads of the families of Howard, Courtenay, and Welles; but though Henry VI. recognised these alliances, he did not quite recognise the title of Edward IV. Of the House of Hanover, William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, in 1766 married the widow of Earl Waldegrave, who was the illegitimate daughter of Sir Robert Walpole, a match which infuriated King George III. Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, in 1771 married Lady Anne Luttrell, daughter of Earl Carhampton, and widow of Mr. Charles Horton, of Catton Hall, Derbyshire. The Royal Marriage Act was passed in 1772, after which time there have been some Royal marriages with subjects in spite of the law: (1), The Duke of Sussex married first Lady Augusta Murray, daughter of the Earl of Dunmore. After she died, his Royal Highness married his second wife, Lady Cecilia Letitia Buggin, daughter of Arthur, Earl of Arran, and afterwards Duchess of Inverness. (2), George IV., while Prince of Wales, married Mrs. FitzHerbert. (3), The present Duke of Cambridge married some years ago Mrs. FitzGeorge.

On the 21st of June the Queen again appeared in London to open the new buildings of St. Thomas's Hospital on the Albert Embankment, and her neatly-worded reply to the address which was presented to her on that occasion attracted considerable attention, because it was rumoured that it had been carefully written out by herself. It ran as follows:—

"I thank you for your loyal Address. I congratulate you on the completion of a work of so much importance to the suffering poor of the Metropolis. The necessity for abandoning the ancient site of your Hospital has been wisely turned to account by the erection of more spacious and commodious buildings in this central situation, and I rejoice that a position of appropriate beauty and dignity has been found for them on the noble roadway which now follows the course of this part of the Thames, of which they will henceforth be among the most conspicuous ornaments. It gives me pleasure to recognise in the plan of your buildings, so carefully adapted to check the growth of disease, ample and satisfactory evidence of your resolution to take advantage of the best suggestions of Science for the alleviation of suffering, and the complete and speedy cure of the sick and disabled. These great purposes are not least effectually promoted by an adequate supply of careful and well-trained nurses, and I do not forget that in this respect your Hospital is especially fortunate through the connection with it of the staff trained under the direction of the lady whose name will always remain associated with the care of the wounded and the sick. I thank you for the kind expressions you have used in regard to the marriage of my dear daughter."

Early in summer it was bruited about that an application would be made to the House of Commons for a settlement on Prince Arthur. At first it was whispered that he was to be created Duke of Ulster, and that he was to live in Ireland, an eccentric tribute to the loyalty of the Orangemen, who when the Irish Church was disestablished threatened to "kick the Queen's Crown into the Boyne." The idea, however, was abandoned, and the agitation against the Princess Louise's dowry now broke out anew, especially in Birmingham, in the form of a protest against the usual portion being voted to the Prince on the attainment of his majority. But Mr. Gladstone was not to be intimidated by the Republicans. On the 27th of July he brought down to the House of Commons a Royal Message requesting the customary allowance for a Prince of the Blood to be voted.* A few days afterwards the Royal Message was debated, Mr. Peter Taylor moving the rejection of the resolution voting £15,000 a year to the Prince, and Mr. Dixon moving its reduction from £15,000 to £10,000. Eleven members voted for Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Dixon found fifty-one supporters. The grant was easily carried, Mr. Gladstone basing his case on the implied contract made by Parliament to support the Royal Family when the Crown Lands were taken over by the State, and Mr. Disraeli arguing that the English workmen could easily afford to pay for their Monarchy because they were the richest class in the world. But Mr. Gladstone seemed a little nervous

* This gave rise to a curious incident. A clerk by mistake had given the Minister the message meant for the Lords. When Mr. Gladstone read out the words "Her Majesty relies on the attachment of the House of Peers to concur," the House buzzed with excitement, and the Tories wrathfully whispered to each other that some new insult had been devised by Mr. Gladstone for the Hereditary Chamber. Mr. Gladstone had to explain how the mistake had been made, before tranquillity could be restored.

when Mr. Dixon indicated that he was forced to demand a reduction of the vote by his constituents, among whom Republicanism, he said, was spreading, because they considered it cheap. The Prime Minister accordingly took occasion to hint that it might be well to establish an arrangement which would render similar applications to Parliament unnecessary, and Mr. Disraeli, not to be outdone, made his bid for popularity by suggesting that the Crown should be allowed to charge Crown Lands for the Queen's children, just as English nobles charged their estates with portions for their younger sons. Perhaps some of the acerbity of the Radical or Republican members was due to the meddlesomeness of the Home Secretary, Mr. Bruce, who prohibited a public meeting in Trafalgar Square which was fixed for the same evening on which the Royal Message was debated, in order to protest against the grant.* The Prince took the title of Duke of Connaught, and settled down to follow a useful career in the Army.

In September the country was greatly grieved to learn that the Queen had fallen seriously ill. Those who had been reproaching her for retiring from active life now began to suspect what was the truth, namely, that the Queen's labours were not materially lessened by her withdrawal from the exciting functions of each London season. Her illness took the form of a sore throat, accompanied by glandular swellings under the arm, and the sympathetic sentiment of London was expressed by the *Times*, which mournfully regretted that the Sovereign had ever been pressed to overwork herself.

Gradually the prostration which this illness had caused passed away; but, unhappily, no sooner had her own health ceased to give the Queen cause for anxiety, than that of her eldest son broke down. Nothing could exceed the alarm of the country when it was announced on the 20th of November that the Heir to the Throne was smitten at Sandringham with typhoid fever—the very malady which had cut off his father in his prime. The disease, it was said, had probably been contracted when the Prince was visiting Lord Londesborough at Scarborough, and it was a significant coincidence, not only that Lord Chesterfield, who was staying there at the same time, had been attacked by and had quickly succumbed to the fever, but that six other guests of Lord Londesborough's had complained of being unwell. On the other hand, it was pointed out that a groom at Sandringham, who had not quitted the place, was smitten at the same time as the Prince, and that it was therefore to bad sanitation at Sandringham that the mishap must be traced. Day by day the nation read the reassuring bulletins with growing anxiety,

* Mr. Bruce's management of this affair did much to bring the Government into contempt. When the promoters of the meeting defied him he withdrew his prohibition. On being questioned in the House of Commons on the subject, he explained that when he issued it he thought that the meeting was called to petition Parliament, and no meeting can legally be held within a mile of Parliament for that purpose. But, he added, having found that the meeting was merely going to discuss the grant he considered it to be a legal one, and therefore withdrew his prohibition.

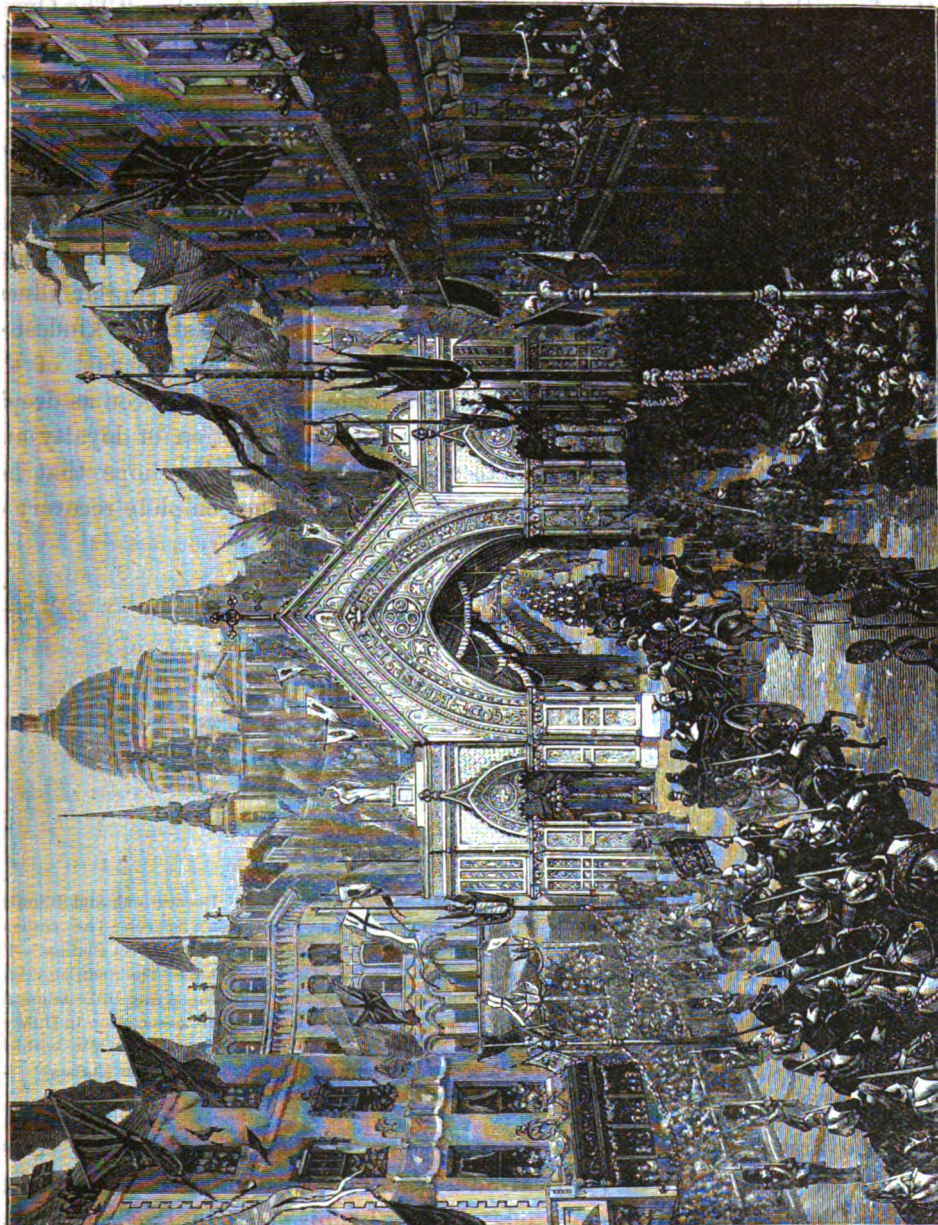
relieved only by the knowledge, not only that the Queen herself had taken her place at the sufferer's sick bed, and that the ever self-sacrificing Princess Louis of Hesse—a nurse of high technical skill—had installed herself in charge of the sick room. The Princess of Wales was herself suffering, doubtless from the same poison which had attacked her husband. Day by day the bulletins were eagerly scanned, not only in the newspapers, but by excited crowds at public places like the Mansion House and Marlborough House, where



THE PRINCE OF WALES'S ILLNESS: CROWD AT THE MANSION HOUSE READING THE BULLETINS.

they were exhibited. After twenty-five days of suffering the Prince, who had shown signs of recovery, had a relapse, and then the worst was feared. The Prince it was thought must die, and the shock of the bereavement might be fatal to the Queen, whose health was already sadly impaired. Englishmen remembered for the first time that only two precarious lives—one of which was flickering between life and death—stood between the country and a Regency. But what might a Regency portend? It had been fatal to the Monarchy in France; within the memory of living men it had nearly proved fatal to the Monarchy in England. When it was announced on the 9th of December that all the members of the Royal Family had suddenly been summoned to Sandringham, securities in the Money Market, with the exception of Consols, fell from one to

two per cent. Twice the physicians warned the Queen that the end was at hand, but at last, on the 14th of December—strangely enough the tenth anniversary of his father's death—the Prince made a rally, and the bulletins again became more



THANKSGIVING DAY: THE PROCESSION AT LUDGATE HILL. (From the Picture by N. Chervelier.)

hopeful. Prayers had been offered up for his recovery in every church in the empire, and even the Republican societies had sent addresses of sympathy to the Sovereign. The heart of the people had gone forth to her and to the Princess

of Wales in sincere and unrestrained sympathy, and as the year closed an official announcement was made which dispelled the gloom that had settled on all classes. It stated that, though Sir James Paget had not left Sandringham, the Prince was then (29th December) progressing favourably. This was followed by a letter from the Queen to the Home Secretary, in which she said :—"The Queen is very anxious to express her deep sense of the touching sympathy of the whole nation on the occasion of the alarming illness of her dear son the Prince of Wales. The universal feeling shown by her people during these painful, terrible days, and the sympathy evinced by them with herself and her beloved daughter the Princess of Wales, as well as the general joy at the improvement in the Prince of Wales's state, have made a deep and lasting impression on her heart which can never be effaced. It was, indeed, nothing new to her, for the Queen had met with the same sympathy when, just ten years ago, a similar illness removed from her side the mainstay of her life—the best, wisest, and kindest of husbands. The Queen wishes to express at the same time, on the part of the Princess of Wales, her feelings of heartfelt gratitude, for she has been as deeply touched as the Queen by the great and universal manifestation of loyalty and sympathy. The Queen cannot conclude without expressing her hope that her faithful subjects will continue their prayers to God for the complete recovery of her dear son to health and strength."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE "ALABAMA" CLAIMS.

Thanksgiving Day—The Procession—Behaviour of the Crowd—Scene in St. Paul's—Decorations and Illuminations—Letter from Her Majesty—Attack on the Queen—John Brown—The Queen's Speech—The *Alabama* Claims—The "Consequential Damages"—Living in a Blaze of Apology—Story of the "Indirect Claims"—The Arbitrators' Award—Sir Alexander Cockburn's Judgment—Passing of the Ballot Act—The Scottish Education Act—The Licensing Bill—Public Health Bill—Coal Mines Regulation Bill—The Army Bill—Admiralty Reforms—Ministerial Defeat on Local Taxation—Starting of the Home Government Association in Dublin—Assassination of Lord Mayo—Stanley's Discovery of Livingstone—Dr. Livingstone's Interview with the Queen—Her Majesty's Gift to Mr. Stanley—Death of Dr. Norman Macleod—The Japanese Embassy—The Burmese Mission—Her Majesty at Holyrood Palace—Death of Her Half-Sister.

DURING the first weeks of 1872 the convalescence of the Heir Apparent seemed to obscure all other topics of political interest. The anti-monarchical agitation, which Sir Charles Dilke had fomented, not only by his votes in Parliament, but by his speeches in the country, suddenly subsided, showing that the sentiment of affectionate regard which had linked the Crown and the nation together in the past, was not to be destroyed by political factions who were trading on the temporary and local estrangement of the Queen from her subjects in

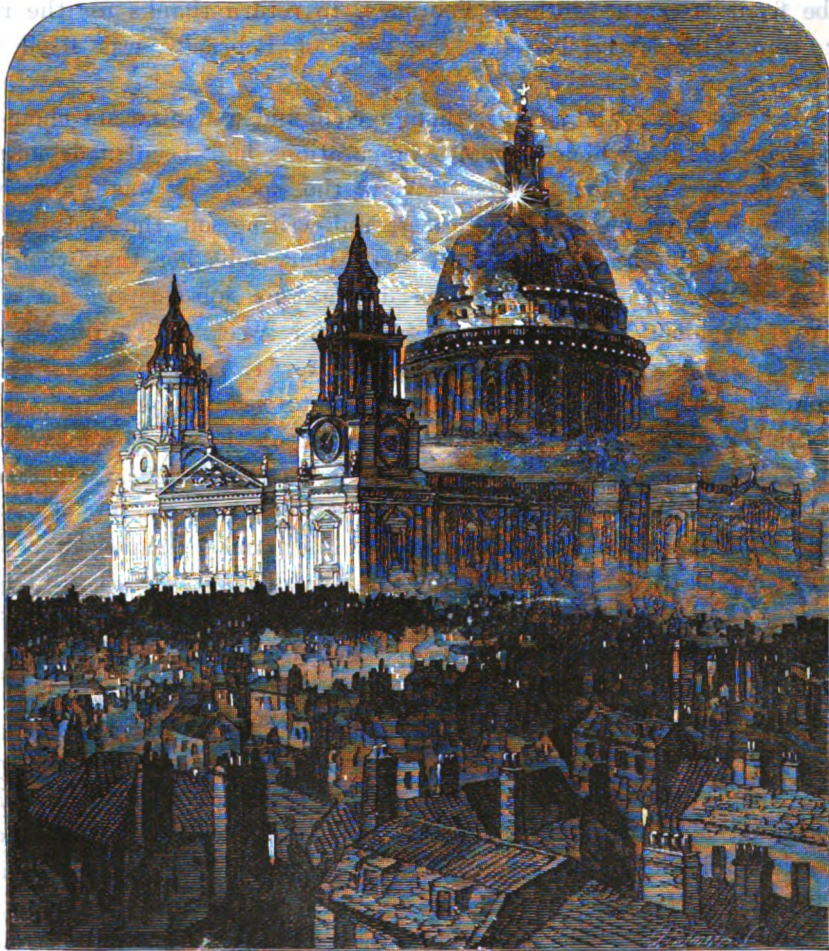
the capital. Faction, indeed, was for the time silenced throughout the land, and the Queen soon saw that it was the universal desire of the nation that the recovery of the Prince, which had saved the country from much anxiety as to its future under a Regency, should be celebrated by a solemn public function. It was therefore announced in the middle of January that the Queen would proceed in State to St. Paul's Cathedral on as early a day as could be fixed after the 20th of February, to return thanks for the recovery of her son. Ultimately Tuesday, the 27th of February, was fixed for the ceremony.

The day was clear and bright, though cold, and a wintry sun shone on the splendid pageant, for which elaborate preparations had been made many days before. The demand for tickets to view the spectacle was unprecedented. Carriages were hired at fabulous prices, and writing on the morning of the ceremony to his daughter-in-law, Lord Shaftesbury tells her that when he had ordered a brougham on the previous day at his job-master's he was told "that every vehicle had been pre-engaged for weeks. Thoroughfares like St. James's Street were impassable, because for two days before the event they were blocked by crowds who had come to see the preparations."* In fact, as Bishop Wilberforce says in a passage in his Diary, London was "quite wild on Thanksgiving Day."† By general desire the day was celebrated as a national holiday. As for the crowds in the streets along the line of *route*, they were said to number from a million to a million and a quarter of spectators, and the decorations far surpassed any similar display ever seen in London. The procession started from Buckingham Palace at five minutes past twelve o'clock, led by the carriages of the Speaker, the Lord Chancellor, and the Duke of Cambridge, and was composed of nine royal carriages, in the last of which the Queen was seen accompanied by the Prince and Princess of Wales. Her Majesty seemed to be in good health, and she looked supremely happy. The Prince was pale and rather haggard, but his bright and happy nature shone through a countenance radiant with gratitude, and he kept bowing all along the way to the multitudes who cheered him. The hearty reciprocal feeling between the Queen, the Prince, and the populace, which the shouts of such a vast crowd expressed, rendered the scene a magnificent demonstration of national loyalty to a popular Sovereign. At Temple Bar the Queen was met by the Lord Mayor and municipal dignitaries of the City of London, arrayed in their robes, and mounted on white horses. Having alighted, the Lord Mayor delivered to and received back from the Queen the City sword, according to the usual custom. But, contrary to precedent and to general expectation, the gates of Temple Bar were not closed against the Queen, so that it was unnecessary to present her with the

* Hodder's *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, Vol. III., p. 303.

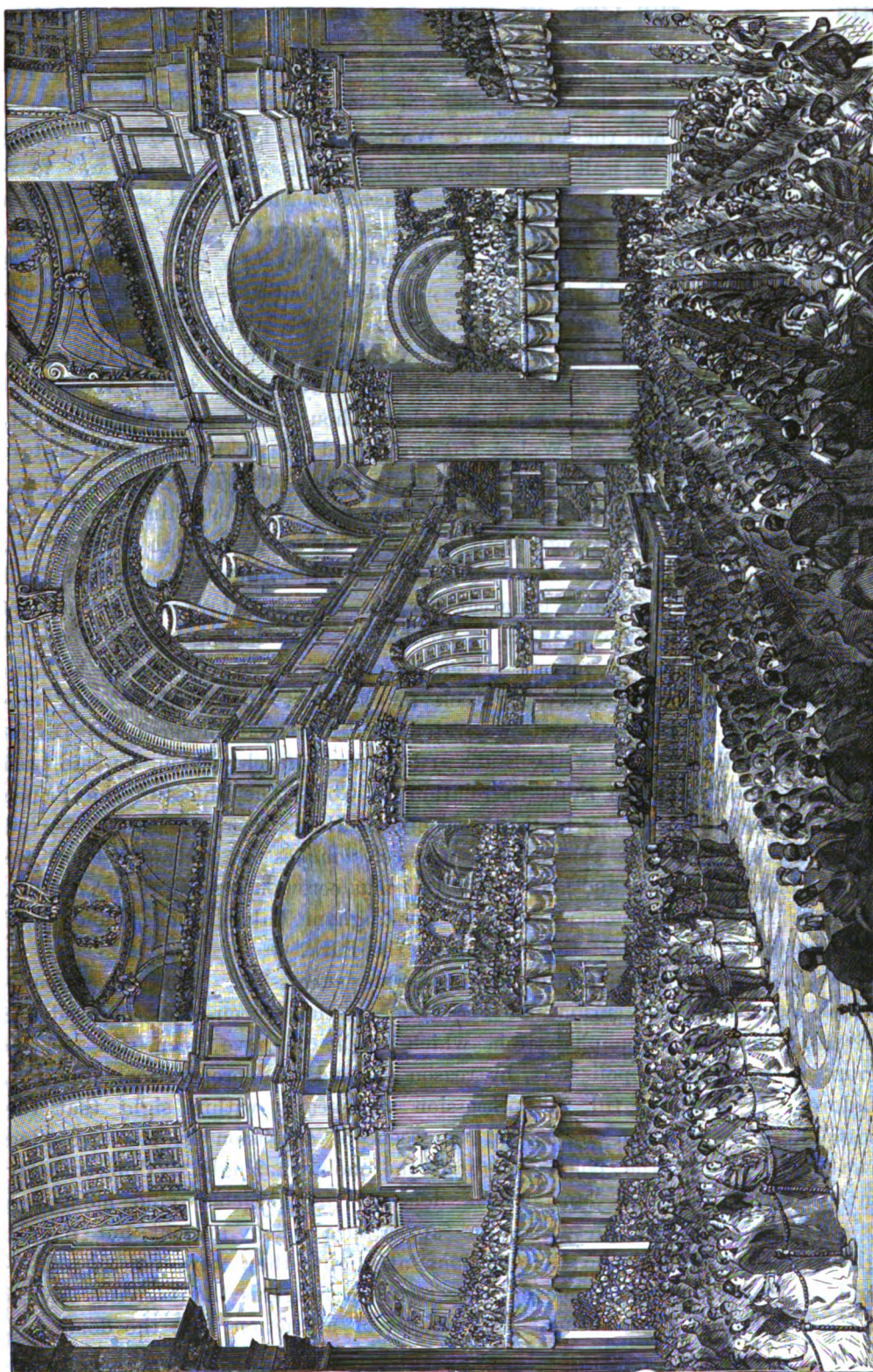
† *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, Vol. III., p. 394.

keys. The Lord Mayor and his colleagues having re-mounted their steeds, preceded the Royal procession to St. Paul's. Precisely at one o'clock the Queen entered the Cathedral through the pavilion erected upon the steps. Its approach was covered with crimson cloth, and it was ornamented with the royal arms and with the escutcheon of the Prince of Wales: On it there was



THANKSGIVING DAY : ST. PAUL'S ILLUMINATED.

the inscription "I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the Lord." Within the Cathedral the scene was imposing and impressive, for all that was exalted in station, high in official position, or eminent by reason of genius, talent, and public services was represented in the congregation of 13,000 persons. Representatives of the Court, the Princes of India, the Colonies, the Houses of Parliament, the Episcopate, the Judges, the Lords-Lieutenant, and the municipal authorities of the provincial towns, were especially prominent. The Queen was received at the Cathedral by the Bishop of



THE THANKSGIVING SERVICE IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

London and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and by the officers of her household, who were already waiting for her. With the Prince of Wales on her right hand and the Princess of Wales on her left, the Queen, leaning on the Prince's arm, walked up the nave in a procession which was marshalled by the Lancaster and Somerset Heralds. The special service began at one o'clock with the *Te Deum*, which was arranged by Mr. Goss for the occasion, and sung by a choir of two hundred and fifty voices. The voice of the Archbishop of Canterbury was inaudible, but the choral part of the ritual was listened to reverently. The words of special thanksgiving were:—"O Father of Mercies and God of all Comfort, we thank Thee that Thou hast heard the prayers of this nation in the day of our trial. We praise and magnify Thy glorious name for that Thou hast raised Thy servant, Albert Edward Prince of Wales, from the bed of sickness. Thou castest down and Thou liftest up, and health and strength are Thy gifts; we pray Thee to perfect the recovery of Thy servant, and to crown him day by day with more abundant blessings, both for body and soul, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen." Here there was a long pause, during which the dead silence of that vast hushed congregation was described by those present as being almost painful to the ear. Archbishop Tait having pronounced the benediction delivered a sermon which was striking for its brevity and its simple unadorned eloquence. He took for his text the words "Every one members one of another," and illustrated in a few apt sentences the Divine origin of family life and of the State and of the Church, which, he said, was but the family and the State in relation to God. The illness of the Prince had given a fresh meaning to this conception. Hence "such a day," observed the Archbishop in his concluding sentence, "makes us feel truly that we are all members one of another." The religious ceremony ended at two o'clock, and the Royal procession returned to Buckingham Palace amid thunders of artillery from the guns of the Tower and the Park.

With one exception the decorations were successful. That exception—which was noted as curious at the time by the Queen—was at Ludgate Circus, where the triumphal arch, which ought to have been one of the grandest in the metropolis was, by reason of backward preparation, almost a failure. It was not till the procession was nearly within sight that the scaffoldings were taken down, and the scene of confusion as the distracted workmen removed the poles, delighted the mob amazingly.* Unfortunately in the hurry, so much damage was done to the gorgeous gold mouldings of the arch, that it presented the appearance of an ancient but freshly gilded ruin. As for the illuminations at night, they were not general—probably because many people did not regard a religious thanksgiving day as a fit occasion for illuminating. The centres of attraction were the dome and

* *Daily Telegraph*, 28th February, 1872.

west front of St. Paul's, the dome being picked out by a treble row of coloured ship's lanterns. The cathedral itself stood out in lurid splendour when transient shafts of lime-light, and the fitful glow of the red light on the gilded ball fell on the building. Two days after the ceremony the following letter was published in the *London Gazette*:—

“Buckingham Palace, February 29, 1872.

“The Queen is anxious, as on a previous occasion, to express publicly her *own* personal *very deep* sense of the reception she and her dear children met with on Tuesday, February 27th, from millions of her subjects, on her way to and from St. Paul's.

“Words are too weak for the Queen to say how very deeply touched and gratified she has been by the immense enthusiasm and affection exhibited towards her dear son and herself, from the highest down to the lowest, on the long progress through the Capital, and she would earnestly wish to convey her warmest and most heartfelt thanks to the whole nation for this great demonstration of loyalty.

“The Queen, as well as her son and her dear daughter-in-law, felt that the whole nation joined with them in thanking God for sparing the beloved Prince of Wales's life.

“The remembrance of this day and of the remarkable order maintained throughout, will for ever be affectionately remembered by the Queen and her family.”

On the very day on which this letter was dated a strange attack was made on the Queen. When she returned from her afternoon drive in the Park, she passed along by Buckingham Palace wall, and drove to the gate at which she usually alighted. The carriage had hardly halted when a lad rushed to its left side, and bending forward presented a pistol at the Queen, while he flourished a petition in his hand. He then rushed round the carriage and threw himself into a similar attitude on the other side. The Queen remained calm and unmoved, and the boy's pistol was taken from him, when it was discovered that it was unloaded. The petition was a poor scrawl, demanding the release of the Fenian prisoners, and the lad gave the name of Arthur O'Connor, and stated his age to be seventeen.*

When Parliament assembled in 1872 Mr. Gladstone found himself confronted by an Opposition which had been rendered almost insolently aggressive by their triumphs at the bye-elections. He found himself supported by a majority, each section of which had its special grievance against him. And

* The boy was said to be a nephew of Feargus O'Connor, and was a clerk in an oil-shop in the Borough. He had tried to reach the Queen's carriage on Thanksgiving Day, but the density of the crowd prevented him. O'Connor, curiously enough, was not a Fenian or a Catholic, but a Protestant youth who had turned crazy by reading “penny dreadfuls.” In April he was tried and sentenced to one year's imprisonment and twenty strokes with the birch. The Queen, who had long been desirous of bestowing medals for long and faithful domestic service in her employment, found in the attack by O'Connor an opportunity for carrying out her idea. Her personal attendants were Highland gillies from her Aberdeenshire estates. They had been most active in protecting her when she was menaced by O'Connor, and on John Brown, who had been more prominent than the others, her Majesty conferred this gold medal and an annuity of £25. Brown had been the Prince Consort's favourite gillie, and, though his rough Northern manners were somewhat unprepossessing, his personal courage, stolid fidelity, shrewd judgment, and blunt honesty of speech, had rendered him a great favourite in the Queen's family.

if he looked beyond Parliament for support he might have seen that a subtle popular suspicion was growing up round his name which was fast neutralising the magic of his personality. It was said, alike by friends and foes, that an overweening love for personal power, and a passion for exercising personal authority over others, had become the guiding motives of his life, and the inspiring ideas of his policy. Had this been true, it is hardly likely that the Prime Minister would have identified himself with legislation which had set the vested interests, and the fanatical sectaries up in arms against him. But the important point was that, whether true or false, the calumny was believed, and the Queen, like many other careful observers, saw the Ministry growing weaker and weaker every day, whilst Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues were themselves under the delusion that every day increased their popularity. And yet, as if to justify the maxim that in politics it is the unexpected that happens, the year was not fruitful in crises or in sensational scenes. Mr. Disraeli held his followers in check, and the Session was a business-like one, which, when it ended, left the Government stronger than could have been anticipated.

The Parliamentary year was opened on the 6th of February, the Queen's Speech being read by Commission. It promised a Ballot Bill, and Bills for organising Education in Scotland, for regulating Mines, and for improving the Licensing System. The passage in the Speech to which, however, all eyes turned was the one dealing with the *Alabama* Claims. On this subject the country had suddenly become profoundly agitated, and from an observation in Bishop Wilberforce's Diary we gather that the Queen shared the popular feeling of the hour.* After the nation had congratulated itself on discovering a diplomatic solution of its difficulties with the American Republic, it was amazed to find that the Americans were endeavouring to seize by chicanery what they had failed to gain by diplomacy. When they forwarded the case which they meant to submit to Arbitration, it was discovered that they had included in it not only a claim for the actual damage done to American commerce by the Confederate cruisers, but also the claims for the indirect or "consequential damages" which Mr. Sumner had put forward, and which the British Commissioners understood were abandoned. The sum asked under this head would have covered half the cost of the whole Civil War. It was therefore the clear opinion of the Queen that England could not consent to go into Arbitration till this preposterous demand was withdrawn. Lord Granville, on the other hand, though he inclined to this opinion, was slow to reply to a demand which he was in honour bound to promptly repel. He was chiefly concerned about saving the Washington Treaty, and he therefore sent to the American Government a mild letter requesting the withdrawal of the "indirect claims" in terms so deferentially conciliatory, that had he been dealing with a less pacific Power his despatch would probably have been answered with the cynical

* Life of Bishop Wilberforce, Vol. III., p. 393.

brusquerie that marked Von Bismarck's dealings with him. But the country was not as meek as the Minister. There was an outburst of popular anger against the Americans for the "sharp practice" which sullied their statement of claim, and Mr. Gladstone soon saw that to go into Arbitration before the



GENEVA.

demand for "consequential damages" was withdrawn would lead to his expulsion from office. His declarations in Parliament on the subject thenceforth showed that he meant to repudiate the American interpretation of the Treaty under which the "indirect claims" had been dragged into the American case, and he spoke with the high spirit of a statesman rejecting a humiliating demand for tribute greater than conquest itself could extort. The Opposition in both Houses, on the whole, gave the Government generous support in this emergency, though Mr. Disraeli—referring to the torrent of Ministerial

oratory which had deluged the recess—could not refrain in his comment on the Queen's Speech from deriding the Cabinet for having lately lived "in a blaze of apology."

The story of the controversy on the "indirect claims" may here be told. The United States, in extremely conciliatory despatches, insisted on including these claims in their case. They argued that it was for the arbitrators at Geneva to say whether they were or were not admissible under the Treaty. They rested their contention on an ambiguous phrase which Lord Ripon and Sir Stafford Northcote had unfortunately permitted to pass uncorrected into the Treaty. The first Article of that instrument described its object to be that of removing and adjusting "all complaints and claims," &c., "*growing out of acts committed by the said vessels, and generically known as the 'Alabama' Claims.*" This certainly gave the Americans a plausible excuse for demanding "consequential" as well as direct damages. On the other side, the English Government argued that all the concessions made by the British Commissioners at Washington were made on the understanding that the "indirect claims" were not included in the Treaty; that in all their correspondence with the Washington Department of State no claims save direct claims were ever "generically" known as the *Alabama* Claims; and, lastly, that their interpretation was publicly expressed and well known to the United States Government, people, and Minister at the Court of St. James's, and was never objected to by either of them. It would, however, have been easy to put the point beyond dispute when the Treaty was drawn up by specifically barring all indirect claims. When Lord Ripon and Sir Stafford Northcote failed to do that they were guilty of negligence which, if brought home to the diplomatists of either Russia or Germany, would have procured for them, not rewards and honours, but punishment and degradation. Fortunately the dispute ended happily. Lord Granville for once acted with the firmness becoming the representative of a great nation. When the arbitrators met at Geneva, the representatives of England persistently refused to take part in the proceedings till the "indirect claims" were withdrawn. The arbitrators then adroitly extricated the agents of the Washington Government from a false position. They met and declared that, without reference to the scope of the Treaty or to the merits of the dispute as to its interpretation, which England refused to discuss before them, they were agreed that "indirect claims" could never, on general principles of international law, be a tenable ground for an award of damages in international disputes.

The Americans then withdrew the obnoxious part of their "case," and the arbitrators awarded to the United States £3,229,000 damages against England for the depredations committed by three out of the ten Confederate cruisers which, it was alleged, the British Government had negligently permitted to escape from British ports. The American claim for naval expenses incurred in chasing these cruisers was, however, rejected, because the

arbitrators held that it could not be practically distinguished from the general cost of the war. The Lord Chief Justice of England—one of the members of the Tribunal—concurred in the judgment as regards the *Alabama*. He differed from all his colleagues in regard to the *Florida*, and he and the Brazilian arbitrator differed from the majority as to the case of the *Shenandoah*.^{*} The failure of the English Government to seize the *Florida* and *Alabama*, when they put into British ports after they had made their escape, was evidently the fact which bore most strongly against England in the opinion of the Geneva Tribunal. The American claims for damages in respect of the *Georgia*, *Chickamauga*, *Nashville*, *Retribution*, *Sumter*, and *Tallahassee*, were rejected. On the whole, public opinion on both sides of the Atlantic, though not quite satisfied with the verdict, allowed that there had been a fair fight and a fair trial. Lord Chief Justice Cockburn's dissenting judgment, however, expressed the feeling of the English people, which was this. "Let us admit," they said, "the *ex post facto* rule making neutrals liable for damages if they do not exercise 'due diligence'—the 'dueness of diligence' to be always proportionate to the mischief the vessels might do—in preventing the escape of cruisers, and in re-capturing them when they get the chance. English officials were, however, not aware that, when these cruisers escaped and when on re-entering British ports they were not detained, international law demanded from them more 'dueness' of diligence than they had exercised or been taught to exercise. Hence it surely was wrong to give damages for their unconscious negligence, just as if their negligence had been conscious." This argument, indeed, Sir Alexander Cockburn pressed to the point of cutting down to zero the claim for damages in respect of the *Shenandoah* and *Florida*.

One of the most important Government measures of the year was the Ballot Act. But the opposition to it was marked by no novelty of argument, and it need only be said about it here that it was passed, the Lords not venturing to reject it a second time.[†] The Scottish Education Bill, which also passed, established a School Board system of public instruction all over Scotland far in advance of that which England had been able to obtain. A Licensing Bill of a mildly regulative character was carried, the publicans grudgingly accepting it as a compromise, while the Temperance Party attacked it as miserably ineffective.[‡] Mr. Stansfeld's Public Health Bill, defining the

^{*} England was admittedly not responsible for the escape of this vessel. But the Tribunal held that because a British Colony reinforced her crew at Melbourne after she carried the Confederate flag, responsibility accrued.

[†] The first Election under the Ballot was at Pontefract, when Mr. Childers was returned against Lord Pollington by a vote of 658 to 578—the registered Electors being 1,960. The Election was conducted with unusual order, and there was no bribery or intimidation, and less violence and drunkenness than usual.

[‡] This Bill was, of course, much less drastic than the one which Mr. Bruce withdrew in 1871. It reduced the hours of sale, strengthened the hands of the authorities as regards supervision and the granting of new licences, but as a sop to the Liquor Trade it gave the well-conducted publican a kind of tenant-right by practically securing to him a renewal of his licence.

authority which must in future be responsible for local sanitation, and embodying the principle that rates should be divided between the State and the locality was so adroitly managed by Mr. Stansfeld, that at last Mr. Disraeli supported the Government in carrying it. Another useful measure regulating the working of Coal Mines was carried in spite of many protests against interfering with private contracts between masters and servants, and many attempts on the part of the vested interests who were supported by the bulk of the Tory Party, to render the Bill inoperative. Among other things it prohibited the employment of women underground, and it made mine-owners responsible for the results of preventible mining accidents.

Mr. Cardwell's Army Bill was received with unlooked for favour. It attempted to adapt the territorial system of Prussia to the exigencies of military service in England. The nine existing military divisions were subdivided into sixty-six military districts. In each of these a small army or brigade was formed, consisting of two battalions of Regulars, to which were linked the local Militia and Volunteers. One of the regular battalions was to be told off for foreign service, and its "waste" supplied by drafts from the territorial *depôt*. The main objection to the scheme urged by Conservative officers was that it destroyed the family life of the old regiments—that it even destroyed their identity by substituting local titles for the numbers which their prowess in war had in many cases made historic. According to this scheme the country would have an Army of 446,000 men, of whom 146,000 were available for service abroad. The evidence given before the Commission which reported on the wreck of the *Megara*, concentrated attention on Admiralty Reform. On the whole, the country gave Mr. Childers credit for having brought order into that chaotic department. Before he came to power the various branches of the Admiralty had little or no connection with each other, and when a blunder was made by conflicting authority or contradictory orders, nobody could be made responsible. Mr. Childers set responsible officers at the head of each department, and made excellent arrangements for their mutual co-operation. But the weak point of his scheme was that he as First Lord was the real *nexus* which bound the whole organisation together. The system accordingly broke down when his health gave way, for Mr. Lushington, who was in a sense the Grand Vizier of the First Lord, was a civilian comparatively new to the department, and unable to act as an efficient substitute for Mr. Childers.* Mr. Goschen met the difficulty, not by appointing a naval expert as his second in command, but by casting responsibility for all orders on three officials—a Naval Secretary who was to be responsible for orders concerning the *personnel*, a Controller who was to be responsible for those relating to the *matériel*, and a Permanent Secretary who was to be responsible for those

* Had an Admiral with good administrative ability been appointed Permanent Secretary to the department instead of Mr. Lushington, the collapse of Mr. Childers' scheme, when he was invalided, might have been averted.

affecting finance and civil business. To secure unity of work the Board of Admiralty was to meet daily for consultation, and in the First Lord's absence the supreme authority was to pass to the First Naval Lord of the Admiralty.

In spite of a serious defeat on Sir Massey Lopes' motion on the question



DR. NORMAN MACLEOD.

(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

of Local Taxation,* a narrow escape from defeat on the Collier scandal, and a clever mocking attack by Mr. Disraeli at Manchester in the spring on their

* Sir Massey Lopes desired that the cost of administering justice, and the Lunacy and Police Acts—then charged on the rates—should be thrown on the Consolidated Fund, i.e., transferred from the rate-payer to the tax-payer. The county members on both sides objected to the whole system of rating which fell not on personal, but real property, and which threw on rates the cost of doing work which was done not merely for the locality, but for the community at large. The Ministry maintained that it was impossible to give effect to Sir Massey Lopes' ideas till the whole question of Local Government and Rating was taken up and settled on a sound basis.

sensational policy and their ambiguous utterances on the proposals of their extreme supporters, the Ministers were stronger in Parliament when the Session ended than when it began. Mr. Lowe's Budget further helped the credit of the Government, for such was the elasticity of the revenue that it foreshadowed a surplus of £3,000,000, and enabled him to remit the twopenny Income Tax which he had imposed in 1871.* Ireland, however, was as usual a source of anxiety to the Cabinet. The Tories and Orangemen, indignant at the Disestablishment of the Church, had coalesced with the more moderate Repealers, and set on foot the Home Government Association,† from which the Home Rule Party under the leadership of Mr. Isaac Butt sprang. Whenever the Ballot Act was passed, Home Rule candidates began to carry the Irish bye-elections against the Ministerialists—in fact, it was apparent to shrewd observers that the destruction of the Liberal Party in Ireland was now only a matter of time. Earl Russell was probably of this opinion when, in August, he startled the town by publishing a letter in the *Times* virtually conceding the principle of Home Rule in order to lighten the burden of Imperial legislation with which Parliament was overweighted.‡

As for the Opposition, their councils were divided. Lord Salisbury was averse from promising any programme. Mr. Disraeli seemed afraid to suggest one that went beyond sanitary reform. Yet the Tories had completely broken the absolute power of Mr. Gladstone in the country, and were still, as the Municipal Elections in November showed, a growing party. The causes which contributed to a reaction in their favour in 1871 were still at work. Mr. Gladstone's opposition to Sir Massey Lopes' motion on rating, and the sudden appearance of Trades Unionism among the agricultural labourers gave Conservatism hosts of fresh recruits, for the squires and the farmers naturally rallied to the Party whose leaders stood forth as champions of the threatened interests.

The attempt of O'Connor on the Queen's life was not the only crime

* The limit of abatement was also raised from incomes of £200 to £300, and the abatement itself from £60 to £80. The duty on coffee and chicory was reduced, and shops and warehouses were exempted from house-tax.

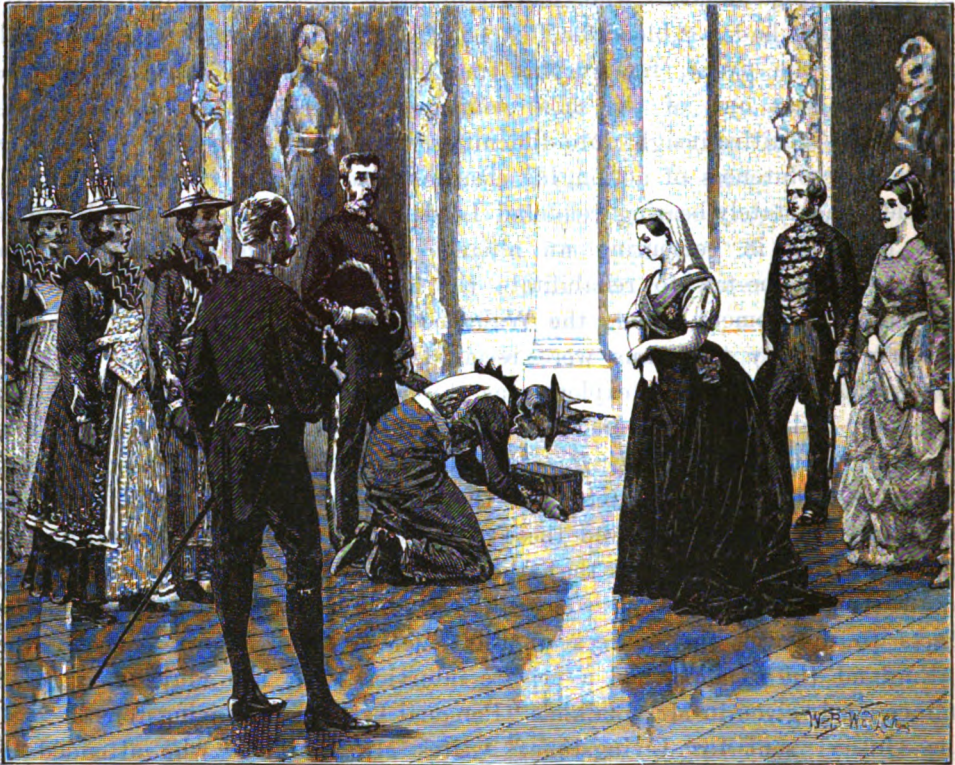
† This was founded on the 19th of May, 1870, in the Bilton Hotel, Sackville Street, Dublin. The chief Conservatives present were Mr. Purdon (Lord Mayor of Dublin), Mr. Kinahan (Ex-High Sheriff of Dublin), Major Knox (proprietor of the *Irish Times*), and Captain (afterwards Colonel) King-Harman. Mr. Butt moved the chief resolution, which was unanimously carried, affirming that "The true remedy for the evils of Ireland is the establishment of an Irish Parliament with full control over our domestic affairs."

‡ Lord Russell in this letter, says:—"It appears to me that if Ireland were to be allowed to elect a Representative Assembly for each of its four Provinces of Leinster, Ulster, Munster, and Connaught, and if Scotland in a similar manner were to be divided into Lowlands and Highlands, having for each Province a Representative Assembly, the local wants of Ireland and Scotland might be better provided for than they are at present." There was reason to suppose that the Birmingham School of Radicals in 1886 had almost summoned up courage to adopt the Home Rule scheme which the veteran Whig statesman propounded in 1872.

of the kind that darkened the year. On the 8th of February Lord Mayo, the Viceroy of India, was stabbed to death by a Mahomedan convict at Port Blair, the port of the penal settlement on the Andaman Islands, to which Lord Mayo was paying a visit of inspection. The assassin was a sullen, brooding fanatic who had been transported for killing a relative with whom he had a "blood feud." The Queen was as much shocked as the country by the event, for by this time it was universally recognised that Lord Mayo was one of the most competent Viceroys who had ever ruled India. His intuitive insight into difficulties, his shrewd perception of character, his frank resoluteness of action, his clearness and decision of purpose, and his dignified and stately bearing rendered Lord Mayo an ideal viceroy. His great work consisted in cementing an alliance with the Afghan Ameer, in imposing an income-tax to rehabilitate the finances of India, and suppressing a rebellious movement among the Wahabee fanatics.

Early in May telegrams were received in London announcing that Dr. Livingstone, the African explorer, as to whose safety much anxiety had been felt, had been discovered by Mr. Stanley, a special correspondent on the staff of the *New York Herald*, who had been despatched by Mr. J. Gordon Bennett, the proprietor of that journal, to look for the missing traveller. The Queen received these tidings with the deepest gratification, not unmingled with regret that the honour of the discovery should pass to an American expedition. Her interest in Livingstone, and in his last efforts to discover the sources of the Nile, was well known—indeed, when in England the explorer had a private interview with her Majesty, of which an account is given in Mr. Blaikie's "Personal Life of Dr. Livingstone." "She [the Queen] sent for Livingstone," writes Mr. Blaikie, "who attended her Majesty at the Palace without ceremony, in his black coat and blue trousers and his cap surrounded with a stripe of gold lace. This was his usual attire, and the cap had now become the appropriate distinction of one of her Majesty's Consuls—an official position to which the traveller attaches great importance as giving him consequence in the eyes of natives and authority over the members of the expedition. The Queen conversed with him affably for half-an-hour on the subject of his travels. Dr. Livingstone told her Majesty that he would now be able to say to the natives that he had seen his chief, his not having done so before having been a constant subject of surprise to the children of the African wilderness. He mentioned to her Majesty also that the people were in the habit of inquiring whether his chief were wealthy, and when he answered them that she was very wealthy they would ask how many cows she had got, a question at which the Queen laughed very heartily." Mr. Stanley had found Livingstone at Ujiji near Lake Tanganyika, and on his way back to Zanzibar he met the English Expedition, which had been despatched by the Royal Geographical Society, carrying succour to the explorer. As Livingstone's orders were to

refuse this tardy aid, the chiefs of the British Expedition had to return. Some people were at first sceptical as to the story told by Mr. Stanley, but all doubts were set at rest on the 27th of August, when Lord Granville



THE QUEEN RECEIVING THE BURMESE EMBASSY.

sent to Mr. Stanley a gold snuff-box set with diamonds as a gift from the Queen. Accompanying the present was the following letter:—

“I have great satisfaction in conveying to you, by command of the Queen, her Majesty’s high appreciation of the prudence and zeal which you have displayed in opening a communication with Dr. Livingstone, and relieving her Majesty from the anxiety which, in common with her subjects, she had felt in regard to the fate of that distinguished traveller. The Queen desires me to express her thanks for the service you have thus rendered, together with her Majesty’s congratulations on your having so successfully carried out the mission which you so fearlessly undertook. Her Majesty also desires me to request your acceptance of the memorial which accompanies this letter.”

In June the Queen had to mourn the loss of a highly trusted old family friend, Dr. Norman Macleod of Glasgow. He had been long ailing, and when at Balmoral, in May, the Queen at her last interview with him was so struck with his physical weakness that she insisted on his being seated whilst he was in her presence. Macleod’s influence as a courtier was built up partly on his ability as an eloquent pulpit orator, and his tact as a kindly, genial,

shrewd, tolerant man of the world. He had genuine goodness of heart, and he had not only the supple diplomatic skill of the Celt, but the Celt's inborn and honest love and reverence for rank and dignities. It was quite a mistake to suppose that his "flunkeyism" made him a *persona grata* at Court. On the contrary, he was in the unique position of being a Royal Chaplain on whom the Queen could not confer any favour or dignity. She could not give him a richer living in the Church than the one he had obtained without her patronage, and as a Presbyterian clergyman he could never be suspected of intriguing for hierarchical rank when he approached the Sovereign. His disinterestedness, too, was well known, for it was to Macleod's credit that during his long connection with the Court, though he was frequently entrusted with missions concerning matters of delicate family business, he never even asked for a favour either for himself or any of his relatives. When the vague rumour of his death reached the Queen she addressed the following letter to Dr. Macleod's brother:—

"BALMORAL, June 17, 1872.

"The Queen hardly knows how to begin a letter to Mr. Donald Macleod, so deep and strong are her feelings on this most sad and most painful occasion, for words are all too weak to say what she feels, and what all must feel who ever knew his beloved, excellent, and highly-gifted brother, Dr. Norman Macleod.

"First of all to his family—his venerable, loved, and honoured mother, his wife and large family of children—the loss of the good man is irreparable and overwhelming! But it is an irreparable public loss, and the Queen feels this deeply. To herself, personally, the loss of dear Dr. Macleod is a very great one; he was so kind, and on all occasions showed her such warm sympathy, and in the early days of her great sorrow gave the Queen so much comfort whenever she saw him, that she always looked forward eagerly to those occasions when she saw him here; and she cannot realise the idea that in this world she is never to see his kind face and listen to those admirable discourses which did every one good, and to his charming conversation again.

"The Queen is gratified that she was able to see him this last time, and to have had some lengthened conversation with him, when he dwelt much on that future world to which he now belongs. He was sadly depressed and suffering, but still so near a termination of his career of intense usefulness and loving-kindness never struck her or any of us as likely, and the Queen was terribly shocked on learning the sad news. All her children, present and absent, deeply mourn his loss. The Queen would be very grateful for all the details which Mr. D. Macleod can give her of the last moments and illness of her dear friend.

"Pray say everything kind and sympathising to their venerable mother, to Mrs. N. Macleod and all the family, and she asks him to accept himself of her true heartfelt sympathy."

The letter—one of the most remarkable ever written by a sovereign to and of a subject—is worth quoting, not only on account of its biographical interest, but as a model of sincerity, tenderness, and good taste exhibited in an order of composition usually disfigured by artificiality both of sentiment and style.

The lions of the London season of 1872 were two foreign embassies—one from Japan and one from Burma. The Japanese were Envoys from a great Asiatic monarch, and were nobles of the first rank specially chosen to represent their Sovereign. Their refined manner, shrewd observations, quick intelligence, and mastery over the English tongue, rendered them general favourites. The

so-called "Ambassadors" from Burma came to England on a different footing, and some authorities on Eastern affairs complained that they received an amount of attention and hospitality far beyond their deserts or their importance. It was said that they were officials chosen because of their low rank for the purpose of publicly slighting England; that they were sent to this country in order to establish a precedent for ignoring the Indian Viceroy, and enabling the King of Burma to treat with the Queen of England as a Peer. The Indian Viceroys had certainly been averse from permitting the Burmese Court to form direct diplomatic relations with European Courts; but in the East, Missions of Compliment are sometimes sent from Sovereigns to each other, and such Missions do not necessarily engage in diplomatic business. In this case the Burmese King Mindohn, by far the ablest ruler of the Alompra dynasty, had accepted the arrangement by which the diplomatic relations of Burma and the British Empire were carried on through an agent of the Indian Viceroy at Mandalay.* Indeed, one of the chief diplomatic difficulties between the two Governments—the great "Shoe Question," as it was called—was not one capable of direct discussion between the Courts of St. James's and Mandalay.† As to the rank of the Burmese Envoy, misconceptions on that point arose because Englishmen failed to understand that in Burma there was no such thing as hereditary rank outside the royal family of Alompra, the hunter king. Rank was conferred solely by official position, and the head of the Burmese Mission was a high official of the first grade, who was really President of the *Hloht* or Council of State. Under King Theebaw, who succeeded Mindohn, he became better known as the Kin-Woon Mingyee, and represented the party of peace and order at Mandalay with great ability and honesty of purpose. The Queen was rather better informed as to the antecedents of these distinguished visitors, and accordingly on Friday, the 21st of June, she received them at Windsor Castle. They brought with them many costly presents to her Majesty, of which an exceptionally magnificent bracelet, made of seven pounds of solid gold, was much talked about at the time. They also delivered a letter from the King, which began, "From His Great, Glorious, and Most Excellent Majesty, King of the Rising Sun, who reigns over Burma, to Her Most Glorious and Excellent Majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland." After her Majesty had received the presents, and made her acknowledgments through Major MacMahon, late Political Agent at Mandalay, the Embassy withdrew, and returned to London.

On the 1st of July the Queen, accompanied by the Duke of Edinburgh, Princess Louise, Princess Beatrice, and Prince Leopold visited the National

* Burma, As it Was, As it Is, and As it Will Be. By J. George Scott ("Shway Yoe"). London: Redway, 1886-7. P. 34.

† The British representative at Mandalay, besides complaining of perpetual encroachments on the Arakan frontier, declared that he was not allowed to see the King of Burma unless he took off his shoes and sat before him on the floor in his stockings.

Memorial erected in Hyde Park to the memory of the late Prince Consort. This was a strictly private visit, the monument being at the time incomplete.

Between the 15th and 20th of August the Queen broke her journey to Balmoral, and resided at Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh, for a few days. Though her visit was private, she was so gratified with the reception she everywhere received that she caused Viscount Halifax to address the following letter to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh:—

“DEAR LORD PROVOST,—It is not the practice unless the Queen has visited any city or town in a public manner, to address any official communication to the chief magistrate or authority of the place. I am commanded, however, by her Majesty to convey to you in a less formal manner the expression of her Majesty's gratification at the manner in which she was received by the people of Edinburgh in whatever part of this city and neighbourhood her Majesty appeared. Her Majesty has felt this the more because, as her Majesty's visit was so strictly private, it was so evidently the expression of their national feeling of loyalty. Her Majesty was also very much pleased with the striking effect produced by lighting up the park and the old chapel.”

The death of the amiable and accomplished Princess Feodore of Hohenlohe-Langenburg on the 23rd of September plunged the Queen into deep despondency. The Princess was half-sister to her Majesty, and the tie that bound them together through life had been close and affectionate. “All sympathise with you,” wrote the Princess Louis to the Queen when she heard of her mother's bereavement, “and feel what a loss to you darling aunt must be, how great the gap in your life, how painful the absence of that sympathy and love which united her life and yours so closely.”

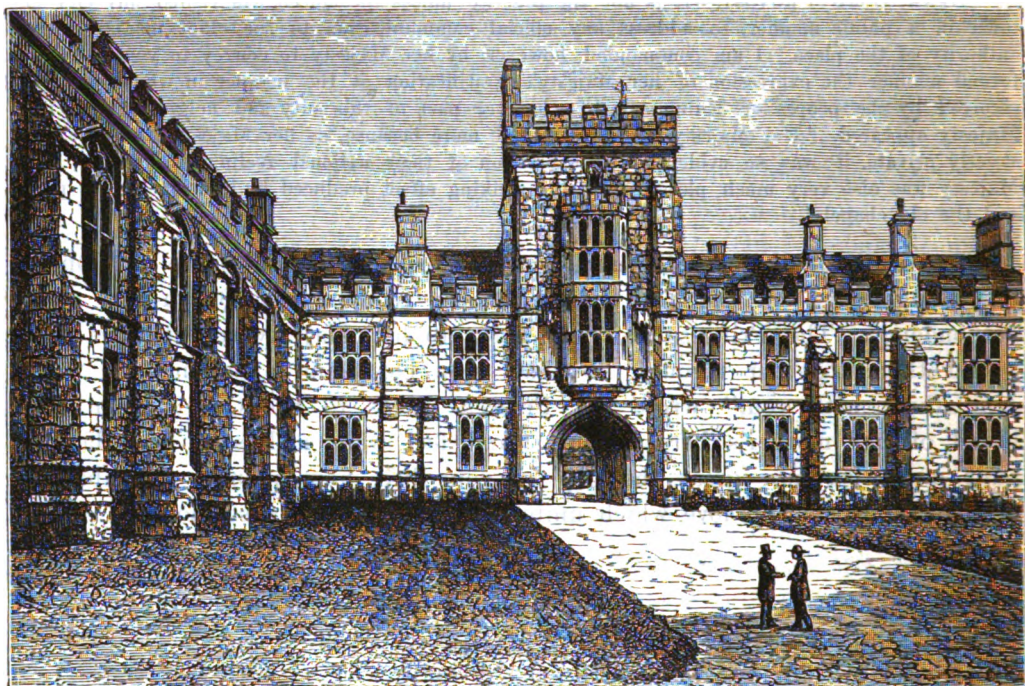
CHAPTER XVIII.

GOVERNMENT UNDER DIFFICULTIES.

A Lull Before the Storm—Dissent in the Dumps—Disastrous Bye-Elections—The Queen's Speech—The Irish University Bill—Defeat of the Government—Resignation of the Ministry—Mr. Disraeli's Failure to Form a Cabinet—The Queen and the Crisis—Lord Derby as a Possible Premier—Mr Gladstone Returns to Office—Power Passes to the House of Lords—Grave Administration Scandals—The Zanzibar Mail Contract—Misappropriation of the Post Office Savings Banks' Balances—Mr. Gladstone Reconstructs his Ministry—The Financial Achievements of his Administration—The Queen and the Prince of Wales—Debts of the Heir Apparent—The Queen's Scheme for Meeting the Prince's Expenditure on her Behalf—The Queen and Foreign Decorations—Death of Napoleon III.—The Queen at the East End—The Blue-Coat Boys at Buckingham Palace—The Coming of the Shah—Astounding Rumours of his Progress through Europe—The Queen's Reception of the Persian Monarch—How the Shah was Entertained—His Departure from England—Marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh—Public Entry of the Duchess into London.

WHEN the Session of 1873 opened, it is a curious fact that in London the universal complaint was that politics had become depressingly dull. But the lull really presaged a storm, in which the Government was wrecked. It was known that Mr. Gladstone intended to make the question of Irish University

education the chief business of the Session, and it was admitted that next to this question the one of most consequence to the Government was that which was raised by the Dissenters, who demanded the extension of School Boards, and the establishment of compulsory education all over England, together with the repeal of the 25th clause of Mr. Forster's Education Act. The bye-elections, which had been disastrous to the Ministry, showed that the Dissenters were in revolt, and that they "sulked in their tents," instead of

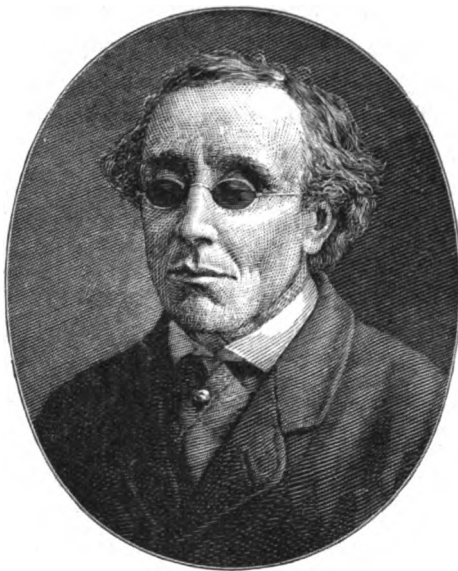


QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK.

(From a Photograph by W. Lawrence, Dublin.)

supporting Ministerial candidates. The Irish University Bill could not possibly be carried without Nonconformist support, and that could obviously not be hoped for if anything like "concurrent endowment" for the Roman Catholics defaced it. On the other hand, if the revenues of Trinity College were shared with Catholic scholars, Liberals like Mr. Fawcett and Mr. Vernon Harcourt would support Mr. Disraeli in opposing the measure. The Cabinet resolved to neutralise the expected secession of the small Fawcett-Harcourt group, by rendering their Bill acceptable to their powerful Nonconformist contingent, and Liberal tacticians were full of joyful anticipations when it leaked out that this plan was contemplated. As will be seen, one important contingency was never taken into consideration—the possible desertion of Mr. Gladstone's Roman Catholic followers; and yet it was their desertion which wrecked the Bill and destroyed the Government.

The Queen's speech was read to Parliament by Commission on the 6th of February, and it promised an Irish Education Bill, a Judicature Bill, a Land Transfer Bill, an Education Amendment Act, a Local Taxation Bill, and a Railway Regulation Bill. In the debate on the Address the Opposition leaders dwelt mainly on foreign questions, pressing the Government to say whether they were prepared to recommend the rules under which the *Alabama* case had been decided to the European Powers; and if so, whether they would recommend them as interpreted by the legal advisers of the Crown, or as interpreted by the majority of the arbitrators. Mr. Gladstone



PROFESSOR FAWCETT.

(From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.)

first said that the rules had been recommended for adoption by the Powers, but without any special construction being put on them. Then he had to correct himself before the debate closed, by explaining that he had made a mistake, for the rules had not yet been brought under the notice of Foreign Governments. This confession naturally forced the public to conclude that the Tories could not be far wrong when they declared that foreign affairs were neglected because Lord Granville was indolent and Mr. Gladstone neither knew nor cared anything about them.

On the 13th of February Mr. Gladstone introduced the Irish University Education Bill. It affiliated several other educational institutions besides Trinity College to the University of Dublin. Two of the Queen's Colleges, established by Sir Robert Peel, were to be associated with the University, and the Queen's University itself was to be abolished. Queen's College at Galway was to be suppressed, because it had failed to attract students to its class-

rooms. The so-called Catholic University and several other Roman Catholic seminaries were also, in the same manner, to be attached to the Dublin University. The new University was to have an income of £50,000 a year, a fourth of which was taken from Trinity College, a fourth from the endowment for Queen's University, three-eighths from the Irish Church surplus, whilst fees, it was expected, would make up the balance. It was to have professors for teaching in Dublin all academical subjects excepting history and mental philosophy, which were tabooed as too controversial for Ireland. Bursaries, Scholarships, and Fellowships were liberally endowed. Tests were to be abolished, the Theological Faculty of Trinity College was to be transferred—with an endowment—to the Disestablished Church, and the prohibited subjects, History and Philosophy, were not to be compulsory in examinations for degrees. The constituency of the University was to consist of all graduates of the affiliated colleges. The governing council of twenty-five was to be nominated in the Bill, after which, vacancies were to be filled up alternately by co-optation and Crown nomination. After ten years, however, equal numbers of the council were to be chosen, by the Crown, by co-optation, by the professors, and by the graduates. The Bill, according to the Bishop of Peterborough—by far the ablest Protestant ecclesiastic Ireland has produced in the Victorian period—"was as good as could be under the circumstances," and "ought to have pleased all parties." * Unfortunately it pleased nobody, and its weak point was obvious. It attempted to provide for separate denominational education in the affiliated colleges, and for mixed secular education in Trinity College and the University of Dublin, to which they were affiliated—the one system being as incompatible with the other as an acid with an alkali. As Mr. Gathorne-Hardy said, the exclusion of History and Philosophy rendered the new University a monster *cui lumen ademptum*. The proposal to make the Irish Viceroy its Chancellor recalled, he declared, the lines of Milton,

"Its shape,
If shape it can be called, which shape had none
Distinguishable in feature, joint, or limb—"

all the more that

"What seemed its head,
The likeness of a kingly crown had on."

At first the Bill was very well received, and there was a general disposition to admit that, in view of the limiting conditions of the problem, it was impossible to find a solution less offensive to the Protestants, and more generous to the Catholics of Ireland. But in a few days it became apparent that the measure was doomed. Ministers had been led to believe by their colleague, Mr. Monsell, who was the spokesman of the Catholic clergy, that the compromise would be accepted by them. But the Catholic Bishops met in secret,

* See a letter written by Mr. Hayward to Mr. Gladstone, in the correspondence of Mr. Abraham Hayward, Q.C., Vol. II., p. 252.

and decided to oppose the Bill.* As the Catholics opposed it for giving them too little, the Protestants opposed it because it gave the Catholics too much. The apostles of culture opposed it because it cut History and Philosophy out of the University curriculum, and in doing so they furnished all discontented Liberals with a good non-political excuse for voting against the Government. The Bill was defeated on the 12th of March by a vote of 287 to 284, the votes of 36 Catholic Members and 9 Liberals† having turned the scale. To the very last moment the issue was uncertain, because it was known that if Mr. Gladstone had offered to abandon the teaching clauses of the Bill, he would have won over a sufficient number of Catholic votes to carry it.‡

Mr. Gladstone's defeat was followed by the resignation of his Ministry, and the crisis was a most embarrassing one for the Queen. Mr. Disraeli, when sent for by the Sovereign, attempted to form a Cabinet, but did not succeed, mainly because Mr. Gathorne-Hardy objected to the party holding office on sufferance. When Mr. Disraeli reported his failure to the Queen, she again consulted Mr. Gladstone, who, however, suggested that some other Conservative leader—obviously hinting at Lord Derby—might succeed where Mr. Disraeli had failed. But Lord Derby was at Nice when the crisis became acute; and though the Tory Party felt that he was in a special sense their natural leader at such a juncture,§ they knew that it was decidedly inconvenient for the Prime Minister to be a member of the Upper House, and that he would refuse to enter into anything like rivalry with Mr. Disraeli. Yet a restful Ministry, competent in administration, under a cool-headed, sensible Conservative aristocrat, was what the majority of the

* What their motive was for this act has not yet been clearly stated. It was said at the time that they thought by opposing it to induce the Protestants to let it pass. Their opposition, however, as explained by themselves, was (1), The Bill did not endow a Catholic University. The Tories had promised to do so in 1866, and therefore the Catholics might profitably wait till Mr. Disraeli returned to power. (2), The Bill, by endowing Professorships of academical subjects—not including History and Philosophy—was really one for founding a new “Godless college.” (3), Other students than those trained in affiliated colleges—scholars educated by private study, in fact—were admitted to degrees. (4), As the constitution of the new University stood, the Catholics would have to wait for many years ere they could command even a large minority in the new University constituency.

† They were Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Horsman, who had approved of the Bill at first, Mr. Bouverie, Mr. McCullagh Torrens, Mr. Aytoun, Mr. Akroyd, Mr. Foster, Mr. Auberon Herbert, and Mr. Whalley.

‡ These clauses do not seem to have been essential to the main object in view, which was to give the Catholics a chance of getting University degrees of high status, and a fair share of the University endowments of the nation. The new “Godless” chairs were not needed if the Catholics did not want them, for the Protestants could always get their instruction in Trinity College.

§ Sir William Stirling Maxwell was a representative of the most popular phase of Toryism, and in a special sense reflected the mind of his party in hankering after Lord Derby as a leader. Writing to Mr. Hayward in September, 1872, he says of Lord Derby:—“I know no man whose daily talk reflects more constantly the good sense and fairness of his speeches. It is some consolation to those who still believe that Conservatism may have some backbone left to have a prospective leader with so much ballast in his character.” The Conservatives did not trust Mr. Disraeli's Conservatism even in 1873, just because they suspected it lacked backbone and ballast.

people, alarmed by harassed "vested interests," desired at the time. Be that as it may, Mr. Disraeli, when appealed to a second time by the Queen, refused to assist her out of the difficulty, and Mr. Gladstone was again summoned to the rescue. He returned to power with his Cabinet unchanged and disavowed any intention to dissolve Parliament. Mr. Disraeli's refusal to take office had given the Queen infinite anxiety, and his defence of his conduct was lame and halting. He was, he said, in a minority; he had not



QUEEN'S COLLEGE, GALWAY.

a policy, and could not get one ready till he had been for some time in office, so that he might see what was to be done. He did not desire to experience the humiliation of governing the country under a *régime* of hostile resolutions. The Queen and the country were alike conscious of the flimsiness of these excuses. Mr. Disraeli never met the question—which, to the Queen, seemed unanswerable—Why did he paralyse the existing Administration, if he was not prepared to put another in its place?

Mr. Disraeli in refusing to govern England himself whilst he prevented Mr. Gladstone from governing it, was pursuing a policy which was as unconstitutional as it was unpatriotic. When he said he could not take office because he must dissolve in May in any case, and that he could not dissolve because he had not a policy to go to the country with, and when he

explained that till he had time to study the archives of the Foreign Office he could not tell what ought to be done with questions such as the Russian advance on Khiva, and the Three Rules of the Washington Treaty, men smiled cynically. They asked each other if Lord Palmerston in 1869 was afraid to take the place of the Tory Government because he wanted time to form an opinion on Lord Malmesbury's policy towards the Italian war of Liberation. Yet Mr. Disraeli gave a truthful account of his motives. He had no policy. Hence when he dissolved Parliament, as he was bound to do after winding up the business of the Session, he must have gone to the country on a purely personal issue between himself and Mr. Gladstone. Doubtless at a time when the nation was getting wearied of restless statesmen, a contest of the sort would have been disastrous to Mr. Gladstone, but not when raised by Mr. Disraeli, who was notoriously even flightier than his antagonist. To have won a General Election on such an issue the Tories must have fought under Lord Derby's banner. Mr. Disraeli, however, had no intention of giving way to Lord Derby, and his followers did not dare to put him aside, more especially as he had in view a clever scheme of strategy. His idea was to force Mr. Gladstone to dissolve on a positive programme, and then to defeat him by a running fire of destructive criticism. These tactics might bring the Tories back to office under his own leadership, absolutely uncommitted to any definite policy whatever.

When Mr. Gladstone resumed office it was soon seen that he had not only wrecked his party, but compromised the *prestige* of the House of Commons. His was admittedly a weakened and discredited Ministry. It had been one of Mr. Disraeli's favourite theories that whenever a feeble Ministry attempted to govern England, power passed from Parliament to the Crown. At one time, no doubt, the theory seemed plausible enough, but the Session of 1873 completely upset it. No sooner had Mr. Gladstone returned to office than power passed from the Crown and the House of Commons to the House of Lords. The will of the Peers was supreme over all. They said or did what they pleased, and quashed Bill after Bill without the least regard to the sentiments of the Queen, the desire of the Commons, or the interests of the country. The Peers rejected the Bill improving Church organisation contemptuously, though it had passed the Commons without a division. By asserting obsolete privileges of appellate jurisdiction over Scotland and Ireland, they disfigured the Judicature Bill, which consolidated the law courts and constituted a high court of appeal. They destroyed Mr. Stansfeld's useful Rating Bill almost without debate. They opened a way for the reintroduction of purchase in the army, rejected the Landlord and Tenant Bill without even seeing it, and quashed a Bill, promoted by Mr. Vernon Harcourt and supported by the Government, to protect working men against being imprisoned under the law of conspiracy for non-statutable offences committed in the course of a strike. And the curious thing was that from the day Mr.

Gladstone returned to office to lead a moribund Ministry and a disorganised House of Commons, the people submitted without a murmur to the resolute and decisive despotism of the Peers. Thus it came to pass that when the Session ended the Ministry seemed to have sunk into a dismal swamp of humiliation—a humiliation which was intensified by administrative scandals and internal feuds. It was shown that Mr. Lowe, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, prepared plans of his own for public works, without consulting the Public Works Office. Mr. Ayrton, as head of that Department, in his place in the House of Commons, repudiated all responsibility for the votes of money for his department which were altered without his knowledge and consent by Mr. Lowe. There was a painful “scene” in the House of Commons at the end of July when these disclosures were made, and when Mr. Ward Hunt formally asked the Government if its Chancellor of the Exchequer and Chief Commissioner of Works were on speaking terms. Mr. Baxter created another scandal by suddenly resigning office as Financial Secretary to the Treasury, because Mr. Lowe had ignored him in the matter of the Zanzibar mail contract. Mr. Lowe was proved to have given the contract for carrying letters from the Cape to Zanzibar to the Union Steam Company for £26,000, whereas the British India Steam Company had offered to do the work for £16,000. Mr. Lowe declared he had never heard of the offer; yet Lord Kimberley, the Secretary for the Colonies, knew of it, and the tender was transmitted by the Indian Postmaster-General to Mr. Monsell, the British Postmaster-General, who passed it on to the Treasury. At the Treasury Mr. Lowe concealed the papers relating to the contract from Mr. Baxter, avowedly because he was known to be hostile to it. A Committee of the House investigated the scandal, and disallowed the contract. This affair was also accompanied by the final revelation of the truth as to what was known as the telegraph scandal.

In spring the working classes were profoundly disturbed by a rumour that the Government had seized the Savings Banks balances, and were building great extensions of telegraph lines with the money without consulting Parliament on the subject. The foundation for the story was a discovery made by the Auditor-General of Public Accounts. He reported that the Telegraph Department of the Post Office had for some time evaded the control of the House of Commons over its expenditure. Instead of submitting to the House estimates for proposed works, and asking for a vote on account, Mr. Scudamore, the Chief of the Department, a brilliant but too zealous official, took whatever money he wanted from the Post Office receipts, and spent it as he pleased on works of extension and improvement. He submitted no estimates in detail, but always asked the House of Commons for a sum for new works, which enabled him to replace the Post Office receipts which he had used. A large portion of the money thus spent was taken from the Savings Banks balances which everybody understood were always paid in for safety to the Commissioners of National Debt,

who invested them in Consols. Though no money was missing, it shook public confidence in the Government to find its administrative power so feeble that it could not prevent its own servants from tampering with the Savings Banks Deposits, and further investigation aggravated the scandal. It was shown that Lord Hartington when Postmaster-General had, like Mr. Monsell, allowed Mr. Scudamore to manage the Telegraph Department without any supervision, and that the Treasury had so far condoned this gross and culpable negligence that when it did business with Mr. Scudamore it communicated with him directly, and not through either Lord Hartington or Mr. Monsell, who had meekly submitted to be treated as official "dummies." It was shown that the Treasury knew of Mr. Scudamore's irregularities in 1871, and condoned them; that in 1872 it knew of them again, and acted so feebly that even Mr. Lowe admitted he regretted his lack of firmness. It was utterly impossible to defend the conduct of Mr. Lowe, Lord Hartington, Mr. Monsell, and the Chief Commissioner of National Debt, for countenancing these grave irregularities, and the scandal was simply disastrous to the administrative *prestige* of the Ministry.

The Queen was alarmed at the dismal prospect of ruling England by means of a Cabinet so hopelessly discredited, and Mr. Gladstone was equally conscious of the gravity of the situation. Whenever Parliament was prorogued he tried to parry attacks on the administrative incapacity of his Cabinet by reconstructing it. To the great relief of the Queen, he himself took the Chancellorship of the Exchequer into his own hands, so that the public might have a guarantee that the era of chaos at the Treasury was closed.* Mr. Bruce was elevated to the Peerage as Lord Aberdare, and became President of the Council, Lord Ripon having retired for private reasons. Mr. Childers (also for private reasons) vacated the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Mr. Bright took his place and re-entered the Cabinet. Mr. Lowe was removed to the Home Office, and ere the year closed Mr. Adam became Chief Commissioner of Works, Mr. Ayrton taking the office of Judge-Advocate-General. Mr. Monsell also retired from the Postmaster-Generalship, and was succeeded by Dr. Lyon Playfair. The death of Sir William Bovill, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in November, elevated Sir J. D. Coleridge to the Bench. Mr. Henry James accordingly became Attorney-General, and, to the amazement of the Bar, he was succeeded as Solicitor-General by Mr. Vernon Harcourt, whose attacks on the Ministry had thus met with their reward.

Mr. Gladstone's hope was to reinvigorate the Government with a little new blood, and rehabilitate it by means of his influence and reputation as a financial administrator and Mr. Bright's personal popularity among the Nonconformists. Yet the financial work of the Government alone, when administrative

* Mr. Gladstone combined this office with that of the Premiership. Sir Robert Walpole, Lord North, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Canning, and Sir Robert Peel had each held the two offices simultaneously.

blunders were detached from it, and relegated to their true place in political perspective, ought to have won for them the gratitude of the nation. Mr. Vernon Harcourt, who perpetually harassed the Ministry because of its



VIEWS IN WINDSOR: OLD MARKET STREET, AND THE TOWN HALL, FROM HIGH STREET.

growing expenditure—like many financial critics with an imperfect knowledge of book-keeping—failed to see that the apparent growth was not real because much of it was a mere matter of accounting.*

* For example, in 1873 the Public Accounts showed a Postal expenditure of £5,000,000; but then, on the other side of the ledger, the nation was credited with £5,000,000 of receipts earned by the Post-

During their five years of power the Government had remitted £9,000,000 of taxation. They had reduced a chaotic Naval Administration to something resembling order, and not far removed from efficiency; and yet at the Admiralty there had been a saving of £1,500,000 on the Estimates of their predecessors. They had taken the Army out of pawn to its officers by



SANDRINGHAM HOUSE.

abolishing Purchase, and had laid the basis for a compact military organisation; yet they had saved £2,300,000 a year at the War Office. The Army and Navy, though by no means efficient, were much more efficient than they had been when Mr. Gladstone's Ministry came to power; and yet they were costing the country £4,000,000 less a year.* In spite of the great increase in

office. The Tory financial critics could not be got to see that the only right way of comparing the real expenditure of a Government at any two selected dates is to deduct from the gross sum moneys which come in aid of outlay, and which are yet not taxes, and then compare the results.

* Mr. Disraeli's Government need not be blamed too harshly for letting the Army alone. Till the fall of the Second Empire Parliament would probably not have voted the money or passed the measures necessary to put an end to the chaotic confusion and Crimean inefficiency of the military system under which orators used to declare "British troops had ever marched to victory." But Mr. Corry, Mr. Disraeli's First Lord of the Admiralty, had no such excuse for his neglect to build first-class ironclads. Even the Manchester Radicals would have voted him the money

Civil Service expenditure—much of which, like the Education Vote, being morally rather than financially reproductive, showed no “results” in figures on the credit side of the public ledger—there had been since 1857 a decrease in the drain on the taxes of about £1,500,000.* Mr. Lowe’s last Budget in 1873 did not discredit the Ministry. In spite of his reductions of taxation in the previous year, he had obtained £2,000,000 more than his estimated income. For the coming year (1873-4) he estimated a surplus of £4,746,000; but he could promise no great remission of taxation, for he had to pay the damages (£3,000,000) which had been awarded at Geneva to the United States Government. Still, he halved the sugar duties and took another penny off the Income Tax. With all his faults, he was accordingly entitled to claim credit for reducing the Income Tax to the lowest point it had ever touched (threepence in the £) since it had been imposed by Peel in 1842. And yet Mr. Lowe could not, even with such a Budget, refrain from expressing his thankfulness in an acrid gibe against the populace. Referring to the marvellous increase in the receipts from Customs and Excise, he said he had been able to produce a good Budget because the nation had drunk itself out of debt.

Apart from the political strife and Ministerial embarrassments which so severely taxed the nerves of the Queen, life at Court was not very eventful. Indeed, it centred chiefly round the Prince and Princess of Wales, who were discharging vicariously and with great popular acceptance most of the social duties of the Crown. This fact was recognised by the Queen herself in a curious indirect kind of way. The Prince of Wales, though very far from being a spendthrift, has never shrunk from incurring expenditure which, in his judgment, was necessary to maintain the dignity and *prestige* of the Crown in a manner worthy of the great nation whose Sovereignty is his heritage. But he has always refrained from appealing to Parliament for subsidies and subventions, either for himself or his family, other than those to which he is equitably and legally entitled by his official position in the State. This was all the more creditable to him, for two reasons. He was surrounded by companions, some of whom did not scruple to take advantage of his generosity. A considerable section of the public during the controversy that raged over the Princess Louise’s dowry had expressed a strong opinion in favour of limiting future Royal grants to an additional allowance to the Heir Apparent, for the purpose of meeting the unanticipated expenditure which

for that purpose had he been courageous enough to confess what was the truth, namely, that when he took office the British Navy was behind the age, and as a fighting force pitifully weak and obsolete. Another costly blunder was committed by Mr. Corry. He had not firmness enough to silence clamorous claims for commissions. Hence he over-officered the Navy, till it almost seemed at one time as if he meant to man his line-of-battle ships with his redundant admirals and his superfluous captains.

* This was due, however, not so much to the action of the Government as to the falling-in of terminable annuities, which reduced the charges for the National Debt.

he had incurred by taking the Queen's place as the head of English Society. Sandringham, moreover, had not turned out a remunerative property, and the Prince was therefore under strong temptations to give a favouring ear to unwise counsels on this delicate subject. These, however, he put aside with manly common sense, and his affairs were arranged on a business-like basis, which would have met with the approval of his father, who was always of opinion that matters of the sort were best managed inside the family circle. The only public indication that was given of arrangements which must necessarily be spoken of with great reserve was afforded by Mr. Gladstone when, on the 21st of July, he introduced a Bill enabling the Queen to bequeath real property to the Prince of Wales, so that he could alienate it at will. The obvious advantage of such a measure was that it imparted a fresh elasticity to the financial resources of the Heir Apparent. For he had discovered a fact hitherto unrevealed in the history of his dynasty in England, namely, that though the Sovereign could bequeath to the Heir Apparent alienable personality, such as hard cash, land or real property so bequeathed, became, when vested in his person on ascending the Throne, the property of the State, and therefore inalienable. In fact, supposing the Queen had left Balmoral, an estate which she and her husband bought out of their private purse, to her eldest son, then, though it had been her own private property, it must become public property whenever the Prince of Wales became King. The state of the law on the subject was inequitable and inconvenient. For if the Queen wished to aid her eldest son in meeting expenses which he was every day incurring on her behalf, she had either to sell her private estates, endeared to her by a thousand tender family associations, or appeal to Parliament for a grant, a course which was as objectionable to her as to the Prince. On the other hand, if these private estates, when inherited by the Prince at her death, could be treated as private property, the Heir Apparent could easily obtain any additional subsidies he might need, by mortgaging his expectations. And yet the generous intentions of the Queen, and the honest purposes of the Prince which formed the motives for the Bill, were snappishly and churlishly misrepresented by several Radicals, and by at least one aristocratic Whig. Mr. George Anderson opposed the Bill because Sovereigns kept their wills secret. Sir Charles Dilke objected to it because he said it allowed the indefinite accumulation of private property in the hands of the Sovereign. His argument, in fact, came to this, that profligacy in the Monarch, should be encouraged by the posthumous confiscation of his private estates. As for Mr. Bouverie, he asked what business the Sovereign had to possess large private means? The Bill, however, passed, and an incident which at one time threatened to be unpleasant for the Queen and her children was discreetly closed.

In March, the Queen's refusal to permit the persons who represented England at the French Exhibition of 1867 to accept decorations, was made the subject of debate by Lord Houghton in the House of Lords. Her

Majesty's prejudice against introducing Foreign Orders and titles into England had often given offence to naturalised stockjobbers and pushing *parvenus*. She never even took kindly to the use of the title of "Baron" by the Rothschilds, though she tolerated it for reasons of an entirely exceptional nature. But if the Orders were admitted the titles must soon follow, and society might be undated some day with Russian "Counts," who, as the French say, had "a career behind them," or with Austrian "Barons," who had bought their honours out of the profits of financial gambling. The English Court, for this reason, has such strong opinions on the point that even English nobles, inheriting foreign titles, conceal them so successfully that few people ever suspect that the Duke of Wellington is a Portuguese prince, the head of the House of Hamilton a French duke, or Lord Denbigh a Prince of an uncrowned branch of the Imperial House of Hapsburg. It need not be said that Lord Houghton's complaints were generally admitted to be frivolous, and that the Queen's feeling that she must be the sole fountain of honour in England, was shared by the nation. If the services which an individual has rendered abroad have benefited England or mankind, or if it is possible to form a correct estimate of their value in England, the Queen held she must either reward them herself, or retain the right to permit the individual to receive a foreign decoration for them. There never has been any practical difficulty in dealing with such cases, and no self-respecting person has ever felt aggrieved because he was debarred from accepting Foreign Orders.*

On the 4th of January the Queen was grieved to hear of the death of the ex-Emperor of the French, at Chislehurst. Her tender sympathy was freely bestowed on the ex-Empress, who was prostrated by her misfortunes and her sorrow. Five years before, the death of this strange man, whose Imperial life seemed ever shadowed by the great crime of the *coup d'état*, would have convulsed Europe. Now the world seemed quite indifferent to it, and when politicians spoke of it, all they said was that by disorganising the Imperialist party in France, it lessened the labours of M. Thiers in founding the Third Republic. The English people, whom Napoleon III. had kept in feverish dread for two decades, and whose support and friendship he had rewarded with the perfidy of the Benedetti Treaty, did not pretend to mourn over his grave. They spoke of his character, which was a moral paradox, and his career, which was a political crime, without prejudice or ill-feeling. But as they thought

* Of course the Queen cannot prevent a man from receiving a Foreign decoration, and he can wear it in Society without incurring prosecution, just as he might, if vulgar enough, wear a masonic star of the cheeseplate order of architecture on his breast. But he cannot wear it at Court, and the grievance of the British snob is that the Queen's objection to his accepting a Foreign Order prevents Foreign Governments—except semi-barbarous ones—from bestowing it on him. Queen Elizabeth said that "she did not like her dogs to wear any collar but her own." It is not so generally known that the Queen's grandfather, George III., whose metaphors were usually of a more pastoral character than those of the great Tudor Princess, expressed the same feeling when he said that he "liked his sheep to wear his own mark."

of the horrors of the Crimean War, the wasted millions which Palmerston spent in fortifying the South Coast, and the final act of treachery which the German Government had revealed in July, 1870, there were some who considered that the Queen might have been less demonstrative in her manifestations of sorrow. But Her Majesty has never been free from the defects of her qualities. Quick to resent betrayal, her anger passes away as swiftly, when the betrayer broken by an avenging Destiny, and prostrate amid the wreck of his fortunes



THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO VICTORIA PARK.

and his reputation, appeals to her sympathies. When Louis Philippe stood before her as a hunted fugitive, the Queen forgot the Spanish marriages. When Charles Louis Bonaparte fled for refuge to Chislehurst, she was too generous to remember his scheme for stealing Belgium.

When spring came round, "the great joyless city," as Mr. Walter Besant calls the East End of London, was gladdened by the Queen, for on the 2nd of April her Majesty went there to visit Victoria Park. She was accompanied by the Princess Beatrice, and drove from Buckingham Palace to the park in an open carriage. Her route was along Pall Mall, Regent Street, Portland Place, Marylebone Road, and Euston Road to King's Cross, up Pentonville Hill to the "Angel" at Islington, beyond which point along Upper

Street, Essex Road, Ball's Pond Road, through Dalston and Hackney, surging crowds of people lined both sides of the entire way. Streamers of gaudy bunting floated overhead from house to house across Islington Green. The Dalston and Hackney stations of the North London Railway, the Town Hall, and shops of Hackney were conspicuously decorated, and it was noticed that the Queen went among the poor of the East End without any military escort, a feat that few European Sovereigns would have dared to emulate. At the Town Hall she halted and received a bouquet, while the people sang the National Anthem. At the temporary entrance to Victoria Park a triple arch of triumph had been erected, deep enough to resemble a long *marquee* in three compartments, open at both ends. It was handsomely fitted up in scarlet and gold, and here was stationed a guard of honour of the Fusiliers, while an escort of Life Guards was in waiting to conduct her Majesty round the park. Even the slums in this dismal quarter exhibited meagre decorations, eloquent alike of loyalty and indigence. A poor shoemaker, having nothing better to show, hung out his leather apron, on which the Queen saw with a thrill of interest that he had chalked up in flaming red letters, "Welcome as flowers in May. The Queen, God bless her." The enthusiasm of the populace on this occasion was due to a curious idea that prevailed all over the East End: This visit, they said, was no ordinary one, because the Queen had come of her own free will to see the East End—a very different thing from the East End going westwards to see her. Hence a hurricane of cheers greeted the Queen wherever she went, and was more gladsome to her ears than the ornate language of the loyal addresses which she received. Her Majesty returned by Cambridge Heath Road, and when she came to Shoreditch the way was rendered almost impassable by an eager crowd. From Bishopsgate Street to the Bank she was hailed with passionate loyalty, which seemed to lose all restraint when on passing the Mansion House she rose in her carriage and smilingly bowed to the Lord Mayor, who stood in his State robes under the portico and saluted her. She then drove along the Embankment to the Palace, having charmed the sadder quarters of London with a visit which the people took to mean that they were not forgotten or ignored by their Queen.

On the 3rd of April, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Duke of Cambridge, as President of Christ's Hospital—the famous Blue-coat School—visited the Queen at Buckingham Palace to present the boys of the Mathematical School, who had come to exhibit their drawings and charts to her Majesty. A number of gentlemen connected with the Hospital had the honour of being presented by the Duke to the Queen when she entered the Drawing-room. Her Majesty then inspected, apparently with great interest, the maps and charts which were held before her by each boy separately.

The foreign curiosity of the London season in 1873 was the Shah of Persia. Soon after the Queen's visit to the East End ceased to be discussed, the coming of the Shah was the favourite topic of talk. At the end of April his

departure from Teheran amidst the blessings of an overawed crowd of 80,000 subjects was chronicled. On the 12th of May he was heard of, painfully navigating the waters of the Caspian in a Russian steamer, and wonderful tales of his progress were told. He had three wives, and nobody knew how many other ladies in his train holding brevet-matrimonial rank. Was he going to bring them to England? If so, could more than one of them be received, and in that case how were the rest to be disposed of? A cloud of despondency began to settle over the subordinates in the Lord Chamberlain's department. Would it be possible, it was asked, to persuade the Queen to invite each of the Shah's wives separately—one to Buckingham Palace, one to Windsor, and one to Osborne? Later on it was reported that not only was the Shah bringing his harem, but his Cabinet Ministers also. Was his visit likely to be free from danger? Might not people begin to cherish strange fancies, if the Shah thus gave them ocular proof that an ancient country could get on wonderfully well without a sovereign and without a government? Gradually astounding rumours of his wealth were sent round. He had brought only half a million sterling for pocket-money, because there had just been a famine in Persia; still the sum would meet the modest wants of his exalted position. Indeed, through a telegraphic blunder, the sum was first stated as £5,000,000. He was said to be covered with jewels and precious stones, and he wore a dagger which blazed with diamonds, so that one could only view it comfortably through ground glass. In June the officials of the Court were relieved from a supreme anxiety. Ere he got half-way over Europe the Shah had sent his harem back to Persia. As he approached England he was described as looking terribly bored, and his black velvet doublet, covered with diamonds, and ornamented with emerald epaulettes, was said by one irreverent journalist to give him the appearance of "a dark shrub under the early morning dew." To the good English people he was a mighty Asiatic potentate, representing an ancient dynasty, and the popular cry was that he must be impressed with the power of England. Had they understood that his great grandfather was a petty chief, who at a time of revolution established a dynasty, and promptly began, with the aid of his relatives, to ruin Persia, and that their visitor himself ruled over a country with the population of Ireland and twice the area of Germany, they might have made themselves less ridiculous. Mr. Gladstone was even pestered on the subject, and had to turn the matter off with a smiling suggestion that it would be well to let the Shah fix his own programme, and not put him in chains when he landed on our shores. But in Court circles it was whispered with dread that it might be well to fetter the bedizened barbarian, for he had odd notions of etiquette, and had even rudely poked the august arm of the German Empress, when he wanted to call her attention at the theatre to something on the stage. On the 18th of June, however, the long-expected guest landed at Dover from Ostend. The cannon of the Channel fleet thundered forth a salute, and the Duke of Edinburgh and Prince Arthur welcomed him as he stepped



BLUE-COAT BOYS AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE.



THE SHAH PRESENTING HIS SUITE TO THE QUEEN AT WINDSOR. (See p. 449.)

on the pier. His Majesty arrived at Charing Cross in the evening, and London forthwith went mad about him. It talked and thought about nothing else, much to the disgust of the Tory wirepullers, who saw with sorrow the scandal of the Zanzibar mail contract absolutely wasted on a frivolous metropolis. It may be recorded that when he appeared the Shah disappointed sightseers, who were looking out for the black velvet tunic powdered with diamonds, and ornamented with epaulettes of emeralds. His Majesty, in fact, was clad in a blue military frock-coat, faced with rows of brilliants and large rubies; his belt and the scabbard of his scimitar were likewise bright with jewels, and so was his cap.

The *suite* of apartments placed at the disposal of his Imperial Majesty in Buckingham Palace had been put in direct telegraphic communication with Teheran, and though it was expected he would be impressed by being able to talk to anybody in his capital without leaving his room, the arrangement seemed rather to bore him than otherwise. An infinite variety of entertainments was prepared for him, and the programme he had to work through seemed too extensive for human endurance during the last ten days of his visit. On the 20th of June the Queen, who was at Balmoral when he arrived, came to Windsor to receive the Persian monarch in State.

The preparations for the Shah's public welcome were worthy of the Royal borough. As the train steamed into Windsor Station, the Princes and others in waiting to receive him welcomed him as he stepped out, arrayed in a State uniform flashing with gems. The Mayor and Recorder then read an Address, to which the Shah briefly replied, both the Address and reply being translated by Sir Henry Rawlinson. Accompanied by Prince Arthur and Prince Leopold he was driven to the Castle, where the Queen received him. The reception was held in the White Drawing Room, and the Shah conferred upon the Queen the Persian Order, and also the new Order which he had then, with a gallantry hardly to be expected of an Asiatic, just instituted for ladies. Luncheon was served in the Oak Room, after which the Queen accompanied her guest to the foot of the staircase on his leaving the Castle.

In the evening a splendid entertainment was given to his Majesty by the Lord Mayor at Guildhall, to which 3,000 persons were invited. At this banquet the Shah was placed on a dais with the Princess of Wales, the Lord Mayor on his left hand, and the Czarevna, wife of the Czarewitch, on his right. The Shah wore a blue uniform with a belt of diamonds, and the ribbon and Star of the Garter, which had been conferred on him at Windsor in the afternoon. The scene at the ball which followed was unusually brilliant and picturesque. When the Shah had taken his seat the first quadrille was formed. He did not dance, but when the company had gone through four dances he joined the supper-party. About midnight his Majesty and the Royal Family left the scene. This magnificent entertainment was the first of many. The Shah was hurried in rapid succession to a Review of Artillery at Woolwich, and another of

the Fleet at Spithead, to a State performance at the Italian Opera, to the International Exhibition, to a concert in the Royal Albert Hall, and to a Review in Windsor Park of 8,000 troops. At this Review what impressed him most were the batteries of Light Artillery, the physique and drill of the Highlanders, and the brilliant skirmishing of the Rifles. When the spectacle was over he presented his scimitar to the Duke of Cambridge. An odd sight was witnessed when the Shah visited the West India Dock and Greenwich on the 25th of June. He went in an open carriage from Buckingham Palace to the Tower Wharf, and embarked amidst a salvo of artillery. The river was filled with an extraordinary collection of ships, barges, boats, and vessels of every description. Crowds, cheering and shouting like crazy beings, swarmed on decks, rigging, wharves, roadways, and even on the roofs and crane stages of the warehouses. A striking effect was produced during this trip by the floating steam fire-engines of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, which, closely lashed together, all at once saluted the Shah as he passed, by casting up many perpendicular jets of water to a great height in the air. On the evening of this day, by command of the Queen, a State ball was given at Buckingham Palace, at which the Persian Sovereign and the British Princes and Princesses were present. After a short visit to Liverpool, the Shah left England on the 5th of July, no abatement having taken place in the entertainments in his honour up to the last.

The Shah's departure from London, and his embarkation for Cherbourg on board the French Government yacht *Rapide*, was the final act of these remarkable proceedings. He was accompanied to the Victoria Station by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Arthur, the Duke of Cambridge, and Prince Christian, all in full uniform. The Shah having been made a Knight of the Garter during his visit to England, her Majesty presented him with the badge and collar set in diamonds. He in turn gave his photograph set in diamonds to the Queen and the Prince of Wales. To Earl Granville he offered his jewelled portrait, but that wily diplomatist, knowing what was meant, demurely said he could only accept the portrait if the precious stones were removed from it. London never had such a lion before or since, and the fuss made over him led many to imagine that his visit was of high political importance. It was certainly odd that the heir to the Russian throne, who must have been satiated with the Shah's society in St. Petersburg, persisted in being seen everywhere in his train in London. Perhaps at his interview with Lord Granville he had asked for some promise of protection against Russian encroachment, and as it was impossible for Russia to conquer the Tekke Turcomans unless she could draw her supplies from the Golden Province of Khorassan, such a promise, if given and kept, would have effectually barred the march of the Cossack towards Herat. If these matters were talked of, events subsequently showed that no such promises had been made, and that Lord Granville, like his predecessors, firmly adhered to the fatal policy initiated by England in

order to buy the aid of the Czar against Napoleon I.—the policy of abandoning Persia to Russian “influence.”

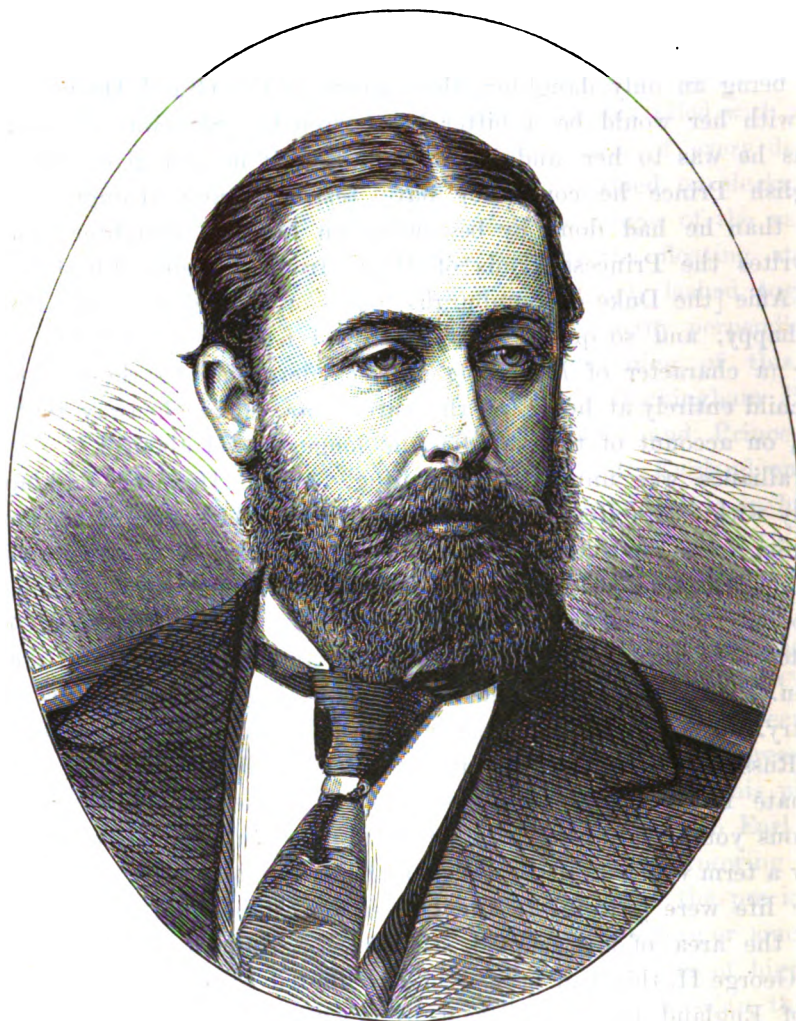
It was semi-officially announced in the middle of July that the Duke of Edinburgh had been betrothed (11th July) to the Grand Duchess Marie Alexandrovna, the only daughter of the Czar of Russia. The affair had been the subject of some difficult and delicate negotiations, not so much because there was some difference of religion between the bride and bridegroom, but because, being an only daughter, the parents of the Grand Duchess felt that parting with her would be a bitter heart-wrench. She was devoted to her father, as he was to her, and it was said that if he had given his crown to the English Prince he could not have testified more strongly his esteem for him than he had done by bestowing on him his daughter's hand. “I hear,” writes the Princess Louis of Hesse from Seeheim (9th July), to the Queen, “Affie [the Duke of Edinburgh] comes on Thursday night. Poor Marie is very happy, and so quiet. . . . How I feel for the parents, this only daughter (a character of *Hingebung* [perfect devotion] to those she loves)—the last child entirely at home, as the parents are so much away that the two youngest, on account of their studies, no longer travel about.” *

This alliance was unusually interesting, for the Duke of Edinburgh was practically within the Royal succession.† Nothing but an Act of Parliament barring him from the succession, such as men talked of passing against the hated Duke of Cumberland, who conspired with the loyal Orangemen of Ulster to oust the Queen from the throne, could prevent the Duke from succeeding to the Crown if the Prince of Wales and his children did not survive the Queen. There was a very general feeling that this marriage was worthy of the country. Apart from her great wealth, the only daughter of the Czar of All the Russias appeared to the average British elector to be a much more fitting mate for a Prince who stood very near the English throne, than an impecunious young lady from a minor Teutonic “dukery”—if we may venture to borrow a term which Lord Beaconsfield made classical. Thoughtful observers of public life were grateful to the Queen for establishing a precedent which enlarged the area of matrimonial selection for English Princes. Since the reign of George II. this had been so closely limited to Germany, that the Royal Family of England from generation to generation had been purely and exclusively German. There was, therefore, no popular outcry against a Parliamentary settlement for the Duke of Edinburgh. Mr. Gladstone, on the 29th

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland, Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 308.

† If, for example, the Prince of Wales and his children died, the Duke of Edinburgh would have succeeded him. The succession to the English throne, unlike that to most European Sovereignities, is governed by the same law which regulates the succession to all Scottish dignities and most of the very ancient English baronies, namely, descent is to heirs general, male or female; but then all males must be exhausted ere the right of the females accrues. Thus the Duke stood before his elder sisters and their families in the line of succession.

of July, carried a resolution in the House of Commons, giving the Duke of Edinburgh an annuity of £25,000 a year, and securing to the Grand Duchess Marie £6,000 a year of jointure in the event of her becoming a widow. The Minister was not met with any formidable opposition. When Mr. Holt and



THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH.

Mr. Newdegate began to attack the Grand Duchess's religion, the House instantly flew into a passion and hooted them into silence. When the resolution was debated two days afterwards, Mr. Taylor, who objected to the vote on the ground that the bride was one of the richest heiresses in Europe, was literally effaced by Mr. Gladstone. Amid deafening cheers from all parts of the House, he asked Mr. Taylor if he dared to stand up before his own constituents and beg the Russian Czar to accept a poor English Prince for a

son-in-law on the plea that his daughter had a large fortune? The grant was carried by a vote of 170 to 20.

The marriage itself was solemnised on the 23rd of January, 1874, at the Czar's Winter Palace in St. Petersburg in accordance with the Greek and the Anglican rite. All that wealth and absolute power could do to invest



THE DUCHESS OF EDINBURGH.

(From a Photograph by W. and D. Downey.)

the ceremony with Imperial pomp and splendour was done. Among those invited were members of the Holy Synod, and of the High Clergy of Russia; the members of the Council of the Empire, Senators, Ambassadors, and other members of the Corps Diplomatique, with the ladies of their families, general officers, officers of the Guard, of the Army and Navy. The great Russian ladies wore the national costume, while the nobles and gentlemen were in full uniform. The Queen of England was represented by Viscount Sydney and

Lady Augusta Stanley. On their arrival at the church the Duke and Grand Duchess took their places in front of the altar, where were standing the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and the chief priests, attired in magnificent vestments. The Czar and Czarina were on the right of the altar, the Prince of Wales and the Russian Grand Dukes standing opposite. The most interesting portions of the ceremony were the handing of the rings to the bride and bridegroom, the crowning of the Royal couple, and the procession of the newly wedded pair, with the Metropolitan and clergy, Prince Arthur, and the Grand Dukes round the analogion or lectern, the bride and bridegroom carrying lighted candles in their left hands. On the conclusion of this part of the ceremony, the bride and bridegroom proceeded to the Salle d'Alexandre, where the Anglican ceremony was performed by Dean Stanley, the bride being given away by the Emperor, while Prince Arthur officiated as his brother's groomsman. The Duke of Edinburgh and the Grand Duchess Marie used prayer books which had been sent to them by the Queen, and the Grand Duchess carried a bouquet of myrtle from the bush at Osborne, which had been so often laid under tribute for the marriages of the Queen's children. The wedding-day was celebrated in the principal towns of Great Britain with much popular rejoicing.

The Queen deeply regretted her inability to be present at a ceremony so interesting to her, and, in some respects, momentous for her House. Nor was she the only member of the Royal circle who entertained the same feeling. Her daughter, the Princess Louis of Hesse, writing to her from Darmstadt on the 23rd of January, 1874, says, "On our dear Affie's [Prince Alfred's] birthday, a few tender words. It must seem so strange to you not to be near him. My thoughts are constantly with them all, and we have only the *Times* account, for no one writes here. They are all too busy, and, of course, all news comes to you. What has Augusta [Lady Augusta Stanley] written, and Vicky and Bertie? Any extracts or other newspaper accounts but what we see would be most welcome. . . . God bless and protect them, and may all turn out well." Artless passages like these are worth quoting, if for no better reason than this, that they illustrate the strength of the sentiment of domesticity which has not only bound the Royal children to the Queen, but to each other, all through life. Even after the Queen had complied with her daughter's request, and sent her some letters about the ceremony, the Princess recurs to the same theme, saying, "Dear Marie [the Duchess of Edinburgh] seems to make the same impression on *all*. How glad I am she is so quite what I thought and hoped. Such a wife must make Affie happy, and do him good, and be a great pleasure to yourself, which I always liked to think." And again, a few days later, she writes to the Queen as follows:—"I have a little time before breakfast to thank you so much for the enclosures, also the Dean's [Stanley's] letter through Beatrice. We are most grateful for being allowed to hear these most interesting

reports. It brings everything so much nearer. How pleasant it is to receive only satisfactory reports." *

The Grand Duchess, when she came to her new home, brought her own weather with her. She was introduced by the Queen to London and the Londoners on the 12th of March, in the midst of a bleak and blinding snow-storm. That dense crowds of people should line the street, and stand for hours in the half-frozen slush, for an opportunity of bidding the Grand Duchess welcome to her new home, afforded an impressive testimony to the deep-seated loyalty of the capital. The Queen, the Grand Duchess, the Duke of Edinburgh, and other members of the Royal Family, left Windsor Castle at 11 o'clock in closed carriages for the railway station, under a brilliant escort of Scots Greys. The Royal train steamed to Paddington terminus, which was all ablaze with Russian and English colours. The people thronged the windows, balconies, the house-tops, and the pavements, and each side of the roadway, all along from Paddington to Buckingham Palace, and the Queen and the Royal couple showed their appreciation of the splendid reception which was given to them by braving the snowstorm in an open landau. The Queen, who was dressed in half-mourning, smilingly bowed in acknowledgment of the hearty cheering, and the Grand Duchess, who sat by her side, attired in a purple velvet mantle edged with fur, a pale blue silk dress and white bonnet, was evidently surprised at the warm greeting she received. The route was lined by the military and police. The streets were full of loyal but bedraggled decorations, and grimly festive with limp flags and illegible mottoes. Nothing could be more gracious than the smiling demeanour of the Queen and her new daughter-in-law, and nothing more pitiable than the obvious discomfort of the poor ladies-in-waiting, who sat palpably shivering in their carriages. At night the chief thoroughfares were brilliantly illuminated. "I hope," writes the Princess Louis of Hesse to the Queen, "you were not the worse for all your exertions. . . . Such a warm reception must have touched Marie, and shown how the English cling to their Sovereign and her House." Yet, after the first flush of excitement had passed away, the Russian Princess began to suffer from the common complaint of all Northern women—*nostalgia*, or home-sickness. "Marie must feel it very deeply," writes the Princess Louis to the Queen (7th April), "for to leave so delicate and loving a mother must seem almost wrong. How strange this side of human nature always seems—leaving all you love most, know best, owe all debts of gratitude to, for the comparatively unknown! The lot of parents is indeed hard, and of such self-sacrifice." This incident seems to have led to a curious correspondence between the Queen and her daughter, in which her Majesty apparently gave her some solemn warnings about the evil done by parents who bring up their daughters for the sole purpose of marrying them. "This," observes the Princess Louis in her reply to her

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, pp. 317 and 318.



MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH.

(From the Picture by N. Chevalier.)

mother, "is said to be a too prominent feature in the modern English education of the higher classes. . . . I want to bring up the girls without *seeking* this as the sole object for the future—to feel that they can fill up their lives so well otherwise. . . . A marriage for the sake of marriage is surely the greatest mistake a woman can make. . . . I know what an absorbing feeling that of devotion to one's parent is. When I was at home it filled my whole soul. It does still in a great degree, and *heimweh* [home-sickness] does not cease after so long an absence."

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CONSERVATIVE REACTION.

Questions of the Recess—The Dissenters and the Education Act—Mr. Forster's Compromise—The Nonconformist Revolt—Mr. Bright Essays Conciliation—Sudden Popularity of Mr. Lowe—His "Anti-puritanic Nature"—Mr. Chamberlain and the Dissidence of Dissent—Decline of the Liberal Party—Signs of Bye-elections—A Colonial Scandal—The Canadian Pacific Railway—Jobbing the Contract—Action of the Dominion Parliament—Expulsion of the Macdonald Ministry—The Ashanti War—How it Originated—A Short Campaign—The British in Coomassie—Treaty with King Koffee—The Opposition and the War—Skilful Tactics—Discontent among the Radical Ranks—Illness of Mr. Gladstone—A Sick-bed Resolution—Appeal to the Country—Mr. Gladstone's Address—Mr. Disraeli's Manifesto—Liberal Defeat—Incidents of the Election—"Villadom" to the Front—Mr. Gladstone's Resignation—Mr. Disraeli's Working Majority—The Conservative Cabinet—The Surplus of £6,000,000—What will Sir Stafford do with it?—Dissensions among the Liberal Chiefs—Mr. Gladstone and the Leadership—The Queen's Speech—Mr. Disraeli and the Fallen Minister—The Dangers of Hastings Oratory—Mr. Ward Hunt's "Paper Fleet"—The Last of the Historic Surpluses—How Sir S. Northcote Disposed of it—The Hour but not the Man—Mr. Cross's Licensing Bill—The Public Worship Regulation Bill—A Curiously Composed Opposition—Mr. Disraeli on Lord Salisbury—The Scottish Patronage Bill—Academic Debates on Home Rule—The Endowed Schools Bill—Mr. Stansfeld's Rating Bill—Bill for Consolidating the Factory Acts—End of the Session—The Successes and Failures of the Ministry—Prince Bismarck's Contest with the Roman Catholic Church—Arrest of Count Harry Arnim—Mr. Disraeli's Apology to Prince Bismarck—Mr. Gladstone's Desultory Leadership—"Vaticanism"—Deterioration in Society—An Unopposed Royal Grant—Visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Birmingham—Withdrawal of the Duchess of Edinburgh from Court—A Dispute over Precedence—Visit of the Czar to England—Review of the Ashanti War Soldiers and Sailors—The Queen on Cruelty to Animals—Sir Theodore Martin's Biography of the Prince Consort—The Queen tells the Story of its Authorship.

Two questions disturbed the recess of 1873-74—would Mr. Gladstone attempt to conciliate the Dissenters, and would Mr. Bright, at their bidding, denounce the Education Act which had been recently passed by a Government of which he was a leading and authoritative member?

The great grievance of the Dissenters was, that the 25th Clause of the Education Act sanctioned the payment of denominational school-fees for pauper children out of the school-rate. The Dissenters argued that it was as wicked to make them pay rates for Anglican teaching in a school, as it was to make them pay tithes for it in a church. Their opposition was mainly led and organised by Mr. Chamberlain and the Birmingham Secularists, who had so effectually made war on the Liberal Party at bye-elections, that even

Mr. Forster deemed it prudent to conciliate them early in 1873. He offered them a compromise in his Education Amendment Act, which passed before Parliament rose. This Act repealed the 25th Clause, which ordered the payment out of the school rate of fees for pauper children in denominational schools. Instead of that it compelled Boards of Guardians to pay the fees to the indigent parent, leaving it to him to select a school for his child. He might choose a denominational school if he preferred it, only it must be an efficient school under Government inspection. This compromise had, however, been rejected by Mr. Chamberlain, who also complained bitterly that Mr. Forster refused to make the formation of School Boards compulsory in every parish. Nor was the bitterness of the Nonconformists assuaged by an indiscreet speech which Mr. Gladstone had made during the recess at Hawarden, in which he advised the people of that parish to be content with their Church Schools, and not to elect a School Board. The attempts which were made to explain away this speech were not successful, and so when Mr. Bright came before his constituents at Birmingham, he found the Dissenters in open revolt. He therefore deemed it prudent to condemn the Education Act, and oppose Mr. Forster's Education policy. As he had joined a Cabinet in which Mr. Forster held high rank, Mr. Bright's utterances on the subject did the Government more harm than good. The Dissenters put no faith in them, because, they said, amidst all the Ministerial changes that had occurred, Mr. Forster was still at the Education Office. Independent supporters of the Ministry were, on the other hand, surprised to find a statesman of Mr. Bright's reputation condemning on high moral principles an Act which he had himself helped to pass only a year before. Mr. Bright's unfortunate position was further aggravated by the defence which was put forward on his behalf. It was contended that he had no responsibility for Mr. Forster's Education Act. All he had seen was the draft of the Bill, and of that he had, as a Cabinet Minister, formed a favourable impression. But his illness had withdrawn him from active work, and when the measure was passing through the House of Commons evil changes, it was argued, were made in it, and for these Mr. Bright could not be blamed. Unfortunately it was written in the inexorable chronicles of *Hansard* that the only changes made in the Bill were all in favour of the Dissenters. Mr. Bright was accordingly too clearly responsible for the original measure, which was infinitely more odious to the Nonconformists than the one that was finally passed, and which he now disowned and denounced on account of its injustice.

Curiously enough, it was Mr. Lowe who was most successful in winning popularity for the Ministry during the recess. The police found in him a zealous defender. The working-classes heard with pleased surprise a rumour to the effect that he had drafted a Bill conceding the demand of Trade Unionists for a reform of the Labour Laws. His manner of receiving deputations had suddenly become bland and suave. When, for example, the representatives of the Licensed Victuallers went to complain to him of the

Licensing Laws, he was so sympathetic that the leader of the deputation sent a graphic account of the interview to the Press. He explained how he and his colleagues had waited on the new Home Secretary in fear and trembling, but how delighted they were to find that "the great scholar and debater cheered the meeting with many sunny glimpses of his own Anti-puritanic nature."

Still, in spite of Mr. Bright and Mr. Lowe, the Liberal cause was waning among the electors. Every day Mr. Chamberlain was driving deeper and deeper into the heart of the Liberal Party the wedge of Dissenting dissension, that ultimately split its electoral organisation in twain. On the whole, the bye-elections favoured the Conservatives. But Mr. Henry James, the new Attorney-General, carried Taunton, and Captain Hayter, owing to an imprudent letter which Mr. Disraeli wrote in support of the Tory candidate, was successful at Bath.*

A Colonial scandal and a Colonial war also attracted much attention during the recess, and though the scandal did not affect the Ministry, the war somewhat chilled the sympathies of many of their strongest supporters.

The story of the scandal was as follows:—The Canadian Government had decided to construct a Pacific Railway that would bridge the wildernesses by which Nature had separated those Provinces, which were united by the British North American Act. The project was deemed so hopeless as a commercial undertaking that the money to carry it on could not be raised. But during the negotiations which ended in the Treaty of Washington, Canada, at the instance of the British Commissioners, made certain concessions, in return for which the British Government undertook to guarantee a loan for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The money was then raised without delay, and Sir Hugh Allen, the richest capitalist in Canada, formed a syndicate, who applied for and obtained the contract for constructing the railway from the Government of Sir John Macdonald, which then held office in the Dominion. It was soon alleged that Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues in the Canadian Cabinet had been bribed to "job" away the contract into Sir Hugh Allen's hands. The Canadian House of Commons believed in the charge, insisted on an investigation, and appointed a Committee of Inquiry. Vigorous efforts were made to hush up the scandal, and by means of the veto of the Crown the Committee was paralysed. An Act authorising it to examine witnesses on oath was passed by the Dominion Parliament, but was vetoed by the Crown on technical grounds. The Members of the Opposition, however, defeated this attempt to stifle effective inquiry, by refusing to serve on what they declared would be a sham tribunal, and public opinion was so incensed that the Government were compelled to appoint to the vacant seats in the Committee persons of high judicial position.

* This was the letter to "My dear Grey," in which Mr. Disraeli accused the Ministry of a policy of "blundering and plundering." As they were in power solely because he had refused office, the attack of course recoiled on his own party.

When under examination by the Commissioners Sir Hugh Allen admitted that he paid Sir John Macdonald £36,000 in order to secure the election of candidates pledged to support his Ministry in the Canadian Parliament. Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues admitted that they received this money, and that they had used it to carry seats in the Province of Ontario for their faction. After the money was paid the contract was given to Sir

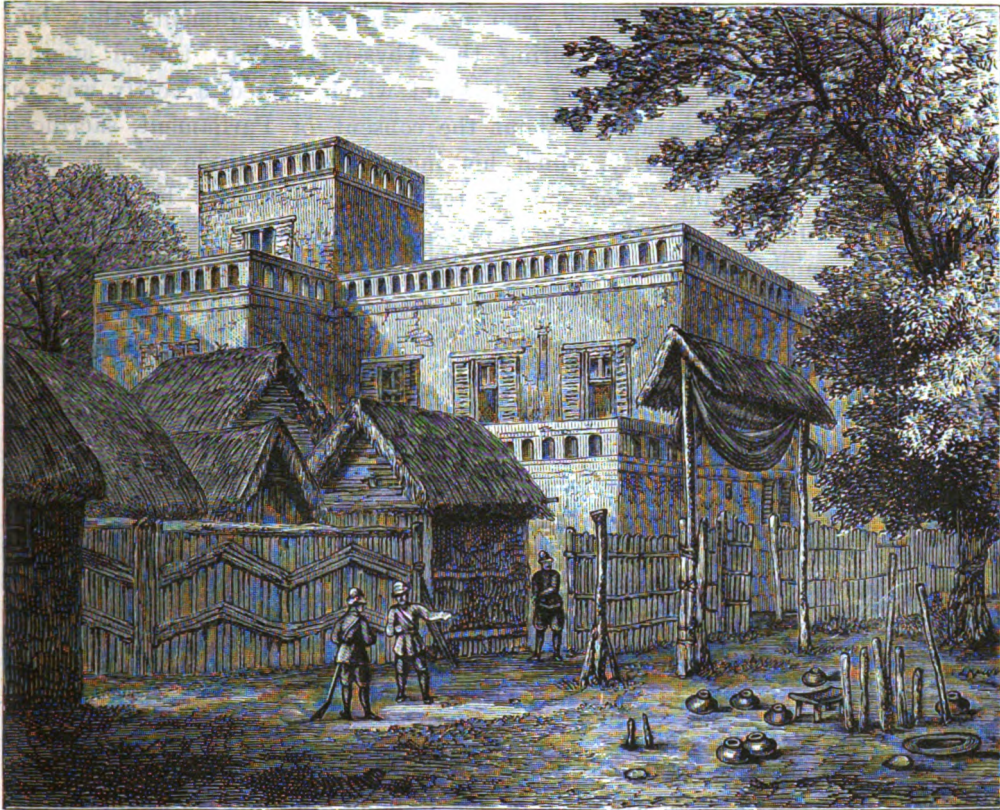


COOMASSIE.

Hugh Allen. But in this transaction Sir John Macdonald denied that there was any taint of bribery. Like his celebrated countryman, Sir Pertinax Macsycophant, he said, "Dinna ca't breebery. It 's juist geenerosity on the ae haun', an' grawtitude on the ither." In Canada and England a different view was taken of the matter. The Macdonald Ministry was driven from office amidst public execration, and even Lord Dufferin the Governor-General, and the Colonial Office did not escape censure, when it became clear that they were at least privy to the matter.

The Colonial war broke out on the West Coast of Africa. In consideration of being permitted to annex as much of Sumatra as they could subdue, the Dutch had handed over to England their possessions on the West Coast of

Africa. The English Government soon became involved in a dispute with the King of the Ashantis over a subvention which the Dutch had always paid him. The Ashantis attacked the English settlements near Elmina, but were beaten off by a small party of English troops. When the cool season came it was decided to send Sir Garnet Wolseley with an expedition strong enough to march to Coomassie, the Ashanti capital, and, if need be, lay the country



KING KOFFEE'S PALACE, COOMASSIE.

waste. Sir Garnet arrived before his troops, and engaged with success in several unimportant skirmishes. The main army left England in December, and on the 5th of February, 1874, it entered Coomassie in triumph. The place was so unhealthy that it had to be evacuated almost immediately. But ere the troops left a Treaty was signed by which King Koffee renounced his claim to sovereignty over the tribes who had been transferred from the Dutch to the British Protectorate. The management of the expedition was not perfect. But it at all events showed that the administrative departments of the Army had improved somewhat since the Crimean War, and that whilst the English private soldier had lost none of his superb fighting qualities, he was now led by officers possessed of a considerable degree of professional

skill. And yet the Ashanti War failed to arrest the decay of public confidence in the Government. With masterly tact the Tory leaders put forward Lord Derby to deprecate wasteful military enterprises and extensions of territory in pestilential climes, whilst Sir Stafford Northcote attacked the Ministry fiercely in September for engaging in such a war without consulting the House of Commons. The effect of this criticism was soon manifest. The sympathies of a large section of the Radicals and of the entire Peace Party were alienated from the Ministry, who now found the arguments they had used to embarrass Mr. Disraeli during the Abyssinian War, turned against themselves. Mr. Bright, in joining a Cabinet which waged a costly war on some wretched African savages without the consent of Parliament, sacrificed the last remnant of authority which his inconsistent attitude to the Education Act had left him. Nor did he regain this authority by writing a letter early in January, in which he expressed an opinion that all difficulties with Ashanti might be settled by arbitration. As the country was actually at war with King Koffee, Mr. Bright's suggestion was taken to mean that England should, by an act of surrender, pave the way for arbitration between herself and the Ashantis. This could not possibly be the opinion of the Government which was vigorously prosecuting the war, and it was clear that on this subject, as on the Education question, there was chaos in the Cabinet. In these circumstances the question came to be would Ministers dissolve, or would they meet Parliament and attempt to regain popularity through the work of a reconstructed Cabinet, whose latest and most influential recruit never spoke in public without showing that, when he did not abandon his principles, he was at variance with his colleagues? Various rumours were current as to a conflict of opinion on the subject between Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues and the Queen. Ultimately it was decided that there should be no dissolution before spring.

Worn with anxiety, irritated by the failure of his plans for recovering popularity through a reconstruction of his Cabinet, sick in body and mind, the Prime Minister in January fell seriously ill. A fortnight before the opening of the Session he paralysed his Party with amazement by deciding to dissolve Parliament. Seldom has so momentous a decision been arrived at in circumstances so strange and so peculiar. Writing to Lord Salisbury on the 26th of January, 1874, Mr. Hayward says: "Alderson (whom I saw yesterday) thought it unlikely that you would be brought back earlier than you intended by the Dissolution, which has come on every one by surprise. The thought first struck Gladstone as he lay rolled up in blankets to perspire away his cold, was mentioned as a thought to daughter and private secretary, then rapidly ripened into a resolution and submitted to the Cabinet. The secret was wonderfully well kept by everybody. The Liberals are delighted, and the Disraelites puzzled and amazed."*

* A Selection from the Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., Vol. II., p. 254.

Parliament was dissolved on the 26th of January, and it was reckoned that the new House of Commons would be elected by St. Valentine's Day. Mr. Gladstone's Address to the electors of Greenwich set forth at great length the reasons for his sudden appeal to the country. But Mr. Forster gave the best and briefest explanation, when he told his constituents at Bradford that the Dissolution was due to the petty defeats and humiliations which the Government had suffered since Mr. Disraeli's refusal to relieve them of the cares of office, and to a desire that the electors should decide whether Mr. Disraeli or Mr. Gladstone should have the spending of the enormous surplus of £6,000,000 at the disposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Gladstone in his declarations of policy referred to the Ashanti War as a warning against "equivocal and entangling engagements." He complained that the House of Commons was overburdened with work, and, with an eye to the Irish vote, he approved of delegating some of its business to "local and subordinate authorities" under the "unquestioned control" of Parliament. He held out no hopes of effecting any great changes in the Education Act, but he promised a measure of University Reform, supported the extension of Household Franchise to the Counties, and pledged himself to abolish the Income Tax. His meagre references to Foreign Affairs seemed to show that Mr. Bright had forced the Cabinet to accept the unpopular policy of selfish and self-contained isolation, which virtually ignored the higher international duties of England as one of the brotherhood of European nations.

Mr. Disraeli's manifesto was not at first sight captivating. Instead of attacking Mr. Gladstone's proposal to abolish the Income Tax as an attempt to secure a Party majority by taking a *plébiscite* on a Budget which had not yet come before Parliament, Mr. Disraeli fell in gladly with the idea. The abolition of the Income Tax was apparently to him what emigration was to Mr. Micawber when he had it suggested to him for the first time—the dream of his youth, the ambition of his manhood, and the solace of his declining years. The Tory chief also over-elaborated his complaints that Mr. Gladstone had imperilled freedom of navigation in the Straits of Malacca by recognising the right of the Dutch to conquer the Acheenese if they could. Nor was he apparently successful in attacking the Government for entering on the Ashanti War without waiting to ask Parliament for leave to repel Ashanti assaults on our forts. But when he demanded "more energy" in Foreign Affairs than Mr. Gladstone had exhibited, and when he said that measures could be devised to improve the condition of the people without incessant "harassing legislation," he cut the Government to the quick.

The elections ended in a signal disaster to the Liberal Party. Nobody was ready for the fray. Everybody was irritated at being taken unawares. The influences and the "interests" that had caused the decay of Mr. Gladstone's Administration have been already described. It will be enough to say here that they smote it with defeat at the polls. The attempt to neutralise these

influences by promising to spend the surplus in abolishing the Income Tax and readjusting local taxation completely failed. The working classes were not eager to take off a tax which they did not pay. The majority of the Income Tax payers argued that Mr. Disraeli's manifesto showed that he was prepared to give them whatever relief was possible. Independent electors felt that it was desirable to censure a project which might establish a precedent for including the Budget in an electoral manifesto,* and throwing the financial system of the country into the crucible of a General Election.† The City of London decisively abandoned Liberalism. The counties were swept by Tory candidates. The working classes refused to support candidates of their own order, save in Stafford and Morpeth, where the miners returned Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Burt to Parliament. Men of high capacity, unless their names were known to newspaper readers, were ruthlessly rejected. The electors preferred either candidates of loudly-advertised eminence, rich local magnates, or young men of family—especially if they had titles. Only two tenant-farmers were chosen—Mr. Clare Read, a moderate Conservative, and Mr. McCombie, a moderate Liberal. The “professors” and academic politicians went down helplessly in the *mêlée*—even Mr. Fawcett failing to hold his seat at Brighton, though shortly after Parliament met he was returned by Hackney, where a vacancy accidentally occurred. The Home counties, where “villadom”—to use Lord Rosebery's term—reigns supreme, went over to Conservatism, and the success of the Tories in the largest cities was amazing. The middling-sized towns, and, generally speaking, the electors north of the Humber, were pretty faithful to Liberalism. But in Ireland the Liberal Party almost ceased to exist—the Irish electors preferring to return either Home Rulers or Tories.

* It was unjustly said that Mr. Gladstone offered to abolish the Income Tax as an electoral bribe. The fact was that he was under a recorded pledge to Parliament to take off the Income Tax when the finances admitted of its repeal. That was the condition on which he had been allowed to impose it when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1853. As the vast majority of the electors were not Income Tax payers, the proposal could not possibly be an effective electoral bribe.

† Another difficulty for the Independent Elector was that of seeing how Mr. Gladstone could abolish the Income Tax. Mr. Disraeli, who soon began to repent his haste in trying to outbid Mr. Gladstone on this point, suggested that difficulty in a speech at Newton Pagnell. He did not withdraw from his declaration that he desired to get rid of the Income Tax. But, he said, “If Mr. Gladstone asks me ‘are you prepared to repeal the Income Tax by means of imposing other taxes?’ I am bound to say it is not a policy I should recommend.” Mr. Gladstone never divulged his plan. It is, however, obvious that he could have easily got rid of the worst features of the Income Tax by readjusting the House Duty. A House Duty, Mr. Mill said, is the fairest of all direct taxes, and a man's house-rent is—with certain exceptions—a sure guide to his means and substance. If, for example, Mr. Gladstone had put 1s. 6d. in the £ on all houses above £10 rental, or if he had graduated the duties from 4d. to 3s. in the £ on rentals of from £10 to over £300, he could have supplied the place of the Income Tax which yielded £4,875,000. The difference would have been this—that a man with £200 of income, presumably paying £25 a year for his house, would—less 9d. of existing house duty—have paid at the 1s. 6d. rate 18s. 9d. a year of “a means and substance” tax on his rent, instead of the £2 10s. he then paid in Income Tax. The relief of local rates might have been obtained by handing over the old House Tax or a portion of it to the local authorities.

Roughly speaking, Mr. Disraeli could count on a steady working majority of fifty, even reckoning the Irish Home Rulers as Liberals.

Mr. Gladstone tendered his resignation at once when the results of the Elections were known, and Mr. Disraeli on being sent for formed a Cabinet,



LORD SALISBURY.

(From a Photograph by Bassano, Old Bond Street, W.)

in which the offices were distributed as follows:—First Lord of the Treasury, Mr. Disraeli; Lord Chancellor, Lord Cairns; Lord President of the Council, Duke of Richmond; Lord Privy Seal, Lord Malmesbury; Foreign Secretary, Lord Derby; Secretary for India, Lord Salisbury; Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon; Home Secretary, Mr. R. A. Cross; War Secretary, Mr. Gathorne-Hardy; First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Ward Hunt; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote; Postmaster-General, Lord John Manners. The minor offices were distributed either among administrators and men of

business, or young men of high birth and promising abilities, who were thus put in training for the duties of leadership in the future.*

Ministers and ex-Ministers soon had their troubles thick upon them. The "interests" were impatient for satisfaction, and there was an ugly rush after the surplus. Deputations of Income Tax repealers, Local Taxation Leaguers, clergymen demanding subsidies to Consular chaplains, brewers demanding the repeal of their licence, Malt Tax repealers, Sugar Duty repealers, clerical supporters of voluntary schools, who, according to Lord Sandon, virtually asked for the suspension of payment by results, waited on Sir Stafford Northcote to claim their share of Mr. Gladstone's surplus. Other Ministers, too, were pestered by the various "interests" who had worked for the Tory Party at the General Election on the understanding that Mr. Gladstone's "harassing" legislation would be undone if Mr. Disraeli came back to power. The new Government were sufficiently courageous to resist this pressure. Indeed, they were generous enough to retract much of the hostile criticism which in the heat of electioneering contests had been hurled against Mr. Gladstone's Administration. The Liberal Party, on the other hand, was not only shattered, but practically leaderless. Its chiefs, it was said, were fighting among themselves. Stories flew about to the effect that Mr. Lowe declared he would never again follow Mr. Gladstone, that Sir William Harcourt was convinced he must lead the Party himself if it was to be saved from extinction, and that Sir Henry James vowed that he would never permit Mr. Gladstone to sit as his colleague in any future Liberal Cabinet. Naturally Mr. Gladstone retired from the duties of leadership, but pressure was put upon him to resume them. He consented, but only on the understanding that his service was to be temporary, and that he should not be expected to be in regular attendance in the House of Commons. His advanced age, his broken health, and his need of rest, were the reasons which he gave publicly for his action. His real motive, however, he confided to Mr. Hayward, who, in a letter to Lady Emily Peel (27th of February, 1874), says, "I had a long talk with Gladstone yesterday. He thinks the Party in too heterogeneous a state for regular leadership, that it must be let alone to shake itself into consistency. He will attend till Easter, and then quit the field for a time. He does not talk of permanent abdication."† Mr. Gladstone, it would seem, at this time considered his functions as a leader ended after he had shattered his Party. Not till it had been reorganised by somebody else, or had reorganised itself, did he apparently deem it worthy of his guidance.

* Mr. Clare Sewell Read was made Secretary to the Local Government Board, of which Mr. Solater-Booth was made President. Sir M. Hicks-Beach became Irish Secretary. Sir H. Selwin Ibbetson was Under-Secretary at the Home Office. Mr. R. Bourke was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Lord Sandon was Vice-President of the Council, Lord George Hamilton was Under-Secretary for India, Sir C. Adderley President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Algernon Egerton Secretary to the Admiralty, and Lord Henry Lennox Chief Commissioner of Works.

† Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., Vol. II., p. 268.

On the 19th of March the Queen's Speech was read to both Houses of Parliament. It referred joyfully to the termination of the war with the Ashantis, the marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh, but mournfully to the famine which was then devastating Bengal. It promised a Land Transfer Bill, the extension of the Judicature Act fusing law and equity to Ireland and Scotland, a Bill to remedy the grievances of the publicans, a Bill dealing with Friendly Societies, and a Royal Commission on the Labour Laws.* In the debate on the Address several Peers took occasion to make sport of the great Minister who had fallen from power. But the Commons were spared this exhibition of political vulgarity, mainly because Mr. Disraeli snubbed most mercilessly the first of his followers who attempted to indulge in it.

When Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, who moved the Address, taunted Mr. Gladstone with his defeat, Mr. Disraeli assured the House that Sir William had, contrary to custom, spoken without consulting him as to what he should say—in fact, without consulting anybody. As for the silence of the Liberal Members on the results of the Dissolution, "I admire," said Mr. Disraeli, "their taste and feeling. If I had been a follower of a Parliamentary chief as eminent as the Right Honourable gentleman, even if I thought he had erred, I should have been disposed rather to exhibit sympathy than to offer criticism; I should remember the great victories he had fought and won. I should remember his illustrious career; its continuous success and splendour; not its accidental or even disastrous mistakes." Mr. Gladstone's frank and candid statement was a model of dignified simplicity well worthy of Mr. Disraeli's chivalrous admiration. The defeated Minister simply said that his policy of fiscal reorganisation in his judgment could not be carried save by a Government possessing the full confidence of the country. The bye-elections—notably the Liberal defeat at Stroud—during the recess rendered it doubtful if his Administration possessed this confidence. His appeal to the country confirmed that doubt. Nay, the verdict of the electors so emphatically declared their desire to entrust power to the Tory Party, that he felt it his duty to make way for Mr. Disraeli and his colleagues as soon as possible, and to afford them every reasonable facility for giving effect to the will of the people.†

* It was supposed that Mr. Disraeli would prevent the inevitable grammatical blunder from creeping into the Queen's Speech. But it crept in here, greatly to the delight of the pedants. They pointed out that it was wrong to speak of "the recent Act of Parliament affecting the *relationship* of master and servant." The word cannot be used, they argued, instead of *relation*, to denote a relative position which is temporary or official.

† To those who had the advantage of taking no personal interest in these transactions, Mr. Gladstone's statement reads like the apology of a Minister who was "riding for a fall." He was admittedly pledged to the House of Commons since 1853, to abolish the Income Tax when he had a sufficient surplus. Instead of redeeming his pledge in 1874 to the House, he took it to an electorate that had no existence in 1853, and who, even if they had been competent to the task, could not have given a fair decision on such a point in the turmoil of elections which seemed purposely hurried through in a few days. Mr. Gladstone, moreover, never defended his proposal at length. Had he really desired to carry it, he would have submitted it to Parliament—for the House of Lords, whose hostility

These chivalrous courtesies foretold a dull Session. Nor did the statements of Ministers seem promising to the "young bloods" of the Tory Party, who held it as an axiom that they were badly led if their leaders did not show them plenty of "sport." What did Lord Derby mean, for example, by telling the House of Lords that Lord Granville had left the Foreign Affairs of the country in the most satisfactory condition? Had they not all assured their constituents that he had brought England to such a depth of degradation that there were now none so poor as do her reverence? What did Mr. Disraeli mean in moving the Vote of Thanks to the Ashanti troops by praising Mr. Cardwell for the preparations he made for bringing the war to a speedy and victorious conclusion? Had they not all declared on the hustings that the conduct of the war was a model of mismanagement? Moreover, was it necessary for Lord Salisbury to exhaust the vocabulary of eulogy on Lord Northbrook for his energy in dealing with the Indian Famine? and was Mr. Hardy true to his followers and supporters when, on moving the Army Estimates (30th March), he contradicted every one of the charges that had been made against Mr. Cardwell, who had been accused of stopping Volunteering, exhausting stores, wrecking fortifications, and failing to arm the troops?*

One passing gleam of hope shot across the horizon when Mr. Ward Hunt in his speech on the Naval Estimates stood by the wild and whirling rhetoric of Opposition criticism. He declared that the Fleet was inefficient, and warned the House he might need a Supplementary Estimate. Whilst he, at least, remained at the Admiralty he would not tolerate a "fleet on paper" or "dummy ships." But alas! even Mr. Ward Hunt's alarmist statement vanished in a peal of laughter when it was discovered that all he asked for to convert his "paper fleet" into a real one was £100,000! Cynical critics soon reassured a scared populace. The best proof that the Services had not been starved or rendered inefficient by Mr. Gladstone's Administration was afforded by Sir Stafford Northcote, who made no secret of his intention to distribute the surplus of £6,000,000 which every one regarded with hungry eyes.

The eventful day for the division of the spoil came on the 16th of

he affected to dread, could not constitutionally have meddled with it—and then if, after exhaustive discussion in the Commons it had been defeated, he could have appealed to a nation sufficiently instructed by that discussion to pronounce a rational opinion on the question. As it was, the matter hardly entered into the election controversies of 1874 at all.

* "We find," said Mr. Hardy, "the stores so full and efficient that we can dispense with the payment of £100,000 on this head." As to arms, he remarked that "in a few weeks the whole of the infantry will, I hope, have the Martini-Henry rifle. By to-morrow there will be 140,000 Martini-Henry rifles in store, and during the year there will be a further number of 40,000 provided." After dilating on the abundance of ammunition in stock and the sufficiency of the Reserves, Mr. Hardy said of the Volunteers that the original number of them was 199,000, "far, however, from efficient men," whereas the number in 1874, though only 153,000, consisted of thoroughly efficient men, who were "far more worth having than what formerly existed." The fortifications, he said, were of "the most efficient character." He even praised the Intelligence Department, the formation of which had been a favourite subject of denunciation by the Tory "Colonels."



REVIEW IN WINDSOR GREAT PARK OF THE TROOPS FROM THE ASHANTI WAR: THE MARCH PAST BEFORE THE QUEEN.

April, when Sir Stafford Northcote made his statement. In spite of Mr. Lowe's remission of taxes, his payment of the *Alabama* Claims, his disbursement of £800,000 on the Ashanti War, the year 1873-74 ended with a surplus in hand of £1,000,000. On the basis of existing taxation Sir Stafford Northcote for the coming year estimated his revenue at £77,995,000, to which he added £500,000 from interest on Government advances for agricultural improvements heretofore added to Exchequer balances and never reckoned in the revenue. His expenditure was taken at £72,503,000, so that he had the magnificent surplus of £6,000,000 to play with. Never did a Finance Minister use a great opportunity more tamely. With such a sum at his disposal he might have re-cast the fiscal system of England and won a reputation rivalling that of Peel. But Northcote had not the heart to climb ambition's ladder. He pleaded lack of time as an excuse for attempting no great stroke of financial policy, and he frittered away his six millions as follows:—He gave £240,000 in aid of the support of pauper lunatics; £600,000 in aid of the Police rate; £170,000 in increased local rates on Government property, and this sum of £1,010,000 was to be raised in succeeding years by further payments for pauper lunatics to £1,250,000 as an Imperial subvention to local taxation.* He devoted £2,000,000 to the remission of the Sugar Duties; he took a penny off the Income Tax, which absorbed £1,540,000, and he remitted the House Duties, which cost him £480,000. The half-million of interest on loans which he had included in revenue Sir Stafford Northcote used to create terminable annuities, which would in eleven years extinguish £7,000,000 of National Debt. The fault of the Budget was that nothing historic was done with a surplus such as rarely occurs in the history of a nation. Even if Sir Stafford Northcote felt unequal to the task of re-casting the whole financial system, and giving relief to the poorer taxpayers, he could easily have earned for his Government the enduring gratitude of the nation. He might, for example, have created terminable annuities to pay off twenty or thirty millions of National Debt before 1890.

Mr. Cross's Licensing Bill was introduced early in May, when the publicans, who had worked hard to put the Government in power, expected Mr. Austin Bruce's restrictions on the hours of opening public-houses to be swept away. Mr. Cross, however, found that the magistrates and police, and more respectable inhabitants of every town and parish, were of opinion that these restrictions had done good. He was, therefore, forced to disappoint his clients. He left the Sunday hours untouched. On week-days he fixed the hours for closing at half-past twelve in London, half-past eleven in populous places, and

* The most curious result of this reform was the increase which took place in pauper lunacy. Sir Stafford Northcote, in fact, offered Boards of Guardians the strongest temptation to get their senile paupers quartered on the State as pauper lunatics. All that was necessary for that purpose was a certificate from a pliable medical officer.

eleven in rural districts.* He cancelled the permission given by Mr. Bruce to fifty-four houses to remain open till one in the morning, in order to provide refreshments for playgoers and theatrical people. Inasmuch as the Government were at the mercy of the publican vote in a great many constituencies, the Bill was most creditable to Mr. Cross. It was, in truth, a Bill not in extension but in further restriction of the hours of opening, and in passing it he risked giving offence to Ministerialists who had won their seats under a pledge that the existing restrictions would be relaxed.†

Quite unexpectedly the Ministry plunged into the stormy sea of ecclesiastical legislation, and as was hinted at broadly, not without encouragement from the Queen. This much might also have been inferred from two facts. The churchmen who had most strongly influenced the Court in matters of ecclesiastical government were Dr. Tait, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Norman Macleod, Minister of the Barony Parish in Glasgow. The Bill dealing with the English Church represented the ideas of Tait. That dealing with the Kirk of Scotland embodied the policy of Macleod. Indeed, pressure of an unusual character must have been applied to the Prime Minister to support the former measure, which he knew only too well must provoke dissensions in his Cabinet. It was on the 20th of April that Dr. Tait introduced the Public Worship Regulation Bill in the House of Lords, and the best and briefest description of it was that which was subsequently given by Mr. Disraeli, who said, in one of the debates in the House of Commons, that it was a Bill "to put down Ritualism." At first Ministers did not give it warm support, in fact, Lord Salisbury opposed it vigorously. After it had passed through the House of Lords the fiction that it was a private Member's Bill was still kept up, the Second Reading being moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Russell Gurney. Mr. Hall, the new Tory member for Oxford, moved an amendment to Mr. Gurney's motion, and Mr. Gladstone opposed the measure as an attack on congregational liberties, which had been consecrated by usage. The three great divisions of the Established Church, the Evangelical, Broad, and High Church Parties, had each been allowed a large scope of liberty. Why single out the last for an invidious assault? Mr. Gladstone, however, did not deny that some Ritualistic practices were offensive, and he moved six resolutions which would sufficiently protect congregations from priestly extravagances, and yet leave the clergy ample freedom in ordering their church service. These resolutions disintegrated both parties in

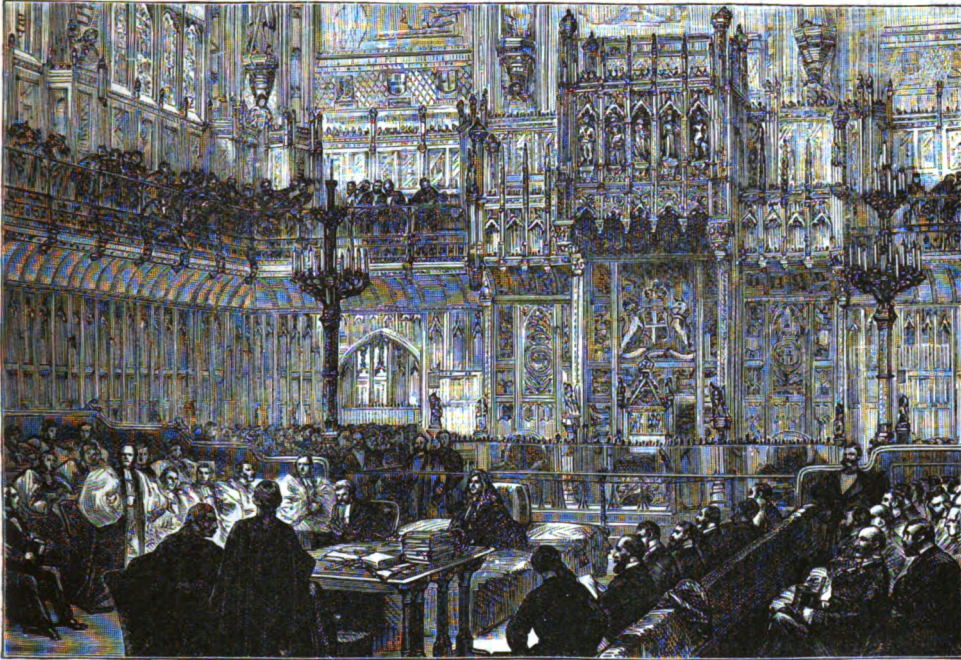
* The hours against which the publicans had agitated were twelve in London, and in other places any hour between five and seven in the morning, till any hour between ten and twelve at night, as the magistrates might decide.

† Mr. Cross held that the extension of the hours from twelve to half-past twelve at night was not a real extension. Under the former rule the publican had "grace" given him to clear his bar. Under Mr. Cross's Bill closing was imperative at half-past twelve. Then Mr. Cross put a stop to certain public-houses being kept open to one in the morning, which Mr. Bruce had allowed, and the fixing of the hours at ten and eleven, in very many cases, led to further restrictions.

the State. Sir William Harcourt led a Liberal revolt against Mr. Gladstone. The Secretary for War (Mr. Gathorne-Hardy) replied hotly to Sir William Harcourt's ultra-Erastian harangue. Mr. Disraeli here cast in his lot with the supporters of the Bill; which, despite the opposition of Mr. Hardy, Sir Stafford Northcote, and Lord John Manners, accordingly became in a few days a Cabinet measure. In the House of Lords matters grew still more serious. When the House of Commons sent the Bill back to the Peers, one of Mr. Gladstone's defeated amendments was speedily inserted in it, and Lord Salisbury "utterly repudiated the bugbear of a majority in the House of Commons." A few days afterwards Mr. Disraeli replied with caustic humour to the taunts of Lord Salisbury, whom he ridiculed as "a great master," so he called him, "of gibes, and flouts, and sneers." Still, the Commons accepted the Lords' Amendments, which were for the most part in favour of individual freedom, and so the Bill passed. But Mr. Disraeli paid a great price for his complaisance to the Court and its confidential ecclesiastical adviser. The High Church Party, who had ever marched in the van of his supporters, became disaffected, and in every future electoral contest those of them who did not fall sulking to the rear went over to the enemy. Mr. Disraeli's tactical blunder in identifying his Cabinet with the Public Worship Regulation Bill of 1874 was notoriously one of the causes of the collapse of the Tory Party in the General Election of 1880. His other adventure into the perilous region of ecclesiastical legislation was not so disastrous to his Party as to the institution it was his desire to protect and strengthen. In 1869 Dr. Macleod had headed a deputation which waited on Mr. Gladstone, asking him to abolish lay Patronage in the Scottish State Church. Mr. Gladstone asked if Macleod and his colleagues had considered what view was likely to be taken of the proposal by the other Presbyterian churches of Scotland, "regard being had to their origin." This phrase struck the deputation dumb. It was as if Mr. Gladstone had asked whether they thought it right that the clergy of the Free Church, who sacrificed their endowments in 1843 because the Party whom the deputation represented successfully prevented the abolition of lay Patronage, should be ignored now, when this very Party proposed that the price they agreed to pay for the enjoyment of their benefices should no longer be exacted. The project, according to Dr. Macleod, excited no great enthusiasm in Scotland,* but the Courts of the Scottish Established Church supported it strongly. In 1874 Mr. Disraeli, yielding to pressure, which it was admittedly difficult to resist, permitted Lord Advocate Gordon to introduce his Scottish Patronage Bill. It abolished the rights of lay patrons, and vested presentations to livings in the hands of the congregations of the Established Church of Scotland. When the patron was a private individual he was compensated, but when the patronage to a benefice was held by

* Life of Norman Macleod, D.D., Vol. II., p. 325.

a Corporation it was confiscated without compensation. The idea of the Government was that Presbyterians outside the Established Church were deterred from joining it by the existence of lay Patronage. When this was abolished it was supposed that they would immediately go over to the State Church, whose services they could command gratuitously, and leave their own pastors, whose stipends they had to pay out of their own pockets, to starve. Mr. Disraeli did not understand that lay Patronage, by bringing the Church



THE BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH (DR. MAGHEE) ADDRESSING THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

courts and civil courts into collision, was merely the occasion and not the cause of the Disruption, and that what separated the Free Churchmen from the State Church was a difference of opinion on the relative position of Church and State, as wide as that which separated Dr. Pusey from an Erastian like Sir William Harcourt. But the Patronage Bill was passed in spite of Mr. Gladstone's opposition, though, like the Public Worship Regulation Bill, it failed in its object. The congregations of the non-established Presbyterian churches refused to justify Mr. Disraeli's cynical estimate of their character, and therefore did not desert their pastors. The powerful Free Kirk of Scotland, representing the principle that the Church should be established and endowed but left free from State control, had been debarred from joining in the Disestablishment movement. It now, however, cast in its lot with those Presbyterian dissenters who clamoured for Disestablishment in Scotland, which thus for the first time came within

the range of practical politics. Perhaps, if Mr. Disraeli had insisted on the rights of patrons being transferred to all parishioners his policy might have been more successful. But by transferring these rights to the congregations in actual attendance at established churches, he gave the Free Churchmen a pretext for arguing that he had sectarianised the national ecclesiastical endowments, and that, therefore, the State Church could no longer be defended on principle. These endowments were not sectarianised, but secularised, when controlled by private patrons and civil courts, for patron and judge could alike be regarded in theory as legal trustees for the nation. They were bad trustees according to the Free Churchmen, but then they represented the nation officially, and did not, like their successors, the congregations of the parish churches, constitute a sect.

Academic debates on Parliamentary Reform and Home Rule varied the monotony of ecclesiastical controversy which Ministers seemed to take a morbid delight in stirring up. Their next achievement in this direction led to a defeat. Lord Sandon unexpectedly introduced in July an Endowed Schools Bill, which virtually undid the work of 1869. It restored the ascendancy of the Church of England in Grammar Schools, and substituted the authority of the Charity Commissioners for that of the Endowed Schools Commission. The Bill would probably have done much to conciliate the clergy who had been offended by the Public Worship Regulation Act, but, on the other hand, it closed the ranks of the Opposition, and recalled the Dissenters to the Liberal colours. The result was that, after fierce controversy in both Houses, Mr. Disraeli professed himself satisfied with the appointment of the Charity Commission to superintend the working of Mr. Forster's Act, and postponed the contentious clauses till the following year. They were never heard of again. Mr. Stansfeld's Rating Bill, which the Lords had rejected in the previous Session, was adopted by the Ministry and passed. Mr. Mundella's Bill for consolidating the Factory Acts, which had been shelved in 1873, was adopted by Mr. Cross and carried.

The popular verdict on the Ministry, when the Session closed on the 8th of August, was, that as administrators they had done nothing brilliant, and as legislators they were timidly reactionary, when they did not adopt the ideas and measures of their predecessors. The Premier, perhaps, suffered most in reputation. It was impossible to admire the strategy that brought into prominence Church questions which divided his Cabinet, and were uninteresting to the populace, or which, like the Endowed Schools Bill, when they were of great popular interest, were dealt with in an offensively reactionary spirit. On the other hand, the success with which the famine in Bengal and Behar was arrested, and indeed the whole tone of the administration at the India Office, greatly increased Lord Salisbury's *prestige*. Lord Carnarvon's management of the Colonies was sympathetic and popular. Foreign affairs had been conducted by Lord Derby with admirable prudence.

This was aptly illustrated by his skill in avoiding entangling engagements committing England to approve of changes in international law which would have greatly extended the powers of invading armies in an enemy's country. These changes were proposed at a Conference at Brussels, which had been promoted by Russia and Germany ostensibly to mitigate the evils of modern warfare.

Only one cloud shadowed the Foreign policy of the Cabinet during this uneventful year. The contest between Prince Bismarck and the Roman Catholic Church was raging in Germany, and the personal rivalry of the German Chancellor and Count Harry Arnim—who had been German Ambassador at Paris—had ended in the arrest of the latter on the charge of embezzling State documents. This arrest had been effected after Count Harry Arnim's house had been ransacked by the police, and the Continent rang with the scandal. Mr. Disraeli, at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, on the 9th of November, congratulated the country on the Conservatism of the British working classes, who, he said, enjoyed so many liberties that they were naturally loyal to the institutions under which their freedom was safeguarded. "They are not," said he, "afraid of political arrests or domiciliary visits." The Queen was somewhat pained at an utterance which the German Government regarded as an impertinent interference with its domestic affairs, but a few days afterwards the wrath of Prince Bismarck was appeased by an official explanation in the *Times* to the effect that Mr. Disraeli had not meant to refer to the affairs of Germany, or to the arbitrary conduct of the Berlin police. In this unfortunate speech Mr. Disraeli, however, struck a popular note when he referred to the extension of the Empire by the annexation of the Fiji islands, in terms that foreshadowed a policy of Colonial expansion.

As for the Opposition, it remained in a state of disorganisation, under Mr. Gladstone's desultory leadership. Its prospects were not improved by his publication of two pamphlets, in which he attacked what he called "Vaticanism," and attempted to prove that good Catholics, who were mostly Liberals, must be incapable of reasoning, if they were not traitors. That was the sum and substance of his amazing tirades against the extravagant pretensions of the Papacy under Pius IX.

During the year the Queen seldom appeared in public, which was, perhaps, one reason why a marked deterioration in the moral tone of society was discernible. A curious languor crept over the upper classes. They were consumed with a quenchless thirst for amusement, and the genius who could have invented a new pleasure would have had the world at his feet. Frivolity seemed to prey like a cancer on the vitality of the nation. When the Prince of Wales gave a State Fancy Ball in July, the *Times* actually devoted three columns of space to an elaborate description of the dresses. Sport became a serious business to all classes of society, and even

grave and earnest men of affairs like Mr. Gladstone wasted their lives in the laborious idleness of ecclesiastical controversies. The more vigorous youth of the aristocracy now began to make their "grand tour," not as did their ancestors to study foreign affairs and institutions, but merely to kill big game. Fashionable life became so costly that rents had to be exacted with unusual rigour, and the strikes among the agricultural labourers that mitigated the advantages of a good harvest, were accordingly spoken of in West End drawing-rooms as if they had revived the horrors of the *Jacquerie*. Though prices had begun to fall, the mercantile classes vied with the aristocracy in the ostentatious extravagance of their personal expenditure, and in the City the old and substantial Princes of Commerce were pushed aside by gamblers who termed themselves "financial agents," and who had suddenly grown rich by "placing" Foreign Loans and floating fabulously successful Joint-Stock Companies. The pace of life was too rapid even for the Prince of Wales, whose financial embarrassments during a dull autumn formed the subject of some discussion. It was publicly stated that he had incurred liabilities to the extent of £600,000, and that the Queen, disgusted with Mr. Gladstone's refusal to apply to Parliament for money to discharge them, had paid them herself. From what has already been said on this delicate subject it is hardly necessary to point out here that this statement was not quite accurate. It was true that the debts of the Heir Apparent amounted to one-third of his income, but it was equally true that on the 1st of October his Controller's audit showed that he had a balance to his credit sufficient to meet them. At the same time there could be no doubt that the Prince's expenditure far exceeded his resources, for sums varying from £10,000 to £20,000, taken from the great fund accumulated for him by the Prince Consort's thrifty administration of the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, were sacrificed every year to prevent his debts from becoming unmanageable.*

His brothers were more fortunately situated. Prince Arthur, who had been created, in May, Duke of Connaught and Strathearn and Earl of Sussex,† was able to devote himself quietly to his military studies, and lead a life of dignified simplicity. "Many thanks," writes the Princess Louis of Hesse to the Queen (May 4th, 1874), "for your last dear letter, written on dear Arthur's birthday, of which, though late, I wrote you joy. Such a good, steady, excellent boy as he is! What a comfort it must be to you never to have had any cause of uneasiness or annoyance in his conduct! He is so much respected, which for one so young is doubly praiseworthy. From St. Petersburg, as from Vienna, we heard the same account of the steady line he

* *Times*, October 1, 1874.

† Prince Arthur was the first of his line who took as his superior dignity a title from Ireland. Several Princes and Princesses of England bore Irish titles, *e.g.*, the Queen herself is Countess of Clare, but they were secondary ones, and denominated inferior dignities.

holds to, in spite of all chaffing, &c., from others, which shows character."* Prince Leopold was equally fortunate; indeed, his delicate health would of itself have compelled him to shun the exhausting gaieties of London seasons, when Society was worn out with *ennui* every year ere the rosebuds burst into bloom. When Parliament voted him an income of £15,000 a year, Mr.



ALEXANDER II., CZAR OF RUSSIA.

Disraeli described Prince Leopold as an invalid student of "no common order," and to the Queen it was an increasing source of delight to watch in her youngest son the growth of the same pensive nature, the same studious habits, and the same refined and cultured tastes which, in the Prince Consort, Mr. Disraeli averred somewhat effusively, "gave a new impulse to our civilisation."

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 321.

With the exception of the grant to the Duke of Edinburgh on his marriage, this was the only Royal grant voted by Parliament which was not made a matter of controversy. But it must be noted that in 1874 the spirit of Republicanism in the country was almost dead. Mr. Chamberlain, by his writings and speeches, made an ineffectual effort to keep it alive, but even he had to bow his austere knee to the popular idols of the time, who were undoubtedly the Prince and Princess of Wales. As if to throw out a jaunty challenge to the enemies of the Monarchy, the Prince and Princess paid a visit to Birmingham in November, where it was the duty of Mr. Chamberlain as Mayor to receive them, and where they met with a welcome from the populace, the significance of which he was quick to recognise. Mr. Chamberlain, who had not been expected to make pleasant speeches to his guests, behaved to them with the tact of an astute if not an accomplished courtier. His undisguised appreciation of the Prince's visit to his mansion, and of the Princess's delight in his conservatories, famed for their priceless exotics, recalled the devotion of the Lady Margaret Bellenden in "Old Mortality," when Charles II. accepted the hospitalities of her castle.

One marked feature of the London season in 1874 was the sudden withdrawal of the Duchess of Edinburgh from Court ceremonials. An attempt was made to account for this by explaining that as her Royal and Imperial Highness was expecting to become a mother she deemed her retirement from Society necessary.* According to statements current at the time, however, her absence was due not exactly to a dispute, but to a difficulty about her precedence, which must have considerably embarrassed the Queen. As the daughter of a powerful Emperor, the Duchess of Edinburgh not unnaturally thought that she had a right to take precedence of the Princess of Wales, who was but the daughter of a petty king. An Imperial Highness should, in her opinion, take precedence of a Royal Highness. On the other hand, it was intolerable to the English people that even by implication should the inferiority of the English Monarchy to that of any Imperial House in Europe be recognised—in fact, the kings of England had never admitted that any of the Continental Emperors had a title to precedence over them. The country, therefore, heard with interest a report that the Russian Czar was about to come to England, not merely to visit his daughter, but if possible to settle with the Queen the question of precedence that had disturbed her family. Her Majesty was understood to be willing to assent to any arrangement which did not confer on the wife of her second son, the right to take precedence over the wife of the Heir Apparent, and so matters stood when the Czar arrived at Dover on the 13th of May. He was received with the utmost cordiality by the Queen in person at Windsor. The first effect of his visit was to replace the Duchess of Edinburgh in the *Court Circular* among the ladies of

* *Times*, May 11, 1874.

the Royal Family next to the Princess of Wales, and to cause her to be described as "*Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh (Grand Duchess of Russia).*"* The Czar was well received by the people, among whom he was popular as the Liberator of the Serfs, and after a dreary week of sightseeing and State banquets, he left England on the 22nd of May.

On the 30th of March the Queen proceeded to Windsor Great Park to review the troops who had been engaged in the Ashanti War. The force, 2,000 in number, went through their evolutions in gallant style, and her Majesty with her own hands awarded the Victoria Cross to Lord Gifford for personal bravery in the campaign. On the 13th of April the Queen also inspected the sailors and marines of the Royal Navy who had fought in the Ashanti War. The review took place at Gosport, and many of the officers were, by the Queen's desire, personally presented to her.

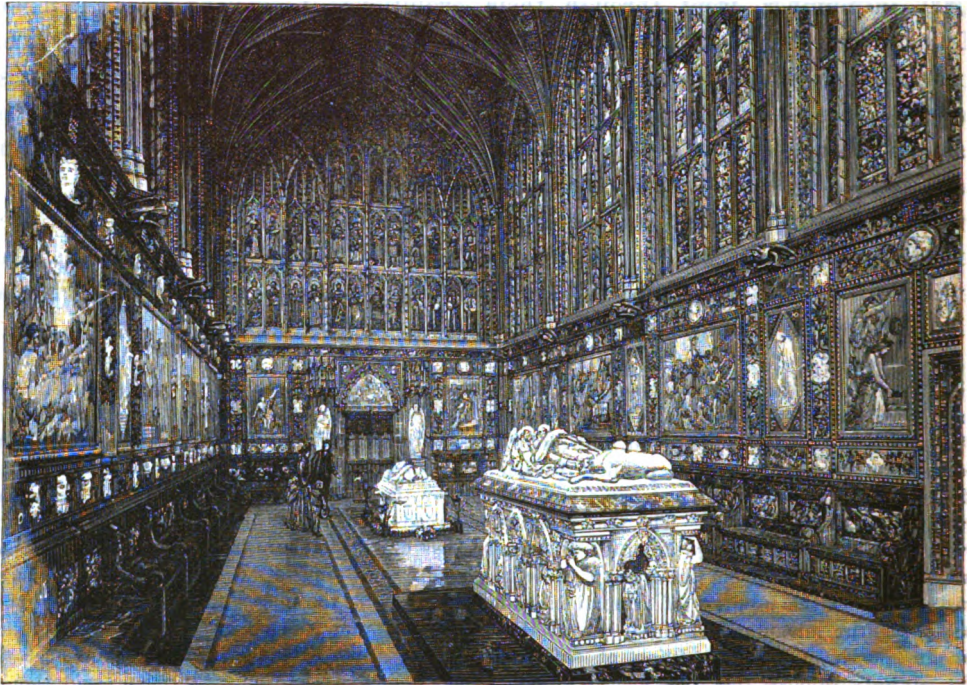
The controversy then raging over Vivisection seemed to have interested her Majesty greatly, for at the Jubilee meeting of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals there was read a letter written by Sir Thomas Biddulph by the Queen's instructions, which ran as follows:—

"MY DEAR LORD,—The Queen has commanded me to address you, as President of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, on the occasion of the assembly in this country of the foreign delegates connected with your association and of the Jubilee of the Society, to request you to give expression publicly to her Majesty's warm interest in the success of the efforts which are being made at home and abroad for the purpose of diminishing the cruelties practised on dumb animals. The Queen hears and reads with horror of the sufferings which the brute creation often undergo from the thoughtlessness of the ignorant, and she fears also sometimes from experiments in the pursuit of science. For the removal of the former the Queen trusts much to the progress of education, and in regard to the pursuit of science, she hopes that the entire advantage of those anæsthetic discoveries, from which man has derived so much benefit himself in the alleviation of suffering, may be fully extended to the lower animals. Her Majesty rejoices that the Society awakens the interest of the young by the presentation of prizes for essays connected with the subject, and hears with gratification that her son and daughter-in-law have shown their interest by distributing the prizes. Her Majesty begs to announce a donation of £100 to the funds of the Society."

On the 23rd of November her Majesty was present, with the Empress of Russia, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and other members of the Royal Family, at the christening of the infant son of the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh—Prince Alfred of Edinburgh; and on the 3rd of December she received a deputation from France to present her with an Address of thanks for services rendered by Englishmen to the sick and wounded in the war of 1870-71. The Address was contained in four large volumes, which were placed on a table for the purpose of being shown to her Majesty. M. d'Agiout and Comte Serrurier explained the nature of their contents. Having accepted the volumes, the Queen said to the deputation in French, "I accept with pleasure the volumes which you have presented, and which will be carefully preserved by

* *Spectator*, May 23, 1874.

me as records of the interesting historical events which they commemorate. They are beautiful as works of art, but their chief value in my eyes is that they form a permanent memorial of the gratitude of the French people for services freely and spontaneously rendered to them by Englishmen acting under a simple impulse of humanity. Your recognition of those services cannot fail to be appreciated by my subjects, and it will increase the friendly



THE ALBERT MEMORIAL CHAPEL, WINDSOR.

(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co.)

and cordial feeling which I am happy to believe exists between the two nations." The volumes were placed in the British Museum.

On the 3rd of December her Majesty at Windsor personally presented several seamen and marines with the medals which they had won for conspicuous gallantry in the Ashanti War. A few days after this ceremony the attention of the country was absorbed in the first volume of the biography of the Prince Consort, which had been compiled with sedulous care, delicate tact, and refined feeling by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Theodore Martin. The verdict of the public was one of immediate and unreserved approval. They were delighted with Mr. Martin's idyllic picture of Prince Albert's domestic life, and of the tender companionship in which he and the Queen lived lovingly together. Glimpses, too, of the Queen's own strength of character and of her shrewd judgment in politics, such as, for example, her letters and memoranda on the affair of the Spanish marriages, and her keenly-etched

portrait of the Czar Nicholas after his visit in 1844, suggested very plainly that the Sovereign was not exactly a cipher in the State. If in some of its lines Mr. Martin's portrait recalled memories of William III., it reminded the people that, like William III., the Prince, though unable from his intellectual detachment to inspire the people with love, won their confidence and respect through his unpretending, but unswerving fidelity to the interests of his adopted country. But the frankness and absence of reserve with which the book was written displeased a few of the Queen's foreign relatives; indeed, this feature of the biography had been commented on by some who thought it was derogatory to the dignity of the Royal Caste. The Princess Louis of Hesse, if she did not share this opinion, felt it her duty to convey it to the Queen. In a letter to her mother at the beginning of 1875, the Princess says, "It is touching and fine in you to allow the world to have so much insight into your private life, and allow others to have what has been only *your* property, and *our* inheritance. . . . For the frivolous higher classes how valuable this book will be if read with real attention, as a record of a life spent in the highest aims, with the noblest conception of duty as a leading star." To this letter the Queen replied from Osborne, 12th of January, 1875:—"If," she wrote, "you will reflect a few minutes, you will see how I owed it to beloved papa to let his noble character be known and understood, as it now is, and that to wait longer when those who knew him best—his own wife, and a few (very few there are) remaining friends—were all gone, or too old and too far removed from that time, to be able to present a really true picture of his most ideal and remarkable character, would have been really wrong. He must be known for his own sake, for the good of England and of his family, and of the world at large. Countless people write to say what good it does and will do. And it is already thirteen years since he left us! Then you must also remember that endless false and untrue things have been said about us, public and private, and that in these days people will write and will know; therefore the only way to counteract this is to let the real full truth be known, and as much be told as can be told with prudence and discretion, and then no harm, but good, will be done. Nothing will help me more than that my people should know what I have lost! . . . The 'Early Years' volume was begun for private circulation only, and then General Grey and many of papa's friends and advisers begged me to have it published. This was done. The work was most popular, and greatly liked. General Grey could not go on with it, and asked me to ask Sir A. Helps to continue it; and he said that he could not, but recommended Mr. Theodore Martin as one of the most eminent writers of the day, and hoped I could prevail on him to undertake this great national work. I did succeed, and he has taken seven years to prepare the whole, supplied by me with every letter and extract; and a deal of time it took, but I felt it would be a national sacred work."

CHAPTER XX.

EMPRESS OF INDIA.

Mr. Disraeli recognises Intellect—Lord Hartington Liberal Leader—The Queen's Speech—Lord Hartington's "Grotesque Reminiscences"—Mr. Cross's Labour Bills—The Artisans' Dwellings Act—Mr. Plimsoll and the "Ship-knackers"—Lord Hartington's First "Hit"—The Plimsoll Agitation—Surrender of the Cabinet—"Strangers" in the House—The Budget—Rise of Mr. Biggar—First Appearance of Mr. Parnell—The Fugitive Slave Circular—The Sinking of the Yacht *Mistletoe*—The Loss of the *Vanguard*—Purchase of the Suez Canal Shares—The Prince of Wales's Visit to India—Resignation of Lord Northbrook—Appointment of Lord Lytton as Viceroy of India—Outbreak of the Eastern Question—The Andrassy Note—The Berlin Memorandum—Murder of French and German Consuls at Salonica—Lord Derby Rejects the Berlin Memorandum—Servia Declares War on Turkey—The Bulgarian Revolt Quenched in Blood—The Sultan Dethroned—Opening of Parliament—"Sea-sick of the Silver Streak"—Debates on the Eastern Question—Development of Obstruction by Mr. Biggar and Mr. Parnell—The Royal Titles Bill—Lord Shaftesbury and the Queen—The Queen at Whitechapel—A Doleful Budget—Mr. Disraeli becomes Earl of Beaconsfield—The Prince Consort's Memorial at Edinburgh—Mr. Gladstone and the Eastern Question—The Servian War—The Constantinople Conference—The Tories Manufacture Failure for Lord Salisbury—Death of Lady Augusta Stanley—Proclamation of the Queen as Empress at Delhi.

THE year 1875 opened less gloomily for the Ministry than for the Opposition. Mr. Disraeli had sanctioned the despatch of a Polar Expedition, and in a curious letter, since published by Mr. Froude, he had tendered Mr. Carlyle the Grand Cross of the Bath on the ground that "a Government should recognise Intellect."* He had also offered Mr. Tennyson—"if not a great poet, a real one," to use his own phrase—a baronetcy. Both offers had been refused, but the scientific and literary classes—potent agencies for influencing public opinion—sang loud the praises of a Ministry that was so obviously in sympathy with them. As for the Opposition, Mr. Gladstone's definite refusal to lead them any longer, compelled them to elect a successor, whereupon an infinite amount of dissension, heartburning, and jealousy was stirred up in their ranks. Mr. Goschen, Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. W. E. Forster were the candidates who had most partisans, and the last was undoubtedly the one on whom the public choice would have fallen, if the public had been permitted to arbitrate between the rivals. The Nonconformists, however, had not yet forgiven Mr. Forster, and Mr. Bright put him out of the field by using his powerful influence in favour of Lord Hartington, who was finally selected. According to one of the ablest of Liberal political critics, Lord Hartington "succeeded in making the whole party content, if not enthusiastic, with their choice."† Lord Hartington had, in the course of the Session, virtually nothing to do, and, like the Peers in Mr. Gilbert's opera, he "did it very well." The Queen's Speech outlined a temperately progressive policy, and when the Opposition leader taunted Ministers with failing to carry out the scheme of reaction to which they stood pledged

* Mr. Carlyle refused the offer, though he had accepted the Prussian Order of Merit.

† England Under Lord Beaconsfield, by P. W. Clayden, p. 120.

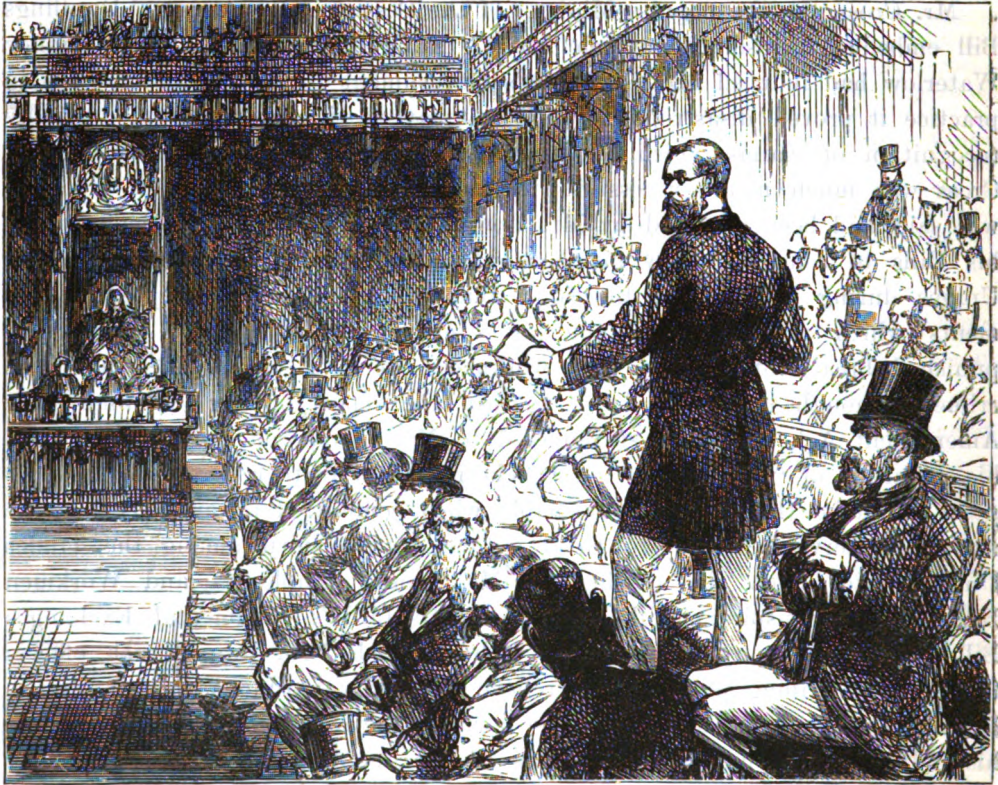
on the hustings and in the Conservative Press, Mr. Disraeli, with demure gaiety, protested against his "grotesque reminiscences." Lord Hartington, he complained, sought out "the most violent speeches made by the most uninfluential persons in the most obscure places, and the most absurd articles appearing in the dullest and most uninfluential newspapers," and took these as the opinions of "the great Conservative Party."* The opinions of the Conservative Ministry, he added, were now expressed from the front Ministerial Bench, and for these alone did he hold himself responsible.

Mr. Cross was the popular Minister of the Session. His Artisans' Dwellings Bill embodied a resolution which Mr. U. Kay-Shuttleworth and Sir Sidney Waterlow had induced Mr. Gladstone's Government to accept, and though in practice it proved disastrous to local ratepayers, it was taken as a kindly recognition of claims which Liberal Cabinets had too often ignored.† Mr. Cross was much more successful with his Labour Bills, drafts of which, it was said, had been prepared by Mr. Lowe. The Home Secretary had framed his Bills to conciliate Tory members who had eloquently denounced Trades Unions during the General Election. But in Committee he accepted amendments which removed from the law every trace of the evil spirit that punished breach of contract by a workman, not as a civil offence, but as a crime. Though he fought hard against the repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, he finally surrendered to Mr. Lowe, and not only accepted his definition of "molestation" or "picketing," but further agreed to his proposal to make that offence punishable when committed by anybody—be he master or servant. The growth of a Conservative spirit among the Trades Unions dates from the passing of Mr. Cross's Employers and Workmen Bill, and his Conspiracy Bill. Mr. Gathorne-Hardy's Regimental Exchanges Bill was a reactionary concession to "the Colonels," for it gave rich officers facilities for bribing poor ones to relieve them from arduous foreign service. Lord Cairns, however, did much more harm to the Government by withdrawing his Judicature Bill under the menaces of a secret Junta of Peers, headed by

* Mr. Disraeli was blamed for ungenerous discourtesy to Lord Hartington on his first appearance as Opposition Leader. But there was a good justification for the Premier's contemptuous reply. Lord Hartington's taunts were foolishly factious, because he had, in a speech at Lewes (21st of January), already defended the Tory Government for not attempting to undo Liberal work, which was, as he put it, "irrevocable."

† The Bill had these defects: (1), It was permissive and not compulsory. (2), It forced local authorities to compensate owners of insanitary dwellings doomed to destruction. The worse the rookeries the higher the rents, and the more extravagant the compensation, so that the Bill put a premium on the creation of rookeries. (3), It enacted that workmen's houses must be rebuilt on the cleared land. This rendered it impossible to sell the sites at prices covering the cost of clearing them, so that local authorities had (a) to keep the land on hand in the hope of getting their price, during which time the displaced inhabitants were pushed into adjoining neighbourhoods already overcrowded; or (b) after five years to sell the sites by auction at a loss. On the 4th of July, 1879, the Metropolitan Board of Works sold some of their sites to the Peabody Trustees at a loss of £600,000 to the ratepayers of London.

the Duke of Buccleuch, who had resolved to restore to the House of Lords its Appellate Jurisdiction. Whilst independent Peers protested against this course as a slight to the Upper House, the country considered that it indicated a deplorable want of courage. For when Lord Cairns' new Bill, postponing till the 1st of November, 1886, the provisions of Lord Selborne's Act (1873),* and establishing an Intermediate Court of Appeal as a kind of judicial makeshift, came before the House of Commons, Sir John Holker,



MR. PLIMSOLL ADDRESSING THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

with indiscreet frankness, explained why the Government had dropped their own measure. The Peers, he said, meant to retain their jurisdiction in spite of the House of Commons, and it was, therefore, futile to resist them. This admission that the Cabinet, which ought to be responsible only to the Queen and to Parliament, was really controlled by a small caucus of Peers, whose very names were kept secret, was one which Government could now-a-days survive. The Bill, however, passed before the Session closed.

Ministers also lost much of their popularity through Mr. Disraeli's tenderness towards owners of unseaworthy ships. Mr. Plimsoll had stirred

* This Act deprived the Peers of their Appellate Jurisdiction.

up public opinion against the "ship-knackers," as he called them, who, having over-insured vessels that were rotten, sent them away to founders at sea with their crews, and then put the insurance money in their pockets. The Board of Trade had rather frowned on his efforts to get it to detain unseaworthy ships for survey, but in deference to popular pressure the Government had



THE MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON.

(From a Photograph by Russell and Sons.)

promised to bring in a Merchant Shipping Bill to check the evil which Mr. Plimsoll had discovered and denounced. The Bill was read a second time in the Commons without opposition, and it was one in which the Queen was said to be as much interested as Mr. Plimsoll himself. But Mr. Disraeli had brought forward a measure permitting farmers to receive compensation for unexhausted improvements, and enabling landlords to deny them this compensation by contracting themselves out of the Bill. He had contrived to get

Government business into confusion by trying to push on Ministerial measures abreast instead of in single file, and in a fatal moment he shelved the Merchant Shipping Bill, in order to make way for the perfectly worthless Agricultural Holdings Bill. He announced the fact on the 22nd of July, when Mr. Goschen entered a mild protest.

Mr. Plimsoll, however, rose quivering with rage and passion, and moved the adjournment of the House. He not only protested against the Government postponing a Bill that interfered with "the unhallowed gains" of the "ship-knackers," but said that some of them sat in the House, and mentioned by name one of "the villains" he was determined to "unmask." In vain the Speaker called him to order. Louder and louder grew the turmoil, and in the midst of it Mr. Disraeli grew visibly pale when Mr. Plimsoll rushed up the floor of the House with his clenched fist extended in front of him. However, he did not strike the Premier or Sir Charles Adderley—who was officially in charge of the Bill—as had been dreaded. He merely stood on one leg, placed a written protest on the table, and then, having shaken his fist in the Speaker's face, marched out of the Chamber amidst a scene of terrible disorder. Mr. Disraeli lost his temper and, with it, touch of the House for a moment. In angry accents he moved that Mr. Plimsoll be reprimanded there and then, whereupon the Speaker interfered, and said that before a motion of that sort could be put Mr. Plimsoll, who was now standing below the bar, must be heard in his place. Mr. Plimsoll, however, preferred immediate withdrawal, and the House was on the eve of entering into conflict with a defiant Member, supported by an irresistible force of democratic passion in the country, a conflict from which it must have emerged with impaired authority, when suddenly Lord Hartington came to the rescue. His frigid accents, in strong contrast with Mr. Disraeli's tremulous tones of wrath, immediately cooled the temper of the House. Mr. Plimsoll was, said Lord Hartington, merely suffering from "overstrain acting on a very sensitive temperament, and before taking any strong measures against a man so universally respected, it would be more consonant with the dignity of the House to give him reasonable time to put himself right." Mr. Disraeli instantly saw that Lord Hartington's phlegmatic sense had suggested the course that would extricate him from the dangerous position into which he was leading the House, and he consented to adjourn the matter for a week. Mr. Plimsoll made an honourable apology to the Speaker, and the matter ended happily, but the incident, to the gratification of the country, revealed in Lord Hartington a capacity for cool and adroit leadership, the existence of which had hitherto been unsuspected. The day after the scene in the House of Commons a storm of agitation broke over the country on behalf of Mr. Plimsoll. From every constituency remonstrances couched in terms of strong indignation poured in upon the House of Commons. Tory Members warned the Whips that they did not dare to run athwart the wave of passion that swept over the land.

The Cabinet accordingly held a meeting in a panic, and resolved to bring in a temporary Bill empowering the Board of Trade to detain rotten ships and to prohibit grain cargoes from being carried in bulk. The measure was passed, even the Peers shrinking from the responsibility of rejecting it.

Another blunder damaged Mr. Disraeli's leadership. In April Mr. Charles Lewis moved that the printer of the *Times* be summoned to the Bar and dealt with for printing a letter reflecting on a Member of the House of Commons, in a report of evidence given before the Foreign Loans Committee. It was an attempt to carry out the old Standing Order, which made it an offence for newspapers to report Parliamentary proceedings. Mr. Disraeli first spoke against the motion, and then voted for it. It was carried. But next day he moved that the Order be discharged, and when Mr. Sullivan asked him if he intended to put the relations of the Press and Parliament on a less anomalous footing, he answered "No." Thereupon Mr. Sullivan warned him he would insist on carrying out the ridiculous old Standing Order, and clearing the House of reporters every night till Mr. Disraeli yielded. Lord Hartington induced Mr. Sullivan to refrain, but Mr. Biggar next stepped in, and with elfish humour, one night when the Prince of Wales was listening to a debate, rose and said he "espied strangers in the House," which was duly cleared of every one—including the Prince—save Members. The two leaders then carried a motion suspending the ridiculous Order for that evening. Mr. Disraeli, however, still refused to alter the rule or accept a proposal from Lord Hartington for altering it. Mr. Sullivan accordingly retorted by again "espying strangers," clearing the House, and compelling the Government to adjourn an important debate. Mr. Disraeli now saw he had no choice but to surrender. He therefore carried a new Standing Order, enabling the Speaker to exclude strangers when he saw fit, but submitting the attempt of a private Member to clear the House, to the check of an immediate and undebateable vote.

Sir Stafford Northcote's Budget was ominous of hard times coming. Prices were beginning to fall, and unsound Foreign Loans, in which rich people had invested, were beginning to collapse. Sir Stafford Northcote, therefore, though he received half a million more revenue than he expected, wisely made no sanguine estimate for the ensuing year. His anticipated expenditure he put at £75,268,000, an increase of £939,000, and his revenue at £75,685,000, showing a probable surplus of £417,000, which was ultimately converted by supplementary estimates into an estimated deficit of £300,000—a bad contrast to the miraculous surplus of £6,000,000, which in the previous year he inherited from Mr. Gladstone. There was no special feature in the Budget, save the scheme fixing the charge for the paying up the interest and the principal of the National Debt in future at £28,000,000 a year, and making it obligatory to meet this sum before any surplus could be declared. It was, in fact, a plan for establishing a rigid Sinking Fund to discharge the

National Debt, and though it was popular at the time, it failed, as all such plans fail, because whenever a difficulty arises Ministers of Finance always confiscate a Sinking Fund in preference to imposing new taxes.

Ireland, represented by the new National Party, under Mr. Butt, gained little during 1875, but she gained something. Under a Liberal Government half the Home Rule Party could have been bribed by places into silence. But an ostentatiously hostile Tory Ministry could not offer them places, and



ABERGELDIE CASTLE.

(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co.)

yet they had to be quieted somehow, for the Irish people had by this time lost faith in their insincere Parliamentary action. Fenian agents were telling the Irish peasantry that they could expect no concessions unless they extorted them by revolution. The Government, accordingly, relaxed the existing Coercion Acts, and the debate on one of these—the Westmeath Act—was, on the 22nd of April, 1875, rendered historic by the intervention of Mr. Biggar, who talked against time for five hours, by the simple device of reading long extracts from Blue Books.* Shortly after this feat, Mr. Charles Stewart Parnell, a young Wicklow squire, who had been educated at Cambridge, and was notable for his shyness, his aristocratic reserve, and his

* Hansard, Vol. CCXXXIII., p. 1458.

faltering and confused speech, took his seat as Member for Meath, in succession to John Martin, who had died. Nothing was known of him save that he had the reputation of being a Protestant landlord who was on good terms with his tenants, that from his mother—a daughter of the celebrated Commodore Stewart of the United States Navy—he had inherited Republican ideas, that he was a lover of field sports, and that he was a cadet of the family of which his great-grandfather, Sir John Parnell, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer in 1782, was a distinguished member, and the head of which was the present Lord Congleton. That his beautiful estate of Avondale was heavily mortgaged was *not* regarded as noteworthy. Mr. Joseph Gillies Biggar, whose quaint *bourgeois* humour had already made him, if not the favourite, at least one of the privileged “diversions” of the House, and who was destined to be Mr. Parnell’s coadjutor in organising the largest and most powerful Irish National Party of the Victorian period, was a prosperous provision-dealer, of Scottish extraction, trading in Belfast. His experience of affairs had been gained as Chairman of the local Water Board.

Parliament was prorogued peacefully on the 13th of August, and, on the whole, Ministers emerged from the Session with credit. Mr. Disraeli’s bright wit, his cheerful temper, and his airy jocularly in meeting serious attacks, recalled pleasant memories of Lord Palmerston, and tempted the House to forget his occasional blunders as its Leader. The Recess, however, brought serious peril to his Cabinet—peril which, however, it had done little to deserve. In the middle of September it was discovered that the Foreign Office had induced the Admiralty to issue a Fugitive Slave Circular to naval officers. They were told they must not receive fugitive slaves in territorial waters unless their lives were in danger. If the fugitive slave came on board a British ship in territorial waters, he was not to remain if it were proved he were a slave. If received on the high seas, he must be surrendered when the ship came within the territorial waters of the country from which he had escaped. The Circular, in fact, defined the legal obligations under which British ships of war must logically lie if they chose to enter the territorial waters of slave States, with which England was not at war. It was a Circular embodying regulations on which every Liberal Minister had habitually acted, but the Liberal Party immediately proceeded to make political capital out of it. An agitation as fierce as that which was caused by the abandonment of the Merchant Shipping Bill sprang up, and Lord Derby, at whose instance the Admiralty issued the Circular, was accused of attempting to commit England to a furtive partnership with slave-owners. The most that could be said in fairness against the document was that it was so badly drafted as to imply that the deck of a Queen’s ship was subject to foreign jurisdiction. Moreover, the order to surrender a fugitive slave who had taken refuge on a Queen’s ship on the high seas, was so completely indefensible that Lord Derby himself struck it out of the second edition of his

Circular. He might as well have ordered a British Consul in Rio to arrest and surrender a Brazilian slave who, having gained freedom by escaping to English soil, had afterwards returned to that port. Till Parliament met in 1876, the country rang with the inflated protests of Liberal partisans against the amended Circular, which was published after the original one had been suspended in October, and cancelled in November.

But the issue and publication of the Slave Circular was not the only blunder at the Admiralty that rendered the Government unpopular during the Recess. They were guilty of one which gave the Queen the utmost annoyance. When she was crossing the Solent from Osborne to Gosport on the 18th of August her yacht ran down another yacht called the *Mistletoe*. The owner (Mr. Heywood) and his sisters-in-law, Miss Annie Peel and Miss Eleanor Peel, were on board, and, though the last-named was rescued, Miss Annie Peel and the sailing-master were drowned. The Queen happened to be on deck, and her emotion during the scene was painful to witness. The Prince of Leiningen, as commander of the Royal yacht, was blamed by the people for the catastrophe, and unfortunately the Admiralty not only refused to try him by court-martial, but, after a secret inquiry, condemned the navigating officer. This roused public wrath, and it was ungenerously alleged that the Queen had forced a servile Minister to protect her nephew from just punishment. The fact is, as a subsequent case showed, the Admiralty merely followed the stereotyped rule, which, in those days, was to punish subordinate officers for the blunders of their superiors. It used to be asked, What was a navigating officer on board a Queen's ship for, unless to take his captain's punishment? Unfortunately for the Prince of Leiningen, there was a tribunal from which he could not escape—the coroner's inquest on the bodies of those for whose death he was morally responsible. The evidence given before the coroner still further exasperated the ill-feeling which had been roused. Yachtsmen—proverbially a loyal body of men—were irritated at the tone of a letter addressed to the president of the Cowes Yacht Club (the Marquis of Exeter), in which General Ponsonby expressed the Queen's wish that in future members of the Club would not approach too closely to the Royal yacht when the Queen was on board. The insinuation contained in this document and assumption that no blame rested on the officers of the *Alberta*, provoked yachtsmen in every club in Great Britain to retort that, in their painful experience, the Queen's yachts were navigated in the Solent with a disregard of the "rules of the road" which rendered them a constituted nuisance.

In this particular instance the Royal yacht had been driven at the rate of seventeen miles an hour, and the Prince of Leiningen and his subordinates had paid no attention to the Board of Trade rule which makes it the duty of a steamer to get well out of the way of a sailing-vessel. The quartermasters of the yacht, too, gave their evidence in a manner which not only cast

suspicion on their testimony, but suggested that they stood in terror of their officers. A letter which the Queen wrote to her nephew expressing her satisfaction with their conduct, was moreover taken to be an attempt to unduly influence the Coroner's Court. The first jury did not agree on a verdict, and the outcry about the Queen's letter was so loud that the case had to be tried again. The Queen had for a moment forgotten that the vast influence which she had acquired during her reign rendered it imperative for her to be silent on all matters of controversy—especially if they were under judicial investigation. She forgot that the mere expression of her individual opinion gave an advantage to one side in a dispute, the extent of which she herself had clearly never dreamt of—an advantage so great, that it bore unfairly against the side that had not got it. The second jury, however, brought in a verdict of "Accidental Death," and condemned the officers of the Royal yacht (1), for steaming at too high a speed, and (2), for keeping a bad look-out. The verdict was quite illogical. If the look-out on the *Alberta* was bad and her speed too high, and if, as was proved, her officer had violated the rule of the road, the verdict ought to have been one of Manslaughter. But no further steps were taken to do justice. Mr. Anderson brought the case before the House of Commons, and though he was defeated in his effort to make the Government move in the affair, he created a great stir in the country, by declaring that public funds had been used as hush-money to prevent further inquiry.* So far as the verdict of the jury went, demanding that the Royal yachts should steam at less speed in the Solent, it was absurd. State business often forces the Queen and her messengers and Ministers to travel fast. What the jury should have recommended was a new rule of the road, to the effect that everything must make way on the water for a yacht flying the Sovereign's personal flag.

The other blunder of the Admiralty arose out of an inquiry into the loss of two ironclads off the Wicklow coast. On the night of the 1st of September the *Iron Duke* rammed and sank the *Vanguard*. There was a fog at the time, and the captain of the *Vanguard* left the deck at the moment of greatest peril, and was stupid enough to reduce speed for no discernible reason without warning the *Iron Duke*, which was coming behind him. The captain of the *Iron Duke* was stupid enough to increase her speed in the fog, and she was not only badly steered, but her fog-signal was not blown. Had they been employed in the merchant service these two officers would have been subjected to the severest punishment. As it was, the captain of the *Vanguard* was dismissed the service. The captain of the *Iron Duke*, who had been condemned by the court-martial for ramming the *Vanguard*, was acquitted, on a review of his sentence by the Admiralty. The Admiralty then, by way of compensation, cashiered his subordinate, Lieutenant

* See Hansard, Vol. CCXXVIII., p. 1488. Mr. Heywood got £3,000 compensation.

Evans, without a trial, and without giving him leave to make a defence. As for the Admiral, who, from lack of skill or from negligence permitted the ships of his squadron to sail close to each other in a fog, he was freed from blame.

Fortunately for Mr. Disraeli, an opportunity for a great stroke of policy occurred, which diverted public attention from these blunders, and re-established the waning popularity of his Ministry. On the 26th of November it was announced that the Government had bought for £4,000,000 the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal, and what a French writer described as "a conquest by mortgage" was hailed by the English people, with a shout of gratification. The impecunious ruler of Egypt had been literally hawking



VIEW ON THE SUEZ CANAL.

his Canal shares among the Powers. It was possible that at any moment Germany or France might buy them up, and then impede the passage of English troops to India. Not a day was to be lost, and Mr. Disraeli, therefore, on his own responsibility, and without consulting his Cabinet, purchased the Shares. There was joy in the City over this operation. The bankruptcy of Turkey, declared at the end of October, had converted Turkish Bonds into waste paper, and it was some compensation to speculators that Mr. Disraeli's purchase of the Canal Shares sent up the price of Egyptian Stock by leaps and bounds. Lord Hartington, it is true, in a speech at Sheffield (15th of December), querulously carped at the transaction. But as his contention was that England was in a better position to secure the neutrality of the Canal without than with a solid proprietary interest in it, nobody paid the least attention to his unpatriotic cavillings. They merely convinced the country that, despite Mr. Disraeli's bungling Parliamentary leadership, his inaccuracy of statement, his loose hold of principle, and the administrative blunders of his subordinates, he

was the only living statesman of first rank, in whose hands the higher interests of the Empire were safe.

It was announced in March that the Prince of Wales was to visit India in November, with Sir Bartle Frere as his guide. In July it was decided that his tour should be a State Progress, the expenses of which should be paid for out of the revenues of England and India. The marine escort was to



COUNT FERDINAND DE LESSEPS.

be provided by the Admiralty at a cost of £52,000; the Indian Treasury was to contribute £30,000; and when Mr. Disraeli asked the House of Commons for £52,000, Lord Hartington had no complaint to make except that he thought the vote ought to be larger. Messrs. Macdonald and Burt, when they objected that the working-classes would not approve of the grant, were literally "howled down" by the House. Yet all Mr. Burt said was that as he himself lived on a salary derived from his constituents, he could not decently vote away their money to pay the cost of what they believed was a tour of pleasure for a rich Prince. His argument was fair enough from his

point of view. It was faulty because he failed to see that a vote for a State pageant which meant to individualise the Monarchy to the Indian mind, was not a grant to the Prince as a private individual. Mr. Bright's support of the grant, which was voted, was useful to the Government. But as his argument was that the visit of the Prince might be serviceable in checking the harsh and cruel treatment to which the natives of India are subjected by their English rulers, it was condemned as unjust to the devoted servants of the Queen, who wear out their lives in honourable exile, maintaining peace in an Empire that, without them, would be converted into a pandemonium of slaughter.

The opening days of 1876 were marked by the announcement of Lord Northbrook's resignation as Viceroy of India. The Indian Viceroy had for some time thwarted the policy of the Secretary of State, and the final rupture was made when they differed in opinion as to the kind of Envoy the Government should have at Cabul. It was a quaint controversy. Lord Salisbury said the face of the British Envoy should be white. Lord Northbrook contended that it should be black, whereupon Lord Salisbury wrote Lord Northbrook a despatch, couched in terms that left him no alternative save resignation. According to Lord Salisbury, unless a white Envoy kept watch over the Ameer, Shere Ali, our information from Cabul would be defective. According to Lord Northbrook, if we sent an European Envoy to Cabul, he would be promptly assassinated, in which case we should get no information at all, and India would be dragged into a ruinous war of vengeance. Lord Northbrook had nothing on his side but facts. No Afghan Ameer had ever been able to guarantee a Christian Envoy at Cabul against assassination. When Lord Salisbury did send an European Envoy to Cabul he was not only murdered, but, pending his inevitable murder, the only information worth having that came from Cabul, came from native sources. It was, moreover, a slight on the Indian Government to say that they had not been able to train a Mahomedan official of rank up to the duties of effective diplomatic espionage at Cabul. However, the dispute ended in Lord Northbrook coming back to England, and in Lord Lytton going out to India as his successor. There was no doubt a time when the appointment of a diplomatist who was a Peer and a passionate poet, to the Viceregal Throne might have been useful. Unhappily, in 1876, a different type of ruler was needed in India. The war cloud in Eastern Europe was about to break, and it was well known that in any diplomatic contest between Russia and England, it would be the aim of Russia to weaken England by making trouble for her on her Indian frontier. For the stress of the times, a man like Lord Mayo was necessary, and Lord Lytton was everything that Lord Mayo was not.

All through 1875 there had been in Bosnia and Herzegovina disturbances precisely similar to those in the Principalities which preceded the Crimean

War. After Lord Derby had been appealed to by Musurus Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador in London, he suggested to Count Andrassy that Austria should prevent her subjects on her frontier from supporting the insurgents in the mutinous Turkish provinces, and a similar suggestion was made to the Servian Government. His advice to the Turks was to stamp out rebellion as quickly as possible, so as to prevent it from spreading and provoking European intervention. The Porte, instead of acting on this advice, desired that the Consuls of the Great Powers should mediate between the Sultan and the rebels, and Lord Derby, instead of adhering to his original counsels, weakly fell in with this proposal, and consented, though with great hesitancy, to let the British Consul join the delegation. The rebels were delighted with the proposals of the Consuls for their better government, but refused to lay down their arms unless the Powers guaranteed that the Turks would carry them out. The Consuls were pleased that the demands of the insurgents were moderate and reasonable, but could give no guarantees for the good faith of Turkey. As they were returning from their mission fighting began again.

From their public utterances during the recess of 1875 it was inferred that while Lord Derby was averse from further intervention on the part of England in the business, because in the East, he said, "we want nothing, and fear nothing," Mr. Disraeli was of opinion that England had great interests in Eastern Europe, which the Government, he said at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, "are resolved to guard and maintain." There are no novelties in English politics. The situation was the same as that which led to the Crimean War, and it also had to be dealt with by a Cabinet which, like Lord Aberdeen's, was divided into interventionists and non-interventionists. But an acute observer might have detected what Mr. Disraeli failed to see, that English opinion had changed since 1853. In 1853 the electors were in favour of intervention, whereas, since the defeat of Palmerston by the Court and Mr. Cobden in 1864, they had always been against it. As the insurrection spread, the Porte promised reforms. Three Powers—Austria, Germany and Russia, afterwards joined by France and Italy—sent a Note to Turkey known as "the Andrassy Note" (30th of December, 1875), condemning the misgovernment of the insurgent provinces, bewailing the broken promises of the Porte, and demanding certain reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina to prevent a general rising. Lord Derby, after about a month's hesitation, instructed the British Ambassador to give the Note a general support. Turkey accepted most of its proposals, and issued another *Irade* to carry them out. The *Irade* was never made operative, and though Lord Derby was not offended by the contumacy of Turkey, the other Powers resented it. Count Schouvaloff persuaded him to permit Lord Odo Russell to meet the representatives of the five Powers at Berlin in May to consider the situation. At this meeting the Berlin Memorandum was produced and agreed to by the Continental Powers.

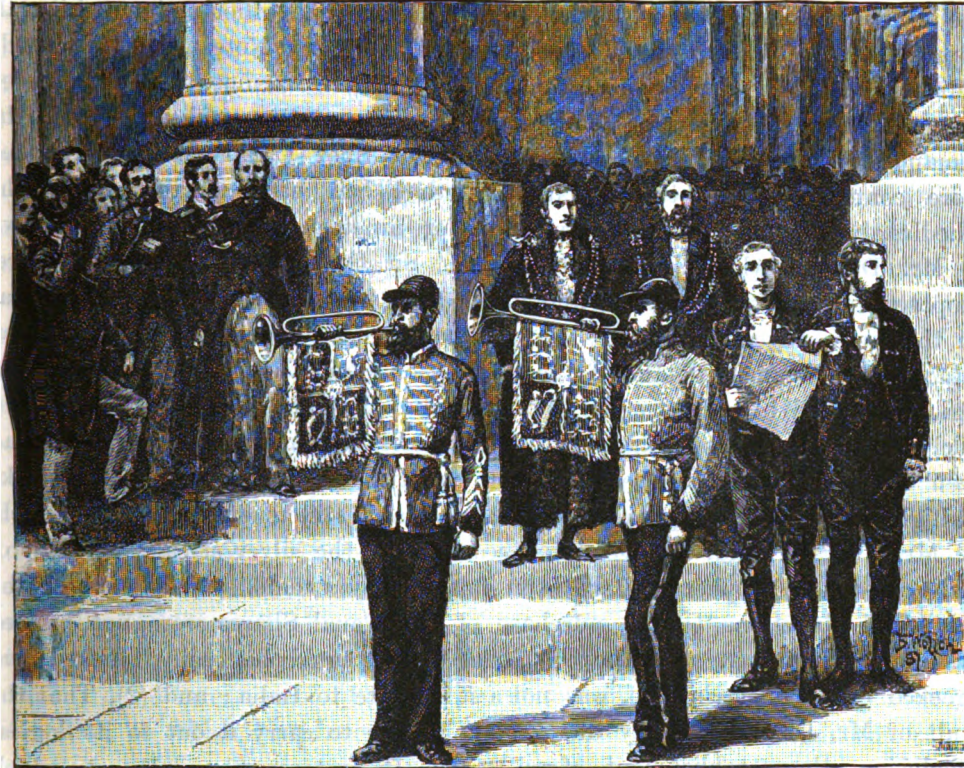
It assumed, that as the Porte had promised to carry out the reforms in the Andrassy Note, the Powers had now the right to force it to keep its pledges. It formulated the guarantees which Europe asked for in order to give effect to the Andrassy Note, and threatened Turkey with "more effective measures" of coercion if she failed to give them within two months after an armistice between her and her rebellious provinces had been concluded. The reason why the Note was minatory lay on the



THE MOSQUE OF SAN SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

surface. The Consuls of France and Germany had been murdered by the Turks at Salonica, and before any redress could be obtained Prince Bismarck had to send the Porte an ultimatum that meant war. Lord Derby declined to assent to the Memorandum, on the ground that England had not been consulted in the preparing of it, and did not believe that it would do any good if presented. The Foreign Ministers of the Powers in vain implored him to reconsider his decision, and then the Memorandum was tossed into the waste-paper basket of diplomacy. Turkey, seeing that Lord Derby had broken up the European Concert at Berlin, behaved exactly as she did when Clarendon broke up the same instrument of coercion at Vienna. Her contumacy was intensified, and what was still more serious, her European vassals,

seeing that diplomacy had failed to rescue them from misrule, took up arms. Within a month after the diplomatic triumph of England, the Turks found it had secured to them the following advantages:—(1), The Continental Powers withdrew from the field, and adopted an attitude of vigilant inactivity. (2), Servia and Montenegro declared war on Turkey. (3), The soil of Bulgaria was soaked with the blood of her Christian population, whose revolt had been quelled by massacres and ghastly atrocities, that rendered expulsion from



HERALDS AT THE MANSION HOUSE, PROCLAIMING THE QUEEN AS "EMPRESS OF INDIA."

Europe the manifest destiny of the Ottoman race. (4), The Sultan Abdul Aziz was dethroned by a mob of fanatical Moslems, and his European Empire lay wrecked in anarchy. It had been made a matter of complaint that the Foreign Policy of England in 1853 was slow in producing any effect. When we consider what happened in the month that followed the failure of the Berlin Memorandum, and the collapse of the European Concert, that complaint cannot be justly advanced against Mr. Disraeli's Foreign Policy in 1876.

Parliament was opened on the 8th of February by the Queen in person, with great pomp and ceremony; and the Royal Speech promised several useful measures dealing with the Court of Appeal, Merchant Shipping, and Prisons. But the one that excited most public interest was the Bill to confer

on the Sovereign a new title derived from India, in gracious acknowledgment of the enthusiastic reception given to the Prince of Wales by the natives of that Empire. As for the Slave Circular, the questions raised by it were to be referred to a Royal Commission. The Foreign Policy of the Government was expressed by Mr. Disraeli, in terms that appealed sympathetically to national feeling. It was based on the idea that England was responsible for the good use of her influence in the councils of Europe, and it united the Tory Party, and caused the country to condone all Ministerial blunders. The debate on the Eastern Question showed that Mr. Gladstone and other eminent Liberals approved of Lord Derby's adherence to the Andrassy Note. But it clearly indicated that the Opposition would attack the Government if it adopted the old Crimean policy of supporting Turkey whenever she rejected the demands of Europe. The purchase of the Suez Canal Shares provoked more controversy. It turned out that they had been mortgaged by the Khedive, and could not yield dividends for nineteen years, a fact unknown to Mr. Disraeli when he bought them. Sir Stafford Northcote, therefore, proposed to borrow £4,000,000, and exact from the Khedive 5 per cent. a year on that sum to cover the loss of the mortgaged dividends. Mr. Gladstone attacked the financial details of the transaction,* and though his criticism was logical it failed to influence the country. Had the purchase of the Shares been solely a commercial speculation, the unbusiness-like manner in which it had been effected would have been of some importance. But it was also a stroke of high policy, and it appealed to the imperial instincts of the nation which, as Mr. Disraeli said, was getting "sea-sick of the silver streak."† Most of Mr. Gladstone's prophecies have been falsified by events. Oddly enough the only valid objections to the purchase of the Canal Shares were not pressed by him. They were (1), That a Canal which could be easily blocked and wrecked by an enemy's ship, was not a safe route to India; and (2), That the fault of Mr. Disraeli's policy was in his failure to carry it out to its logical conclusion—the establishment of a British Protectorate over Egypt, which would have rendered the final fate of Turkey, a matter of indifference to Englishmen. Parliament ratified the policy of the Government with enthusiasm. The appointment of the Royal Commission to examine all the difficulties raised by the Slave Circular saved Ministers from defeat at the end of the Debate on the issue of that stupid State Paper. The Government

* He complained that the Government had gone to Messrs. Rothschild for the purchase-money instead of to their regular financial agents, and paid them a commission equal to 15 per cent. a year on the advance. He declared that the Khedive would probably fail to pay his 5 per cent. on the purchase-money, and that England, in any dispute as a shareholder, would have to sue and be sued in a French court. As trustee for the nation the Government ought, he said, to insist on low tariffs. As a shareholder it must, however, insist on high dividends. The purchase, he held, would give England no real influence at the Board of Direction.

† Mr. Gladstone once cited the Channel as "the silver streak," which was the best defence of England against the Continent, and a justification for a Foreign Policy of isolation.

was also fortunate in its domestic legislation. The Merchant Shipping Bill, when it passed, was found to be a compromise which remedied most of the wrongs for which Mr. Plimsoll sought redress. Lord Sandon's Education Act was a concession to the advocates of compulsory education, for it prohibited the employment of children under ten, and it prohibited the employment of children between ten and fourteen, who had not attended school 250 times a year and passed an examination in the Fourth Standard. In fact, the Bill legalised, not direct, but indirect compulsion. Bills restricting the practice of vivisection, and restoring to the House of Lords its Appellate Jurisdiction, but adding to it Judges of Appeal, who would be Peers during their tenure of office, and who, with the ex-Chancellor, would discharge the judicial functions of the Upper House, were also passed. For the meagre achievements of the Session three reasons may be given: (1), Much time was lost over the Education Act, because not only was it necessary for the Opposition to tone down its reactionary clauses, but concessions to the opponents of School Boards were suddenly sprung upon the House by Lord Sandon, which had to be fiercely resisted. (2), The policy of obstruction which had been adopted with so much success to delay Mr. Forster's Ballot Bill in 1883, was now developed in an ingenious manner by Messrs. Biggar and Parnell. They "blocked" Bills indiscriminately, so as to bring them under the rule which forbade opposed measures to be taken after half-past twelve at night. They moved adjournments in various forms at half-past twelve, on the ground that the hour was too far advanced for discussion. They were always on the watch to "count out" the House, and they never missed a chance of "talking out" a Bill,* quite regardless of its merits. Mr. Parnell and Mr. Biggar thus taught themselves to be formidable debaters at the expense of the House, for, as Mr. Parnell once told a friend, the best way to learn the rules of Parliament is to break them.† (3), A great deal of time was also wasted in discussing the Royal Titles Bill, to which the Liberals offered an amount of opposition out of all proportion to the significance of the measure.

The Royal Titles Bill was introduced by the Prime Minister on the 7th of February. He had some idea that it would be an offence against the prerogative if he stated what the new title was to be, but it was said that the Queen, ever since the Duchess of Edinburgh had claimed precedence over her sisters-in-law, on the ground that hers was an Imperial, whilst theirs was a Royal title, desired to be styled Empress of India. On the other hand, most people objected to change the Queen's designation. Why, it was asked, should the successor of Egbert wish to be a modern Empress? To insert India in the existing form of the Royal title would adequately meet any

* When a Bill was approaching one of the stages at half-past twelve, Mr. Biggar or Mr. Parnell would get up and speak so as to protract debate till the hour came when opposed business must be postponed.

† The Parnell Movement, by T. P. O'Connor, M.P. Popular Edition, p. 157.

real necessity for change. The Imperial title was also surrounded with evil associations, and it suggested that Imperialism or personal Government, tempered by casual appeals for support to the democracy or the Army over the head of Parliament, was the end aimed at by the Ministerial policy. Mr. Disraeli's haughty refusal to communicate the new title to the House



THE QUEEN VISITING THE WARDS OF THE LONDON HOSPITAL.

of Commons was met by a motion that no progress be made with the Bill till the title was revealed. The Prime Minister accordingly yielded the point, and promised to give the necessary explanations before the Bill was read a second time. The debate on the Second Reading showed clearly that the House of Commons was hostile to the Bill; but as the Government gave a pledge that the title should be used in India only, the Second Reading was carried. This pledge was soon broken, for the Proclamation was made, not that the new title should be used in India, but that it might be used

everywhere save in the United Kingdom. The Peers were as reluctant as the Commons to sanction the adoption of any exotic titles by the Crown, and the Court did not scruple to bring personal pressure to bear on them for the purpose of overcoming their threatened opposition. Lord Shaftesbury was summoned to Windsor in early spring, and as it was twenty years since he had been the Queen's guest, he says in his Diary that he assumed his



THE ALBERT MEMORIAL, CHARLOTTE SQUARE, EDINBURGH.

invitation was brought about by the controversy then raging over the Royal Titles Bill. "I dread it [the visit]," he writes in his Diary, on the 12th of March, "the cold, the evening dress, the solitude, for I am old, and dislike being far away from assistance should I be ill at night. . . . She [the Queen] sent for me in 1848 to consult me on a very important matter. Can it be so now?" The next entry showed his foreboding to be correct. He says, on the 14th of March, "Returned from Windsor. I am sure it was so, though not distinctly avowed. Her Majesty personally said nothing." But though she did not discuss the views he expressed to her, a Lord-in-

Waiting formally requested him to communicate them to Mr. Disraeli. Mr. Disraeli paid no heed to them, and Lord Shaftesbury accordingly moved (3rd of April), in the House of Lords, an Address to the Queen praying her not to take the title of Empress. He pointed out that in time it would lose its present impression of feminine softness, and be transformed into "Emperor," whereupon "it must have an air military, despotic, offensive, and intolerable." To scoff as Mr. Disraeli had done at the popular dislike to the Imperial title as a mere "sentiment" was a mistake. "Loyalty itself," observed Lord Shaftesbury, "was a sentiment, and the same sentiment that attached the people to the word Queen, averted them from that of 'Empress.'" In the division, though the Government obtained 137 votes in favour of what the *Saturday Review* called a "vulgar and impolitic innovation," eight Dukes and a large body of habitual courtiers voted with Lord Shaftesbury in the minority of 91.* The dismal predictions of the opponents of the measure have not been verified—possibly because their protests convinced the Court that any ostentatious display of modern Imperialism by an ancient Constitutional Monarchy would lead to a recrudescence of the Republic agitation. Fortunately the heated debates on the Titles Bill did not affect the personal popularity of the Sovereign. In the midst of the controversy the Queen visited Whitechapel on the 6th of March, to open a new wing of the London Hospital, which had been built by the munificence of the Grocers' Company. Her Majesty was enthusiastically received, the only complaint being that she drove too fast along the route where the populace swarmed in their thousands to gaze on her. The visit was taken to be an intimation that the Crown was not a mere toy of the aristocratic quarters of the capital, and that when the Queen emerged from her seclusion it was not solely for the purpose of benefiting the West End shopkeepers. "The bees welcome their Queen," was one of the mottoes displayed on the route. "I was sick and ye visited me," was another, and both inscriptions reflected the kindly feeling with which her Majesty was greeted by industrial London. In the Hospital many interesting incidents were recorded, one of the most touching being that of a little girl who was suffering from a severe burn, and who had said she was sure she would get better if she "could only see the Queen." When this was communicated to her Majesty, she smiled, went straightway to the child's cot, where she kissed her, and soothed her with many tender words of comfort.

Sir Stafford Northcote's Budget was a doleful statement of increased expenditure, and diminished income from a revenue that had ceased to be elastic. He estimated a deficit for the coming year of £774,000, and so he increased the income-tax to 5d. in the £, and added 4d. on the pound to the duty on tobacco. The latter tax was a mistake. It did not raise the price of

* See Hodder's *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, Vol. III., pp. 367, 371.

tobacco to the poor, but it caused the manufacturers to adulterate their tobacco with water so as to add to its weight. The Session ended on the 15th of August, and next day the world heard with great surprise that Mr. Disraeli had become Earl of Beaconsfield, and to use his own jocose expression, that, "abandoning the style of Don Juan for that of Paradise Lost," he would in future lead the House of Lords. Sir Stafford Northcote was left to represent him in the House of Commons.

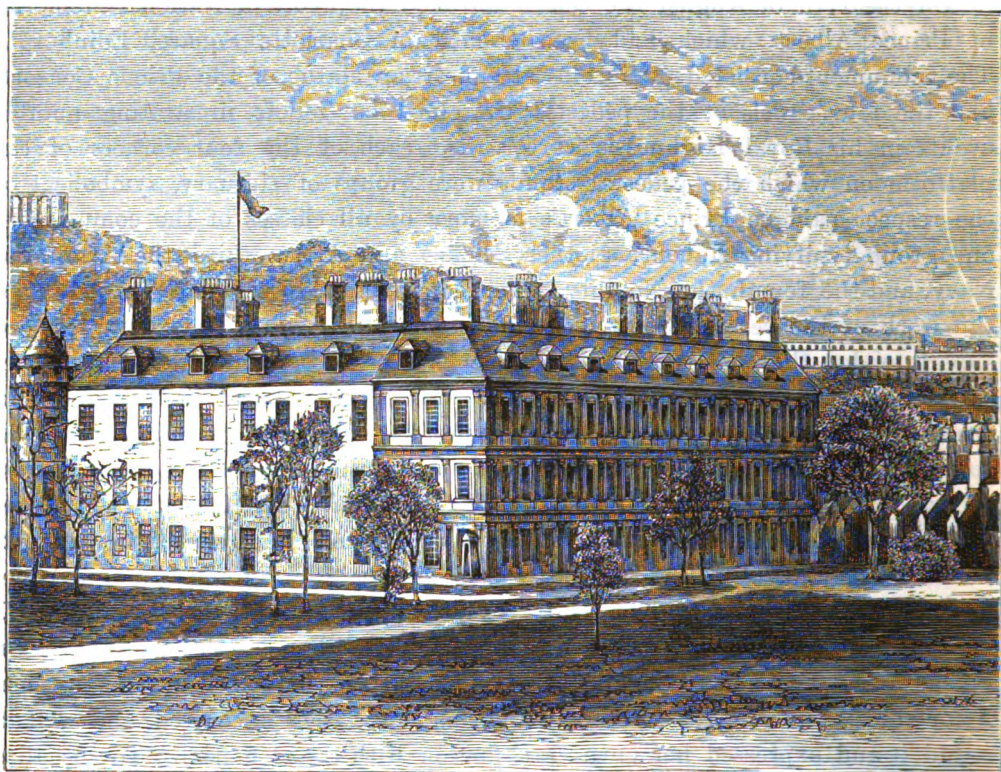
On the 17th of August the Queen unveiled the Scottish National Memorial of Prince Albert, which had been erected in Charlotte Square, Edinburgh. The monument consisted of a colossal equestrian statue of the Prince Consort, and the four panels of the pedestal contained bas-reliefs illustrating notable events in his Royal Highness's career. At each of the four corners of the platform on which the pedestal stands were groups of statuary, symbolical of the respect paid to Prince Albert's memory by all classes of the community: one group typifying Labour, another Science and Art, a third the Army and Navy, and the fourth the Nobility. The equestrian figure and the panels were the work of the veteran Scottish sculptor, Mr. John Steell, who designed and superintended the construction of the memorial. The subordinate groups were executed by Mr. D. W. Stevenson, Mr. Clark Stanton, Mr. Brodie, and Mr. George McCallum, a young artist of high promise, who died before his group was completed. The ceremony of unveiling was unusually interesting. A gaily-decorated pavilion had been raised for the occasion. The Queen was accompanied by Prince Leopold, the Princess Beatrice, and the Duke of Connaught. Under the command of the Duke of Buccleuch, the Royal Company of Archers formed the bodyguard. The Duke of Roxburghe, Lord Rosebery, Sir W. Gibson-Craig, the Earl of Selkirk, the Earl of Lauderdale, Lord Provost Falshaw, and the Town Council, were among the distinguished persons present. After the statue had, at her Majesty's command, been uncovered, she walked round it and expressed her entire satisfaction with the memorial. To signalise her appreciation of what had been done, and to manifest her desire to honour her "faithful city," Mr. Falshaw was created a baronet, and a knighthood was conferred on Mr. John Steell, and on Mr. Herbert Oakeley, Professor of Music in the University.

During the Recess, the country could think of nothing save the Eastern Question. Mr. Gladstone's taste

"For writing pamphlets and for roasting Popes"

was bent in a new direction, and he threw himself with all his might into the controversy that ended in turning English public opinion irrevocably against Turkey. Throughout the Session Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington had, with commendable patriotism, abstained from putting questions to Ministers with reference to their Eastern policy. Parliament and the country were, therefore, in the dark as to what was going on. But towards the end of

June disquieting rumours flew about to the effect that there had been a revolution in Bulgaria, and that the Turks had suppressed it by massacres of the most revolting barbarity. The Government met these tales with jaunty persiflage. On the 10th of July Mr. Forster put a question on the subject, which Mr. Disraeli answered by saying that he considered the reports exaggerated, nor did he think that torture had been resorted to by "an Oriental



HOLYROOD PALACE, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

people who, I believe, seldom resort to torture, but generally terminate their connection with culprits in a more expeditious manner."* This ill-timed jest was hailed with a great guffaw of laughter from the Ministerial Benches. It destroyed Mr. Disraeli's authority in the country when the awful truth was revealed, not by the diplomatic agents of England, who strove hard to conceal it, but by two American gentlemen, Mr. J. A. Macgahan, a distinguished journalist, and Mr. Eugene Schuyler, the United States Consul-General in Turkey. They went to Philippopolis on the 25th of July, and Mr. Macgahan's description of what he saw in the country, which had been ravaged by the Turks, when published in the *Daily News*, sent a thrill of horror through the

* Hansard, Vol. CCXXX., p. 1182.

civilised world. The partisans of Turkey were enraged beyond self-control, and vowed that the worst of all outrages that had been committed was that which was perpetrated by the publication of Mr. Macgahan's report on the brutalities of the Turkish soldiery. The wild work of the Sepoys at Cawnpore was indeed merciful and humane compared with what had been done by the



SIR JAMES FALSHAW.

(From a Photograph by J. Moffat, Edinburgh.)

Turks at Batak. Indiscriminate butchery could alone be laid to the charge of the Indian mutineers. But in Bulgaria, before the Turk murdered his victims, he inflicted on them fiendish tortures and bestial outrages. The Province was one vast desolation covered with blackened ruins, devastated fields, putrefying corpses, and bleached skeletons. Neither age nor sex had been spared. The land would have been as silent as a desert, save for the wailing of the scattered remnant of the Christian population who had

eluded the vengeance of their oppressors. As for the Porte—whose promises of reform in Bulgaria were cheerily cited by Mr. Disraeli to cast doubt on the descriptions of these atrocities—it gave but one sign of action. It promoted Achmed Aga, the barbarian who was responsible for all this wickedness, to be Governor of the Province which he had laid waste.* The effect of these revelations on public opinion was heightened by Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet, entitled "Bulgarian Horrors," and by his speech at Blackheath on the 9th of September, wherein he convicted the Government of apologising for Turkish barbarities, when it could no longer venture to deny their existence. He laid down the lines of the new Eastern policy which England must support. The Turkish officials must be expelled from Bulgaria "bag and baggage," and the European Provinces of Turkey granted such powers of self-government under the suzerainty of the Sultan, as would protect them from being seized by Austria and Russia on the one hand and devastated by Asiatic savages on the other. Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Derby, in subsequent speeches, seemed to adopt the principle of Mr. Gladstone's policy. They admitted that it was the duty of England to join the civilised Powers in preventing Turkey from opening again the floodgates of lust, rapine, and murder in Bulgaria, and the English people for the first time understood how, with the cries of their tortured neighbours ringing in their ears, the Servians and Montenegrins had flown to arms.

Some Conservative writers and speakers still tried to persuade the world that the Russian Government had bribed the Turkish Pashas to commit and the Bulgarians to submit to outrages, in order to discredit Ottoman rule in Europe. But their efforts were futile, and the word went forth from all sides that never again would England draw her sword, as in 1854, to save Turkey from the consequences of her incurable barbarism. Strange to say, Lord Beaconsfield failed to gauge the strength of this feeling. On the 20th of September, in his speech at Aylesford, he neither adopted nor rejected the policy suggested by Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Derby, but he spoke in a querulous tone of the popular meetings which were being held all over England expressing sympathy with Bulgaria and urging the Government to shield her from the cruelty of her oppressors. The agitation, he said, was "impolitic, and founded on erroneous data." Those who got up these meetings, he declared, were guilty of outrages on "the principle of patriotism, worse than any of those Bulgarian atrocities of which we have heard so much." His negative policy which destroyed the Berlin Memorandum without putting any counter proposals in its place, would, he contended, have had a happy issue in negotiations. These, however, were upset by the unexpected Servian declaration of war against Turkey, which was prompted by "the Secret Societies." Yet England had signed

* See Macgahan's Letters and Consul-General Schuyler's Report to the United States Minister at Constantinople, cited in the Appendix, pp. 22 *et seqq.*

the Andrassy Note, which warned Turkey that this unexpected war would be waged against her by Servia, unless she granted the reforms demanded in the Note. When Turkey, instead of granting these reforms, massacred the population that craved for them, it was absurd to suppose that "the Secret Societies of Europe," rather than the popular sympathies of the Christian Slavs, forced the Servian Government into war. That the speech fell flat was seen by the polling at the Buckinghamshire Election next day, when in Lord Beaconsfield's own county Mr. Freemantle only saved the seat from the attack of Mr. Rupert Carrington, the Liberal candidate, by the small majority of 186. There were now two voices in the Cabinet; for on the day after Lord Beaconsfield's speech was made and was taken by Turkey to mean that she had the English Cabinet on her side, Lord Derby ordered Sir H. Elliot to go to the Sultan, and not only denounce the outrages in Bulgaria, but, in the name of the Queen, who was profoundly shocked by them, demand that the officials who perpetrated them be adequately punished. It is hardly necessary to say that the Sultan, imagining that the Prime Minister was all-powerful, paid no heed to remonstrances from the Foreign Secretary. On the 25th of September, the day after the war with Servia began, Sir H. Elliot pressed the Porte to make peace on terms which Lord Derby suggested, and which were most creditable to his diplomatic sagacity. Lord Derby's proposals, if carried out, would have saved Turkey from the supreme disaster which was awaiting her, for they provided that the Porte should effectively guarantee administrative reforms in her Christian Provinces, while Servia and Montenegro should lay down their arms and return to the *status quo ante bellum*. The Porte would only accept an armistice which would have been unfair to Servia and Montenegro, and Servia would not accept a settlement which did not provide for the withdrawal of the barbarous soldiers of Turkey from Bulgaria. Whilst negotiations were pending, the Turks, on the 29th of October, beat down the Servian defence at Alexinatz, whereupon, to the mortification of England, the Czar effected in an instant that which Lord Derby, after many weary weeks of negotiation, had failed to accomplish. Ignatieff was instructed to tell the Porte that if it did not accept an armistice of six weeks within forty-eight hours, diplomatic relations between Turkey and Russia would cease. When the same threat had been delivered by the British Ambassador, the Turks ignored it; in fact, they were impudent enough to meet it with a counter-proposal so absurd, that the Italian Minister said they were obviously playing with England. Although strengthened by a great victory, they did not, however, dare to treat the representative of the Czar as if he were the representative of the Queen. They accepted his ultimatum without demur or delay, and thus owing to the feebleness of English diplomacy, Russia emerged with the honours of the game in which, up to the last moment, Lord Derby held the winning cards. This was, however, a minor matter. Lord Beaconsfield and

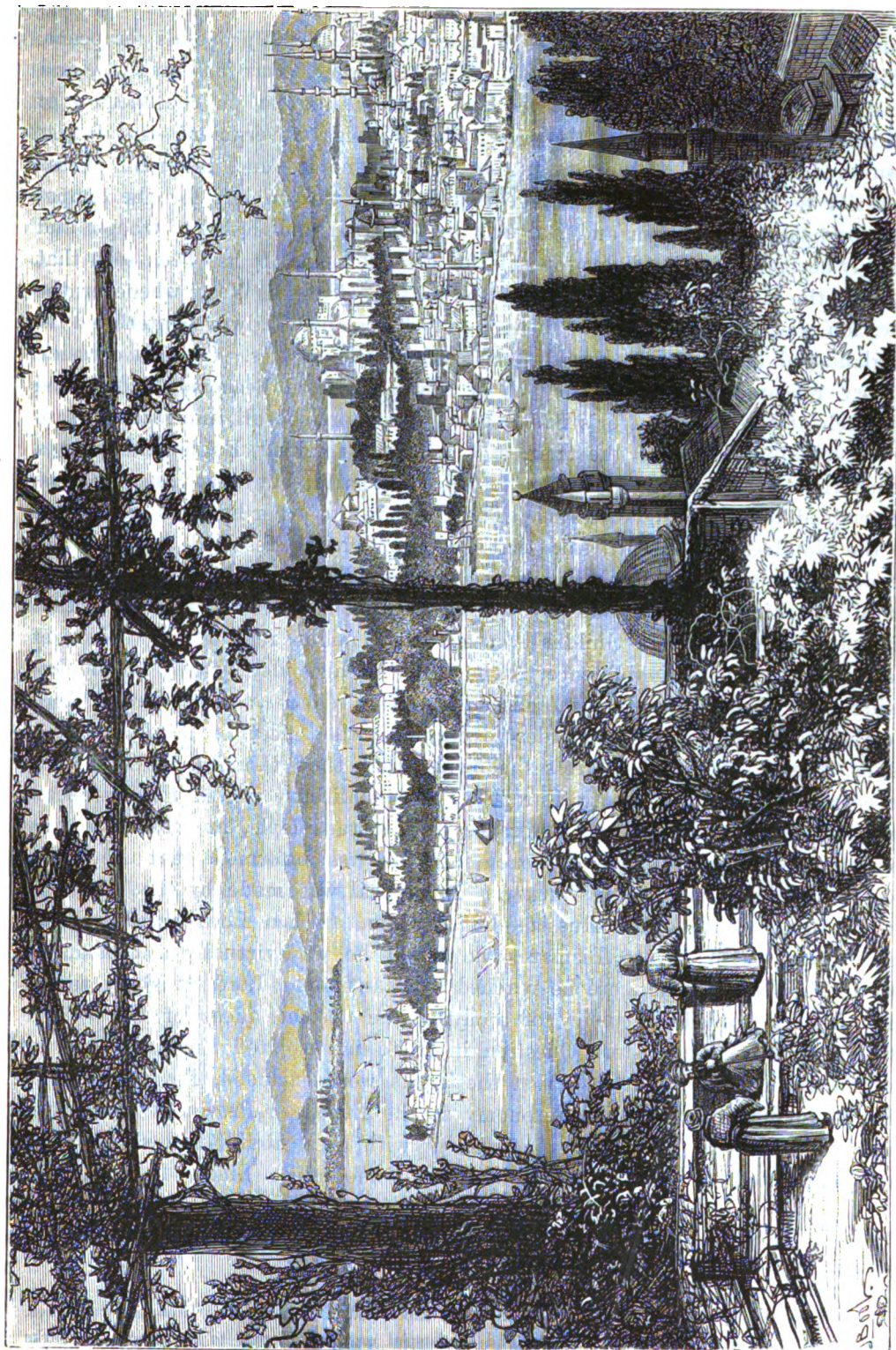
Lord Derby had now given Russia not only a plausible pretext for taking the lead in dealing with the Eastern Question, but also an opportunity for intimating to the world that, in circumstances which extorted the sanction of the Continental Powers, she had the right, in case of a deadlock, to deal with



LORD BEACONSFIELD AT THE BANQUET IN THE GUILDHALL.

it single-handed. In other words, the English Government, by allowing the Porte to trifle with it during September, 1876, flung away at one cast the only practical results won by the Crimean War.

The Czar now proposed that a coercive naval demonstration by the Powers should be made in the Bosphorus, but Lord Derby rejected the idea. After some weeks he suggested that a Conference of the Powers should be held to



GENERAL VIEW OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

consider the situation on the basis of his own excellent proposals for peace, which have been already described. The Conference was assented to, and Lord Derby to some extent retrieved the position he lost on the morrow of Alexinatz. The Czar had also given the English Government the fullest assurances that he had no design on Constantinople, and in proof of his sincerity he had withdrawn a suggestion he had thrown out for the temporary occupation of Bosnia and Bulgaria by Austrian and Russian troops, and frankly accepted the English proposals for a settlement. It has been seen that during the negotiations which led up to the Crimean War, whenever the question was on the point of being settled somebody always interfered in England and in France to break the accord of the Powers. On this occasion history repeated itself. On the 9th of November Lord Beaconsfield delivered a speech at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, which suppressed all information as to the conciliatory mood of the Czar, and not only terrified Englishmen into a belief that Russia was scheming to seize Bulgaria, but that England was determined to oppose her by arms. The Czar, on the other hand, in an address to the Notables of Moscow, said that he was "firmly resolved to act independently if necessary" to obtain justice for the Christian subjects of Turkey.* At Constantinople there was joy among the Pashas, for they argued that after Lord Beaconsfield's Guildhall speech they might regard the verdict of the Conference with indifference. The Czar, on his side, by way of emphasising his Moscow speech, mobilised six *corps d'armée*,† and Sir Stafford Northcote and Mr. Cross, in order to minimise the effect of Lord Beaconsfield's threats, delivered addresses showing that they thought Turkey must be coerced if she trifled with Europe.‡ Lord Salisbury visited the European capitals on his way to the Conference at Constantinople, at which he was to represent England, and at each one he was informed that he must expect no aid in supporting Turkey. An appeal was made by the *Times* to Prince Bismarck to check Russia—but in vain. When Lord Salisbury had an interview with Prince Bismarck he found he was virtually a diplomatic ally of Russia. In fact, ere he reached Constantinople, Lord Salisbury found that Lord Beaconsfield's policy of applying the obsolete ideas of the Whigs of 1854 to solve the Eastern Question in 1876, had isolated England. In the preliminary Conference, from which the Turks were excluded, Mr. Gladstone's plan of giving administrative autonomy to the European Provinces of Turkey was adopted, Lord Salisbury supporting it with great ability and skill.§ He even consented to allow 6,000 troops from some minor State—Belgium was

* It was not possible that the Czar could have seen a telegraphic summary of Lord Beaconsfield's Guildhall speech when he spoke to the nobles at Moscow.

† 160,000 men, and 648 guns.

‡ Sir S. Northcote spoke at Bristol on the 13th of November, and Mr. Cross at Birmingham a week later.

§ It was at this time that Tory partisans and Ministerial organs, in order to encourage the Turks to resistance, began to denounce Lord Salisbury as a traitor.

suggested — to support the International Commission for reorganising the Government of an autonomous Bulgaria. This scheme was to have been adopted by the Porte at a Plenary Conference. Relying on the support of Lord Beaconsfield, and misled by the denunciations of Lord Salisbury which appeared in the Ministerial Press—then busy manufacturing failure for the English representatives at the Conference—the Porte met the demands of the Powers for reform, by proclaiming a grotesque Parliamentary Constitution for the Ottoman Empire. But it obstinately refused to grant the reforms demanded by the Conference, which accordingly broke up on the 20th of January, 1877. The Ambassadors of the Powers were then recalled from Constantinople. On the 8th of December (1876) a National Conference, under the presidency of the Duke of Westminster, and representing not only the heads of the Whig nobility, but most of the leaders of literature, science, and art, the High Church clergy, the Nonconformists, and politicians of every shade of Liberal opinion, met in St. James's Hall to condemn Lord Beaconsfield's policy, and protest against England giving armed aid to Turkey.

Early in 1876 the death of Lady Augusta Stanley, wife of the Dean of Westminster, removed one of the Queen's most trusted friends. She had been for many years in personal attendance on her Majesty, and her services were so valuable that for many years her marriage with Dean Stanley had been postponed simply because the Royal Family could not spare her from their domestic circle. This gentle lady, throughout her life of unobtrusive usefulness at the Deanery of Westminster, served as one of the connecting-links between the upper, the middle, and the lower classes. She was as well known and as well loved in the dismal "slums" of London as in the radiant circle of the Court, and her death somewhat dimmed the brightness of the London season of 1876. It was a feverish, ill-conditioned season, agitated by financial scandals, by the pressure of hard times, by the failure of trade due to the uncertainty of the political situation, and by fierce and factious controversies as to the relative merits of Turks and Eastern Christians. To be in the mode one had to affect a strong admiration, not only for the ethics of the Koran, but for those of the Bashi-Bazouk, and a compassionate regret that Christianity had failed to elevate the European subjects of the Sultan, to the plane of Asiatic civilisation. The china mania, or craze for collecting old pottery, represented the fashionable movement in Art. Rinking, or skating on roller-skates in very mixed assemblies,* was the favourite form of physical recreation, and persons of quality kept their intellects alive by holding the spelling competitions known as "Spelling Bees." Besides the "hard times" due to the collapse of investments, the Colorado beetle and the tropical heat of summer were added to the torments of the time; and the publication of the Domesday Book, showing that 710 individuals owned more

* A fashionable skating-rink did poor business in 1876 if it did not return a profit of 300 per cent., and a good patent for a rinking-skate was worth at least £150,000 to a popular inventor.

than one-fourth of the soil of England and Wales, still further aggravated the uneasiness of a territorial aristocracy, whose margin of income for expenditure on luxuries was daily diminishing. The year closed with the sudden return of the Polar Expedition under Sir George Nares. Its record of achievement was most meagre, and its retreat after enduring only one winter in the ice was felt to be discreditable to the manhood of the British Navy. It was, however, discovered that the disaster was due to a terrible outbreak of scurvy in the crews of the Arctic ships, which was traced to their neglect to use lime-juice. The reputation of the explorers for pluck and endurance was thus redeemed at the expense of their intelligence.

The daily papers were filled with glowing accounts of the proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India (*Kaiser-i-Hind*) at Delhi, in the presence of the Viceroy and the great feudatories of the Empire on the 1st of January, 1877. The ceremony was accompanied by salvoes of artillery. A banner and a medal were given to the Princes to commemorate the event, and five of the most powerful magnates, Holkar, Scindiah, the Maharajah of Cashmere, the Maharajah of Travancore, and the Maharanee of Oodeypore, were granted rank, typified by salutes of twenty-one guns, equivalent to that of the Nizam. But as the viceregal salute was raised to thirty-one guns, Holkar and Scindiah, whose claim was to hold higher status than the Viceroy in their own dominions, and equal rank with him elsewhere, went away discontented. The scenic display was a little tawdry and theatrical, and grizzled Anglo-Indians, who had been accustomed to see austere statesmen or stern soldiers on the viceregal throne, were perplexed to find the Empress represented by a Viceroy who appeared to enjoy keenly the Orientalism of the function, and saw no absurdity in representing the majesty of Empire from the back of an elephant, which had been painted white for the occasion. Yet the ceremony was not without a deep meaning. It represented the final triumph of the new system which was introduced into India by Canning, the system by which, instead of ruling India by a paternal bureaucracy, whose aim was to sweep away all magnates who stood between it and the people, the hereditary rights of the native Princes were recognised, and they themselves admitted as corner-stones in the fabric of Empire of which the *Kaiser-i-Hind* was now proclaimed the apex and crown. It was, therefore, not without significance that the only class unrepresented at the Coronation was the Indian people. Yet one occasionally heard of the Indian people. A quarter of a million of them had been drowned by a cyclone in Bengal when the debates on the Imperial title were going on in London. Eight millions of them were in the agonies of famine in Central India when that title was proclaimed at Delhi.



TROOPING THE COLOURS IN ST. JAMES'S PARK ON THE QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY.



LORD CAIRNS.

(From a Photograph by Russell and Sons.)

CHAPTER XXI.

THE REIGN OF JINGOISM.

Opening of Parliament—Sir Stafford Northcote's Leadership—The Prisons Bill—Mr. Parnell's Policy of Scientific Obstruction—The South Africa Confederation Bill—Mr. Parnell's Bout with Sir Stafford Northcote—A Twenty-six Hours' Sitting—The Budget—The Russo-Turkish Question—Prince Albert's Eastern Policy—Opinion at Court—The Sentiments of Society—The Feeling of the British People—Outbreak of War—Collapse of Turkey—The Jingoism—The Third Volume of the "Life of the Prince Consort"—The "Greatest War Song on Record"—The Queen's Visit to Hughenden—Early Meeting of Parliament—Mr. Layard's Alarmist Telegrams—The Fleet Ordered to Constantinople—Resignation of Lord Carnarvon—The Russian Terms of Peace—Violence of the War Party—The Debate on the War Vote—The Treaty of San Stefano—Resignation of Lord Derby—Calling Out the Reserves—Lord Salisbury's Circular—The Indian Troops Summoned to Malta—The Salisbury-Schouvaloff Agreement—Lord Salisbury's Denials—The Berlin Congress—The *Globe* Disclosures—The Anglo-Turkish Convention—Occupation of Cyprus—"Peace with Honour"—The Irish Intermediate Education Bill—Consolidation of the Factory Acts—The Monarch and the Multitude—Outbreak of the Third Afghan War—The "Scientific Frontier"—Naval Review at Spithead—Death of the Ex-King of Hanover—Death of the Princess Alice.

THE "green Yule," which bodes ill-luck, ushered in the year 1877. The attitude of the Ministry to the Eastern Question was still one of indecision; but there was joy in City circles when, on the 11th of January, it was announced that Lord Derby had recalled the British Fleet from Besika Bay. This was a warning to the Sultan that England had no sympathy with the contumacy of the Porte, which still refused to concede the guarantees for reform in its European provinces that the Conference insisted on.

On the 8th of February the Queen opened Parliament in person, and was well received in the crowded streets, but Mr. Gladstone, Lord Beaconsfield, and the Chinese Ambassador and his suite were for the time the real heroes of the mob. The scene in the House of Lords was one of exceptional

brilliancy, and after the Speech was read by Lord Cairns, the Queen, descending the steps of the Throne, left the Chamber, the ceremony, so far as her Majesty was concerned, not occupying more than fifteen minutes. It need not be said that in both Houses the debates on the Address centred round the Eastern Question. The Conference had been a failure, and the Government were seriously embarrassed. Logically, Ministers, as men of spirit, were bound to make the demands of the Conference effective, for was it not their own device for settling the Eastern Question, and were not its demands their demands? That was the view which Lord Hartington vindicated in a speech of great power and cogency.

On the other hand, it was clear that the Cabinet had no fixed aim when it organised the Conference—that if it ever contemplated the contingency of failure, which its supporters by their fierce attacks on Lord Salisbury had virtually manufactured, it had hoped to tide over the difficulty by letting matters drift. Lord Derby had begun by assuming that it was not the right or duty of England to insist on Turkey conceding reforms to Bulgaria. The autumnal agitation about the atrocities induced him to change front, and to admit that it was alike the duty and right of England, as one of the Powers whose support maintained the Turkish Empire, to demand that its European Provinces should not be submerged in barbarism. He had organised the Powers in support of this demand, and now, when the Turks refused to yield to it, he reverted to his original theory that England had no more right to interfere with Turkey, than with Austria or France. What made matters worse for the Cabinet was the prevailing belief that, though they sent Lord Salisbury to Constantinople to insist on reforms, their agents privily assured Midhat Pasha, then Grand Vizier, that no harm would come if Turkey upset the Conference. The State Papers furnish no confirmation of this belief. Indeed, they show that Lord Derby told Lord Salisbury to warn the Turks that though England would take no part in coercive measures against them, the Porte “is to be made to understand that it can expect no assistance from England in the case of war.”* The Turks, however, had a fixed conviction that England would help them in a war with Russia. Nothing but a strong statement from Lord Beaconsfield would have eradicated this belief, and all that the English Government can be blamed for is, that Lord Beaconsfield failed or refused to make this statement. According to Prince Bismarck, no statesman who aspires to influence abroad will permit his Government to be associated with a failure in diplomacy. Yet not only had Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Derby permitted their project of the Conference to be laughed to pieces by the Turks, but all they had to say to Parliament was that they were sorry that Turkey had misunderstood her own interests. They were quite contented to accept the defeat of their scheme

* See Parliamentary Papers, Turkey (1877), No. 78.

meekly. Their position appears rather abject to those who look at it critically, and yet no other was practically open to them. Only a small faction, led by Lord Hartington and Mr. Gladstone, were for coercing Turkey. A still smaller faction of idle loungers, whose favourite phrase was that "Piccadilly wanted a little wholesome blood-letting," were for joining Turkey in a war against the Slav States headed by Russia. The people were divided between their spasmodic fear of Russia and their equally spasmodic loathing for the Turks, and Radical Russophobes, like Mr. Joseph Cowen, were just as loud in demanding non-intervention as Radical Russophiles like Mr. Bright. Thus the policy of the Government—that of demanding concessions from Turkey from a love of Humanity, and tamely submitting to a contemptuous refusal, from fear of Russia, fairly well reflected the mind of the English democracy.

Sir Stafford Northcote's leadership of the House of Commons was not promising. He tolerated the obstruction of a small group of members, who caused the Bill which closed public-houses in Ireland on Sundays to be abandoned, after Ministers stood pledged to its principle, and all parties in the House were willing to pass it. He permitted his more devoted followers to oppose a Resolution moved by Mr. Clare Read—who had left the Government because he considered that they neglected agricultural interests—in favour of County Government Reform. But at the last moment he put forward Mr. Selater-Booth to accept the Resolution in a speech which was evidently meant as a conclusive argument against it. Mr. Cross's Prisons Bills, too, spread disaffection among the squirearchy. These measures reduced the management of gaols in the three kingdoms to something like uniformity. But they made the prisons national and not local institutions, centralised their administration in the hands of the Imperial Government, deposed the local justices from their position of control over them, and charged their cost to the Consolidated Fund.

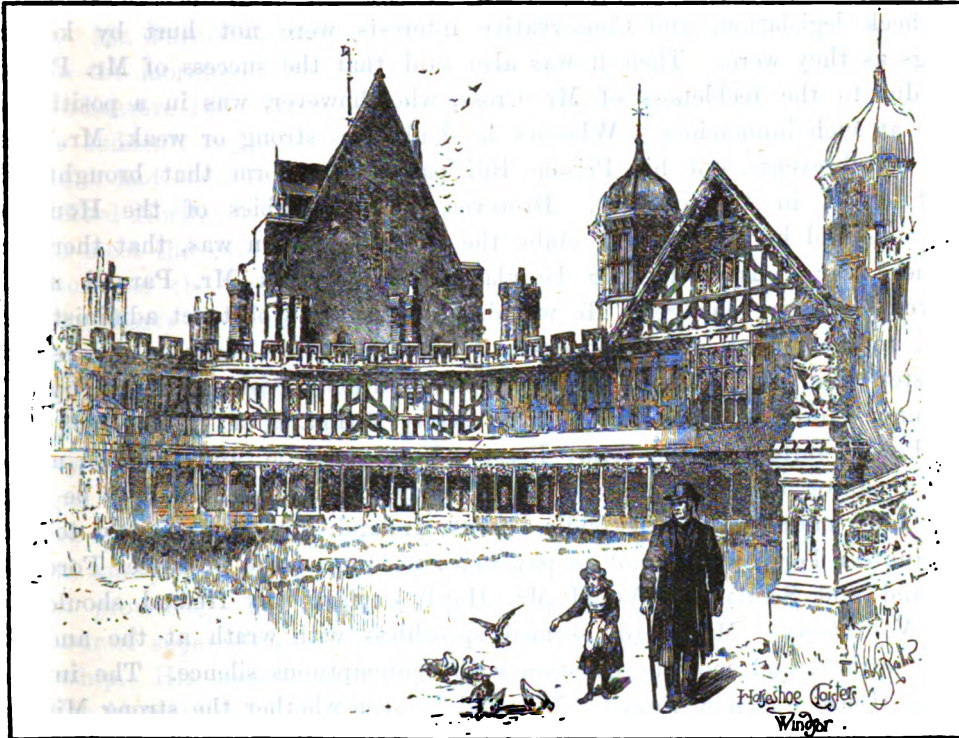
The debates in Parliament were rendered memorable by the appearance of a cool and adroit gladiator on the Irish benches, whose business-like methods of attacking the Prisons Bill in Committee extorted admiration from all old Parliamentary hands. This was Mr. Charles Stewart Parnell. It was known to be his intention to obstruct the Prisons Bill, in defiance of the wishes of Mr. Butt, the leader of the Irish Party. But it was assumed that a combination of the two great English Parties would easily crush opposition of the frivolous and factious order with which Mr. Beresford Hope and a section of the Tories had met Mr. Forster's Ballot Bill.* But Mr. Parnell had evidently foreseen this contingency, and he met it by inventing a higher and more scientific type of obstruction than Mr. Hope had been capable of

* Even in 1877 some of the Tory squires were practising the old stupid method of obstruction, *e.g.*, Mr. Orr Ewing and Sir William Anstruther put down 250 Amendments to the Scotch Roads and Bridges Bill—most of which, when not frivolous, were unpopular and reactionary. Such obstruction was, of course, easy to deal with.

devising. His obstruction paralysed the two front benches, because he took care that it was not frivolous. He had evidently spent many nights and days in the minute dissection of the Bill, and he had manifestly toiled without stint in reading up the whole question of Prison discipline. It was not till he had made himself master of the entire subject that he intervened in the Debates, and then the House, to its amazement, found that the Home Secretary himself, when pitted against this bland young Irish squire with his soft voice, his lugubrious intonation, his funereal manner, and dull, prosaic Gradgrind-like form of speech, was but a poor amateur wriggling in the firm grip of a pitiless expert. To the dismay of the three leaders of the House—Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Hartington, and Mr. Butt—there was no easy means of getting rid of Mr. Parnell, simply because his amendments—and their name was legion—were not vamped up. Nay, with Machiavelian ingenuity he had draughted them so skilfully that most of them appealed strongly to the sympathies of other sections of the House than those connected with Ireland. Indeed, but for the persistency with which Mr. Parnell and one or two of his friends “bored” the House with the sufferings of certain Fenian prisoners under discipline, one would have thought that his treatment of the Bill was simply that of an English country gentleman, who had made himself an authority on the question, and had a genuine desire to eliminate from it stupid provisions which had been palmed off on a credulous Home Secretary. Nor was it in mastery of detail and skill of draughtsmanship alone that Mr. Parnell showed himself formidable. His ingenuity in inventing amendments drawn on lines that appealed to English popular feeling was inexhaustible. If at one moment the Home Secretary found himself contending with Mr. Parnell in the guise of a healthy-minded Tory squire, who was a hater of centralisation and a champion of the rights of visiting justices, at another he found himself battling with a philanthropist in whom the spirit of Howard lived again. Few who witnessed the long duel between Mr. Cross and Mr. Parnell will ever forget the pitiful and perturbed embarrassment of the Home Secretary when he found himself at every turn so maliciously cornered by his enemy, that he must either surrender, offend the prejudices of the rural magistracy, who hated the Bill, or raise up hosts of enemies in Exeter Hall and other centres of philanthropic activity, where any proposal to humanise Prison Discipline was hailed with delight. And when the duel was over it was impossible to deny that whatever might be Mr. Parnell’s motive, he had by his opposition extorted from Mr. Cross a series of concessions, which not only improved the Bill, but converted it from a bad one into a good one.

One more point remains to be noted. Mr. Parnell’s party practically consisted of one—namely, Mr. Joseph Gillies Biggar. If it was Mr. Parnell’s desire “to scorn delights and live laborious days” in reforming the administration of English prisons, it was the firm and austere resolve of Mr. Biggar that this great work should be done with a solemnity of deliberation

worthy of such an august Assembly as the House of Commons. The business in hand was too serious to be transacted without a quorum—so Mr. Biggar invariably tried to “count” out the House. Public affairs ought not to be transacted at an hour when, to use his favourite phrase, “no decent person would be out of *their beds*,” so Mr. Biggar would insist on adjourning the House or the Committee about one o’clock in the morning.* And Mr. Biggar played his part in the serio-comedy with so much elfish



HORSESHOE CLOISTERS, WINDSOR CASTLE.

delight and quaint, grotesque humour, that if the House now and then roared with rage at him, it still oftener roared with laughter. Those who saw deeper than the surface saw that something more serious than a comedy was being

* On the 26th of March the House got one of its earliest lessons in the new art of scientific obstruction. Mr. Parnell had, owing to the popular lines on which some of his amendments were drawn up, got about eighteen members at this time to act with him. But even they deserted him when, at one in the morning, Mr. Biggar moved to “report progress.” The division showed—Ayes, 10, Noes, 138. Mr. Biggar and his friends then kept up a series of see-saw motions—for adjournment and reporting progress, till at three in the morning Mr. Cross succumbed, and having struck his flag, assented to the rising of the House. Then Mr. Biggar and his friends pathetically wailed over the scandalous manner in which the House had had two hours of its valuable time wasted by the Home Secretary, whose surrender was cited as a justification of their opposition.

produced by these new performers from Ireland. They saw sprouting the germ of that extraordinary policy of Parliamentary pressure by which the new school of Irish Nationalists sought to gain their end—the policy that offered the Imperial Government the choice of one of two alternatives—concession of autonomy in Ireland, or the sacrifice of the ancient liberties and privileges of Parliament.

Still Englishmen were loth to believe that an issue so grave would be forced upon them. Indeed, the Conservative Party regarded obstruction, so far as it had gone, with merely a Platonic hatred. It had been used only to check legislation, and Conservative interests were not hurt by keeping things as they were. Then it was also said that the success of Mr. Parnell was due to the feebleness of Mr. Cross, who, however, was in a position to smile at such innuendoes. Whether he had been strong or weak, Mr. Cross had, at all events, got his Prisons Bill passed in a form that brought him great credit in the country. However, in the lobbies of the House of Commons and in the political clubs the general opinion was, that there was no need for Conservatives to be alarmed so long as Mr. Parnell merely delayed legislative changes. He would not venture to obstruct administrative work, and he must assuredly succumb if he challenged a vigorous and resolute Minister like Mr. Gathorne-Hardy. Mr. Parnell accordingly put up Mr. O'Connor Power to block Mr. Hardy's Army Estimates on the 2nd of July. Mr. Power waited till the Army Reserve Vote came on, and then he met it with a motion to report progress, first, because money ought not to be voted away after midnight, and secondly because Ireland, not being allowed to raise a Volunteer Force, ought not to pay taxes to support the Volunteer Forces of England and Scotland. Would Mr. Hardy explain why Ireland should not have Volunteers? Mr. Hardy seemed speechless with wrath at the audacity of the attack, and met the question with contemptuous silence. The interest of the House was now roused. It would be seen whether the strong Minister of the Government, would be more successful than Mr. Cross in coping with obstruction. Of course the motion was defeated—but eight members, including Mr. Whalley, voted for it. Mr. Parnell, it was then seen, had a small party at his back, nay, he had lieutenants at his call ready to serve. Mr. O'Donnell next moved that the Chairman of Committee leave the chair, and defiantly warned Mr. Hardy that, till he did answer Mr. Power's question, no Supply would be voted. Mr. Hardy still refused, and then the struggle went on merrily, dilatory motions being moved one after the other, till at last the Government gave up the fight, and allowed the House to be counted out at a quarter past seven in the morning.* Mr. Cross was the only Conservative member who did not appear crestfallen next day. His "feeble" method of dealing had, at all events, borne fruit. He had got work, and good

* This was fifteen minutes earlier than the hour at which it rose in the Debate on the Address in 1783. See Clayden's *England Under Lord Beaconsfield*, p. 302.

work, done. Mr. Hardy's vigour had simply demonstrated to the world that six Irish members could keep the House of Commons sitting till seven o'clock in the morning, and keep it sitting for nothing. Sir Stafford Northcote accordingly carried the feeling of the House with him when, at next meeting, he threatened to move that the rules of Procedure be reconsidered. But on going into the matter he found that this would take time. The rules were dear to Members opposed to reform, because they were so contrived as to give the utmost facilities for impeding legislative change. Hence, he intimated, on the 5th of July, that he would deal with the difficulty after the Recess. Mr. Parnell's retort was to obstruct business at that sitting till about three in the morning. He and his friends not only opposed the clause in the Irish Judicature Bill fixing the salaries of the Irish Judges,* but they affected to have suddenly taken an absorbing interest in the Solicitors Examination Bill which had come down from the House of Lords. On the 23rd of July Sir Stafford Northcote, still shrinking from altering the rules of the House, tried to meet the case by moving that the Government should confiscate for their business the nights allotted to private members. This enabled the Parnellite Party to again obstruct business, as champions of Parliamentary privileges.

By this time the House of Commons was working itself up into a fit of burning indignation. The anger of the Conservatives indeed knew no bounds, for they saw that they must either submit to Mr. Parnell, or surrender privileges of obstruction which they had themselves found useful in defeating measures of reform in bygone days. Mr. Parnell's Party sat maliciously cool and annoyingly calm through all the turmoil; indeed, Mr. Parnell seemed bent on provoking the Tories opposite him, by assuming towards them a demeanour of supercilious aristocratic superiority that cut them at every moment like a whip. His manner of disdainful mastery indicated that he must have some dire instrument of torture in reserve for them. And so he had. He and his friends had picked up a Bill which nobody dreamt of seriously attacking, because it was purely an administrative measure proposed by the Colonial Office. It gave the Colonies and the two Dutch Republics in South Africa the means of forming a Confederation if they chose to do so. It was perfectly harmless and permissive, but it was unfortunately complex and loaded with detail. Mr. Parnell and his band had devoted their unremitting energies to mastering, not only this Bill, but every imaginable point in South African policy. Hence, when it came before the House, they suddenly appeared in the character of South African "experts," who knew infinitely more about the subject than the unfortunate Minister in charge of the measure. The Government had also annexed the Transvaal Republic under the erroneous impression that the Boers desired annexation, and Lord Grey had frankly admitted in

* This was a popular move, for it was generally felt that Ireland not only had too many Judges, but that they were extravagantly overpaid.

the House of Lords that South Africa was not ripe for Confederation. A few Radical doctrinaires, led by Mr. Courtney, alarmed at the annexation of the Transvaal, also disliked the Bill. In fact, an ideal opportunity for practising obstructive tactics had been presented to Mr. Parnell by the Government, and he took advantage of it ruthlessly. He and his Party opposed the South Africa Bill line by line, nay, almost word by word,* contemptuously asking Ministers to explain why they persisted in giving to Colonies that did not want it, the autonomy for which Ireland sued in vain. What, however, chiefly embarrassed the Ministry was the factiousness of several powerful Radicals, like Mr. Chamberlain, Professor Fawcett, and Mr. Rylands, who, not content with expressing dissent in the constitutional manner on the Second Reading, voted with Mr. Parnell in obstructing the formal proposal to go into Committee on the Bill.† It would have been comparatively easy to rouse an overwhelming force of public opinion against Mr. Parnell at this juncture, had not Messrs. Chamberlain, Rylands, Courtney, and Fawcett thrown over his opposition the ægis of their personal authority. Their unexpected alliance emboldened Mr. Parnell, who accordingly blocked the Bill in Committee to such an extent, that Sir Stafford Northcote, on the 25th of July, moved that the Irish leader be suspended for two days because he had said he had "satisfaction in preventing and thwarting the intentions of the Government in respect of the Bill." In the wrangle that followed, Mr. Parnell's cool, supercilious manner rendered the House almost ungovernable, until several Members recalled it to reason. It was seen that the words expressed no more in themselves than a legitimate act of critical opposition. Mr. Whitbread moved that the debate on the motion to suspend Mr. Parnell be adjourned for twenty-four hours. Mr. Hardy accepted the proposal, whereupon Mr. Parnell with frigid imperturbability rose and resumed his speech at the very sentence in delivering which Sir Stafford Northcote had interrupted him exactly two hours before. During that sitting, from noon till a quarter to six in the evening, only two clauses were passed. But one point was gained. Mr. Parnell had inflicted on Sir Stafford Northcote a personal defeat so detrimental to his authority as leader of the House, that he was at last compelled to consent to a modification of the rules of procedure.

On the 27th of July he moved two Resolutions, one prohibiting a Member from moving dilatory motions of adjournments more than once on the same night, and another enabling the Chair to put without debate a motion silencing a Member for the rest of the debate who had been "named" as defying the authority of the Speaker or Chairman of Committees. As for Sir Stafford Northcote's motion to suspend Mr. Parnell, that was dropped at Lord Hartington's suggestion. After apologetic explanations were given by Lord Beaconsfield and Sir Stafford Northcote to the Members of the Tory Party at

* Mr. F. H. O'Donnell actually put down seventy-five amendments to it.

† The motion was moved by Sir George Campbell.

a private meeting at the Foreign Office, these resolutions were carried. Independent critics predicted that they would be futile; that, indeed, no remedy short of the Continental *clôture*, which the Conservatives dreaded much more than Mr. Parnell, could be effective.

Mr. Parnell proceeded without delay to give a practical illustration of the



LORD DERBY.

(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

defects of the new rules. He played his game more warily, but more persistently than ever, and every day the House of Commons found itself an object of contempt to the nation, because it could not vindicate its authority against one man. At last, on the 31st of July, Sir Stafford Northcote in despair resolved to resort to physical methods. He arranged with Lord Hartington to force the South Africa Bill through Committee, by getting the House to sit on without a break till the Parnellites were worn out from sheer bodily exhaustion. Relays of Members were brought up to keep the House

in Session, and Mr. Parnell and his friends were allowed to talk themselves out. For twenty-six consecutive hours the struggle went on with the seven Irish Members, who, ere it was half through, lost their Radical ally, Mr. Courtney, who flounced out of the House muttering his disgust at the hideous scene of anarchy. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the following day Sir Stafford Northcote threatened "further proceedings," and then, and not till then, did the Irish forlorn hope give way. Mr. O'Donnell, whose voice was now scarcely audible, said that this menace* changed the situation, and the Bill was forthwith passed through Committee. The Government triumphed, but at a terrible cost. They had to drop all their best Bills, because Mr. Parnell kept them using up the time at their disposal in passing a measure which was of little interest to Englishmen, and which ultimately proved, not only useless, but mischievous. The Session was therefore barren of legislative fruit. Even the Budget failed to excite debate, for, as Sir Stafford Northcote said, it was "a ready-made" one, and changed nothing.† No old taxes were remitted, and no new ones imposed. Sir Stafford Northcote perhaps underrated the depression in trade, which was even then obviously growing. He hardly appreciated the rapidity with which the working classes were exhausting their savings at a time when wages were more likely to fall than rise. But otherwise his statement was unobjectionable.

Foreign Policy was, however, the mainstay of the Ministry, and it is curious to note how completely the anti-Turkish agitation, which Mr. Gladstone had fomented with passionate zeal, forced the Cabinet to change their attitude to the Eastern Question. In 1876 the Ministerial doctrine was that England had no more to do with a quarrel between the Sultan and his subjects than between the Austrian Emperor and his people—the Ministerial theory, in fact, was, that if England was bound to protect anybody, it was the Sultan, and not his subjects. In 1877 Ministers acknowledged that, as England had been mainly responsible for keeping the Turk in Europe, she was in honour bound to protect his Christian subjects from the torture which his Pashas inflicted on them. There was also a change in regard to another point. In 1876 Ministers were all for maintaining the "integrity and independence" of Turkey. The Atrocities agitation, however, forced Lord Derby to make demands on Turkey, and to assent to demands being made on her, which ignored her visionary integrity and her mythical independence. It was said at the time that the Court, having strongly supported the pro-Turkish policy of 1876, was disappointed at the change of front in 1877. It is quite certain that these views were not shared by the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh and their *entourage*. A passage in

* It was never known what Sir Stafford Northcote meant to do. But it was supposed he would, with the support of Lord Hartington, move the expulsion of the "obstructives."

† The Estimates for the past year had been closely realised. For the coming year (1877-78) the revenue was taken at £78,794,000, and the expenditure at £79,020,000.

one of the letters of the Princess Alice to the Queen makes that point tolerably clear.* But as to the other question the evidence is faulty. The policy of the Prince Consort, which was always supposed to dominate the ideas of the Court, was certainly not pro-Turkish. In his celebrated Memorandum to Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet in 1853 he laid down two principles: It was the duty and interest of England to prevent Russia from imposing in an underhand way a Protectorate on the European provinces of Turkey "incompatible with their own independence." It was also the duty and interest of England to prevent Turkey from using English diplomacy so as to enable the Pashas to impose "a more oppressive rule of two millions of fanatic Mussulmans over twelve millions of Christians." England might go to war to prevent Bulgaria from falling into the hands of Russia, but not for the mere maintenance of the integrity and independence of Turkey. Nay, the Prince considered that such a war ought to lead, in the peace which must be its object, "to the obtaining of arrangements more consonant with the well-understood interests of Europe, of Christianity, liberty, and civilisation, than the re-imposition of the ignorant barbarian and despotic yoke of the Mussulman over the most fertile and favoured portion of Europe."† Lord Aberdeen, Lord Clarendon, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Gladstone accepted this view of English policy. On the other hand, Lord Palmerston repudiated it. He contended that it was the duty of England to maintain the integrity of Turkey at all hazards; that the Prince Consort's policy pointed to the ultimate expulsion of the Ottomans from Europe; and that any reconstruction of Turkey such as that which the Prince foreshadowed simply meant "its subjection to Russia, direct or indirect, immediate or for a time delayed."

But Lord Beaconsfield's policy was simply a reproduction of Lord Palmerston's, hence it might be inferred that if the Prince Consort's ideas still prevailed at Court, his policy in 1876 could not have had Royal sanction. On the other hand, there is no proof that Prince Albert's ideas on the subject—which in the main were those of the great bulk of the English people—were still held as authoritative at Court. In a curious letter, the significance of which is obvious in its relation to the Queen's personal opinions, written by the Princess Alice to her mother (25th July, 1878) there occurs, after an outburst against the advance of the Russians on Bulgaria, the following passage: "What do the friends of the 'Atrocity Meetings' say now? How difficult it has been made for the Government through them, and how blind they have been! All this must be a constant worry and anxiety for you."‡

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 343.

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XLIX.

‡ Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 357.

As the Princess's letters, where they touch on English public affairs, invariably reflect the opinions of the Queen, and as it cannot be imagined that in a matter of bitter political controversy she would venture to obtrude on the Queen so contemptuous a view of the "Atrocity Meetings" and of the conduct of the Opposition, had it not been in sympathy with the Queen's own feelings, we may safely draw one conclusion. Despite the conjectures which have been ingeniously based on the Prince Consort's Memorandum of 1853, the policy of the Court was identified with that of the Cabinet all through 1876, and if it was changed in 1877, it was changed in deference to the popular hostility to Turkey, which Mr. Gladstone had aroused. Among those persons, however, who were closest in contact with the Court, and who usually reflected Royal ideas most correctly, there was no change of opinion. Mr. Hayward's correspondence teems with references to the fierce hatred with which Mr. Gladstone and the Opposition were denounced by "the upper ten thousand;"* in fact, Society vilipended Mr. Gladstone with the same obloquy that it had bestowed on him for his pamphlet denouncing the Neapolitan atrocities. But Mr. Hayward is at pains to state that, "all that the Government have been doing in the right direction is owing to the flame kindled by him [Mr. Gladstone]"; and the Hayward Correspondence proves that at the different embassies the diplomatists were at one on three points (1), the insulation of England; (2), the necessity of protecting the Bulgarians effectually from Turkish oppression; (3), the necessity of refusing Russia any cession of Turkish territory in Europe; a condition which, says Mr. Hayward in his account of a celebrated diplomatic dinner-party at the Austrian Embassy, Russia accepted.†

Events justified the accuracy of Mr. Hayward's information, for it was the fatal error of Lord Beaconsfield's policy that it assumed there was no genuine accord among the Powers, and that they were neither able nor willing to prevent Russia from seizing Turkish territory in Europe. Indeed, Mr. Hayward seems to have been the only observer of public affairs who clearly understood why they were drifting in the direction indicated by the table-talk of the embassies. In a letter to Lady Waldegrave (7th October, 1876) he says, "the power of public opinion is a remarkable feature of the Eastern Question. Russia is so strongly impelled by it that the Government would be endangered by holding back. Austria is impelled by the Magyar to oppose the construction of any new Slav State. The Porte is afraid of exasperating its Mahometan subjects by what might be deemed unworthy concessions. The English Government is completely controlled by public opinion." And again in a letter to Mr. Gladstone he says, "One of the strongest features of the situation is, that the popular voice or national will is bettering or impelling diplomacy and statesmanship in Russia, Austria, England, and Turkey, and

* Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., pp. 206, 273.

† See a letter from Mr. Hayward to Mr. Sheridan, dated 3rd November, 1876. Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., p. 271.

fortunately so as concerns England. Whatever England is doing in the right direction is owing to the popular impulse for which you are mainly responsible, and which will redound to your lasting honour.”* At the same time, there was a point at which Mr. Gladstone and the nation parted company. He thought that if England admitted that she ought to see that the Bulgarians were protected from oppression, she ought to force Turkey to give effectual



THE TOWER OF GALATA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

guarantees for their protection. If she did not, Russia would step in as their champion, and establish a claim to exclusive influence over European Turkey, which it was not politic to give her even a pretext for exercising. The great majority of Englishmen, however, held (1), that it was not their business to waste their taxes in winning freedom for the Bulgarians; (2), that they sufficiently discharged their duty to them when they paralysed Turkey by withdrawing British support from her; and (3), that the futile results of

* See Mr. Hayward's Correspondence, Vol. II., pp. 266 and 268.

the Crimean War proved that Austria and Germany, from their geographical position, were the only Powers who could be safely trusted to effectively check Russian aggression in Eastern Europe. The masses, as distinguished from the aristocratic and academic classes, here proved themselves wiser than their leaders, on whom they forced a policy of non-intervention, which practically meant benevolent neutrality to the oppressed provinces of Turkey. The manner in which the Treaty of San Stefano was transformed into the Treaty of Berlin, every concession extorted from Russia being obviously exacted in Austro-German interests, more than justified the somewhat cynical anticipations of the British people.

It is not necessary to describe at length the steps which led up to the outbreak of war between Russia and Turkey on the 23rd of April, 1877. In vain did Lord Derby implore Turkey to grant of her own free will the concessions she had refused to the abortive Conference. Russia stood grimly on the frontier, with her hand on her sword-hilt, asking Europe how long she was to wait ere she unsheathed her weapon. In March a Protocol was signed by the Powers pressing Turkey to yield. To this Russia appended a declaration that she would disarm if Turkey accepted the advice of the Powers, and also sent an ambassador to St. Petersburg to arrange for mutual disarmament. But otherwise Russia clearly indicated her intention to use force. Lord Derby accepted, as did the other Powers, this declaration, only he added, on behalf of England, a reservation that she would consider the instrument null and void if it did not lead to disarmament. The Turks rejected the appeal of the Protocol. Prince Bismarck rejected a personal appeal which the Queen made to him to hold back Russia; and so war was declared. To the last the Turks expected that England would take their side, and they had been confirmed in their attitude of contumacy by the appointment of Mr. Layard, a notorious supporter of Turkey, to the British Embassy at Constantinople on the day on which the Protocol was signed. If it was the object of Lord Beaconsfield to prevent the outbreak of war and to save the Ottoman Empire in Europe from ruin, his policy must be described as an utter failure. And it failed for obvious reasons. Lord Beaconsfield and the British diplomatic agents in Turkey talked and wrote in terms which persuaded the Turks that, if they resisted the demands of Europe, England would defend them, as in 1853-4. On the contrary, if Lord Beaconsfield desired the Foreign Policy of England to succeed, and to save Turkey from being crushed by Russia, he should have taken steps to convince her that, even if he had the will, he had not the power to do battle for her.

Others besides the Turks shared the opinion that Lord Beaconsfield meant to drag England into a new Crimean War. On the 5th of May Mr. Carlyle stated in the *Times*, "not on hearsay, but on accurate knowledge,"* that Lord Beaconsfield was contemplating a feat "that will force, not Russia only,

* Mr. Carlyle presumably got his information from the highest German authorities.

but all Europe to declare war against us."* The idea of the Government was to occupy Gallipoli to protect British interests. This would have forced Russia to declare war against England, and then English public opinion would, of course, have supported Lord Beaconsfield in fighting on the side of Turkey. But Mr. Carlyle's sudden revelation of the scheme roused public opinion in favour of non-intervention, and Mr. Gladstone "took occasion by the hand" to inflame the populace against Lord Beaconsfield's supposed designs. Stormy meetings were held all over England during the first week of May, and then Ministers seemed to have changed their offensive tone towards Russia. On the 6th of May Lord Derby buoyed out for Russia the torpedoes called "British interests" which lay in her way. He laid down in a polite despatch the precise conditions under which England would remain neutral, conditions so plainly reasonable that Prince Gortschakoff accepted them with the utmost frankness. Meanwhile Mr. Gladstone was seriously misled by the public indignation which had been roused against a conspiracy to fight for Turkey under the pretext of protecting British interests. He imagined it would enable him to carry out his own project of coercing Turkey in company with Russia. He therefore submitted to the House of Commons six Resolutions, which were discussed early in May. Of these, however, he was forced to withdraw two, because a powerful section of the Liberal party considered that they bound England to joint action with Russia. Thus Mr. Gladstone's formidable array of Resolutions dwindled down to the simple and harmless proposition that the Turk was a bad man, who did not deserve English sympathy or support. The House, however, by a majority of 131, carried a colourless amendment declining to embarrass the Government by any formal vote, and leaving "the determination of policy entirely in their hands." The debate on the Resolutions was one of those high and sustained triumphs of Parliamentary eloquence which at great crises display the British House of Commons at its best. It may be said to have exhausted the controversy on the Eastern Question. Mr. Gladstone's speech (which would of itself have rendered the debate historical) admittedly soared as high as the loftiest flights of Chatham and of Burke.

There is no need to narrate the events of the war, how Osman Pasha, from behind his earthworks at Plevna, blocked the Russian advance, and Mukhtar held the Russians at bay in Asia Minor. As the star of fortune shed its beams on either side, public opinion in England grew feverish and excited, the Tories all the while clamouring for intervention on behalf of Turkey. Some of them, indeed, seemed to hold that it was the duty of England to head a new Crusade on behalf of Islam against Christianity. But the public utterances of Ministers indicated their determination to remain neutral, and Lord Derby did his best to convince Musurus Pasha that Turkey was abandoned to her fate.

* Carlyle's *Life in London*, by J. A. Froude, Vol. III., p. 441.

Though the fact was not known at the time, a perfectly frank and friendly understanding existed between the English and Russian Governments; in fact, Russia had informed England, through her ambassador, what terms of peace she would offer to Turkey, if Turkey were to yield before Russian troops were compelled to cross the Balkans. This information was given so that Lord Derby might have an opportunity of modifying these terms if necessary for the protection of British interests, prior to their presentation to



RUSSIAN WOUNDED LEAVING PLEVNA.

the Porte, and Lord Derby thought them so reasonable that he made more than one fruitless effort to get Mr. Layard to press them on Turkey. Unfortunately the diplomacy of 1877 was kept a profound secret, and as the people were not aware of the good understanding between the Governments of Russia and England, a fierce and exasperating controversy between the Russophiles and the Russophobes raged through the land. On the 14th and 15th of October the Turkish defence in Asia Minor collapsed. On the 11th of December the fall of Plevna was announced, and when it was intimated that Parliament was to meet on the 13th of January, 1878, the country was panic-stricken. Nobody knew that Lord Derby and Count Schouvaloff had

practically agreed about the terms of peace that were to be imposed on Turkey, and that Lord Derby had repeatedly warned the Turks to expect no help from England. Everybody, in fact, inferred, from the tone of the Ministerial press and of the speeches of Lord Beaconsfield, Mr. Hardy, and Lord John Manners, that a scheme of intervention was "in the air," and that the early meeting of Parliament implied a demand for supplies to carry on a war with Russia. The Money Market rocked and swayed with



HUGHENDEN MANOR. (From a Photograph by Tann and Co)

excitement, and securities fell with amazing rapidity.* Throughout England meetings were held by business people protesting against any divergence from a policy of neutrality. At night bands of young men, representing the War Party, marched about London, the only English city which favoured war, singing the chorus of a song then becoming popular in the music-halls, and which began—

"We don't want to fight,
But by Jingo if we do,
We've got the ships, we've got the men,
And we've got the money too."

* Consols fell three-eighths.

A new political term crept into use, namely, "Jingoism,"* or the cult of the war-god Jingo, whose worshippers, however, were bellicose rather than warlike, for they always prefaced their hymnal invocations by the assurance that they did "*not* want to fight." The Ministry, too, was divided—Lord Beaconsfield, Lord John Manners, and Mr. Hardy leading the "Jingo" faction, whilst Lord Derby, Lord Carnarvon, and Mr. Cross represented the Peace Party. This split in the Cabinet was deplored at the time, and yet it was of enormous advantage to England. It prevented her from being dragged into the war. It is true that it buoyed up the expectant Turks with false hopes of aid from England, and thus tempted them to reject the easy terms of peace which Russia would have accepted after the fall of Plevna.† But the wrecking of Turkey was not in 1877 a matter that deeply moved the British taxpayer, unless he held Turkish Bonds, and if Lord Beaconsfield, Mr. Hardy, Lord John Manners, and their group, by their bellicose attitude, lured the Ottoman race to disaster, it was for the Turkish or War Party, and not for the nation, to call these Ministers to account.‡ As for the policy of neutrality which the English people literally forced on Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone, it was justified in the second week of December, by a statement which Count Andrassy made to the Austro-Hungarian Delegations on the 8th and 9th of that month. He frankly said that Austrian sympathies were with the Christian subjects of the Sultan, and that he "would not dare to stand up for the *status quo*" in Turkey.

It needed little insight to discern that when Austria—a Power that could have hurled 150,000 men on the flank of Russia—declared herself against

* Mr. George Jacob Holyoake was the first to characterise these patriots as "Jingoes," deriving the epithet from their own anthem. See his letter in the *Daily News*, March 13, 1878.

† These were (1), Bulgarian autonomy north of the Balkans; (2), guarantees of good government for the other Turkish provinces; (3), cession of Batoum, and retrocession of Bessarabia to Russia.

‡ Nobody gave a more vivid picture of the divided state of the nation at this time than Mr. Trevelyan, who had been one of the most active of those who forced Mr. Gladstone to withdraw his Resolutions. Speaking at Galashiels on the 15th of December he said, the desire to fight "is almost universal amongst idlers, and gossips, fashionable aspirants, and the habitual frequenters of the London burlesques and music-halls. The determination to keep at peace is almost universal among the great mass of the population which produces the wealth of this country, and which makes us respected and powerful among nations. My experience is that the division is not, as is generally described, one of class, but of personal habits and character. If you meet a man who does an honest stroke of work on every week-day, whether he be manufacturer, or artisan, or tradesman, or barrister, it is ten to one that he wishes his country to leave this quarrel to be fought out by those whom it concerns. If you meet a man who amuses himself for fifteen hours out of the twenty-four, and sleeps the rest, it is ninety-nine to one but he thinks we should send an ultimatum to Russia as soon as she crosses the Balkans, and that he regards Lord Beaconsfield as a second Chatham, who is robbed of his opportunities by his more timid colleagues." It ought to be said that the Liberals had also their "idlers" and sentimental crochet-mongers, who were eager to join Russia in fighting the "anti-human" Turk, and who had the advantage of Mr. Gladstone's personal leadership. Of course the partisans of Lord Beaconsfield vied with the partisans of Mr. Gladstone in pouring forth contempt on the English people, for their sordid determination to tie the restless and mischief-making hands of these two enterprising politicians.

Turkey, and the *status quo*, it meant that Russia had bought her alliance by consenting to an Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In such a crisis the true policy of a high-spirited English statesman was to have safeguarded British interests in the Ottoman Empire by "temporarily" occupying Egypt, as Austria was to "temporarily" occupy Bosnia. Lord Beaconsfield, however, adopted the surest means for paralysing his arm for such a bold stroke. He summoned Parliament to meet three weeks earlier than usual, and permitted his supporters to divert the attention of the country from Egypt—obviously endangered by the impending fall of Turkey—to wild schemes for occupying Gallipoli, sending a fleet to defend Constantinople, and an army to obstruct the advance of Russia in Asia Minor. As any one of these projects meant war with Russia, popular excitement soon grew intense.

In this crisis it was to be expected that the policy of the Court would be the subject of criticism, even though it were based on conjecture. The pro-Turkish party were artful and adroit in their insinuations that the Queen was on their side; though it is doubtful if the country would have paid heed to them but for a curious coincidence. The third volume of the "Life of the Prince Consort" was published at this juncture, and it was assumed by both the partisans of Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone that Sir Theodore Martin had issued it by the Queen's desire in the form of a violent pamphlet against Russia. Perhaps it might have been more discreet to have suppressed some passages, in which the Prince, carried away by the excitement of the Crimean struggle, had naturally taken a less sober and far-seeing view of European diplomacy and English duty than he formulated in his famous Memorandum of 1853. On the other hand, there is no reason to suppose that when the work was compiled Sir Theodore Martin, or rather the Queen, who selected the documents for publication, could have anticipated that the London Press and the Pall Mall clubs would be agitated by a frenzied controversy as to whether the Cossack was a more moral man than the Bashi-Bazouk, or Lord Beaconsfield a greater traitor than Mr. Gladstone. Nor can it be said that a just view of the Prince Consort's opinions would have been obtained if his letter to Stockmar, penned in April, 1854, and his Memorandum to the Cabinet of the 3rd of May, 1855, had been withheld. The former expressed the Prince's regret that the English public were too excited to permit the Government to stand by, and, having let Turkey dash herself to pieces against Russia, step in and take guarantees against Russia using her victory to the prejudice of Europe. Public opinion in 1854, the Prince regretfully admitted, recognised no way of taking these guarantees but one—that of supporting Turkey at the outset, so that the influence thus gained might be used to persuade the Porte to behave decently. As for the Memorandum of May, 1855, written during the negotiations at Vienna, it merely put on record his strong feeling against giving Russia an excuse for enforcing, single-handed, demands which Europe

might make on Turkey. It is simply amazing that by these documents the Russophobes pretended to prove that the Queen was on the side of Turkey, and the Russophiles that she was for attempting to raise another Crimean War. The natural inferences from the documents read in connection with the Memorandum of 1853, were (1), that as English public opinion had now changed so as to tolerate the policy of expectancy, for which Prince Albert hinted his personal preference, he would, if alive, have supported the "sordid" national policy of neutrality, and that, too, all the more readily that Austria and Germany were better able to curb Russia in 1877 than in 1854; (2), that he would have either accepted the Berlin Memorandum, or have taken steps to give executive effect to the demands formulated by the Conference of Constantinople.

But another circumstance gave colour to the floating gossip as to the Queen's pro-Turkish sympathies.* She resolved to confer on Lord Beaconsfield a distinction she had bestowed only on three of her Premiers—Melbourne, Peel, and Aberdeen—that of paying him a visit at his country seat. It was on the 15th of December that the Queen arrived at High Wycombe, which she found lavishly decorated with evergreens, flowers, and flags. At one part of her route there was built a triumphal arch of chairs (representing the staple manufacture of the town), in which she displayed a special interest. Accompanied by the Princess Beatrice, her Majesty was received at High Wycombe railway-station by Lord Beaconsfield and the Local Authorities, who presented her with a loyal address. The Mayor's daughter then presented bouquets to their illustrious visitors, after which the Royal party drove, amidst the cheers of the townspeople, to Hughenden Manor. Her Majesty had luncheon there with the Prime Minister, and spent about two hours in his house. She and the Princess planted trees in the grounds in memory of their visit.

* One finds in the advertising columns of the *Era*, strangely enough, a side-light on the Eastern policy of the Court at this period. A Mr. Charles Williams, who advertised himself as singing "the greatest war song on record" at four music-halls, added to his advertisement the following letter:—"Lieutenant-General Sir T. M. Biddulph has received the Queen's commands to thank Mr. Charles Williams for the appropriate verses contained in his letter of the 18th inst., and her Majesty fully appreciates his motives." One of the verses ran thus:—

"Bruin thinks we've been asleep; but a watch we've had to keep,
Knowing well the value of his word;
Look with many a skilful lie how they've blinded every eye,
Till the Lion's grand impatience now is heard;
For every British heart would burn to take a part
To fling the Russian lies back in their face;
And to teach them, as of old, that Briton's hearts are bold,
And would die to save our country from disgrace."

—*Vide Era*, February 20, 1878. The song was sung at the Metropolitan Music Hall, in connection with a ballet called "Cross and Crescent War." When the Royal letter was pointed out to Count Schouvaloff, that easy-tempered diplomatist merely shrugged his shoulders. It may be mentioned incidentally that a study of the popular songs of the period reflects faithfully the shifting moods of the London mob during the Eastern Controversy.

If political significance could be attributed to the visit, it must have had some relation to the most recent action of the Government. That had, however, consisted in sending a despatch to Russia (13th of December) expressing a hope that, if the Russians crossed the Balkans, they would not occupy



THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO HUGHENDEN : AT HIGH WYCOMBE RAILWAY STATION.

Constantinople or menace the Dardanelles.* To this Gortschakoff's answer was a repetition of the pledge given in July, that British interests would be respected, and that Constantinople should only be occupied if the obstinacy of the Turks forced that step on Russia as a military necessity.† That the

* Turkey III. (1878), No. 1.

† Russia in July had pledged herself not to meddle with the Suez Canal, or with Egypt, or to menace the Persian Gulf. As to the Dardanelles, the position of the Straits "should," said Prince Gortschakoff, "be settled by a common agreement upon equitable or efficiently guaranteed bases." Constantinople, in his opinion, "could not be allowed to belong to any of the European Powers;"

Queen should approve of such a despatch as that which Lord Derby sent two days before she visited Hughenden, and of its frank warning that the occupation of Constantinople would leave England free to take active steps for protecting British interests, was only natural. Yet it was out of this visit that there grew up a great fabric of foolish gossip, the purport of which was that the Sovereign was goading the Cabinet into war with Russia! The Ministerial Press made matters worse by pretending that Prince Gortschakoff's reply to the despatch of the 13th of December was insulting to England. But on the 2nd of January, 1878, Lord Carnarvon, addressing a South African deputation, took occasion to contradict these assertions. The fall of Plevna, he said, had not materially affected the policy of the Cabinet, which was still one of neutrality, and there had been nothing in the Russian communications with the Ministry of an insulting or discourteous character. The war scare now subsided as if by magic, and Funds rose a quarter per cent. But the Ministerial newspapers heaped obloquy on Lord Carnarvon, declaring that he merely spoke for himself; and at a Cabinet Meeting on the 3rd of January there was quite a "scene" between him and Lord Beaconsfield. The Prime Minister condemned the speech of his colleague, who, however, put on a bold front, and read a Memorandum before the Cabinet vindicating his position, and re-affirming everything that he had said. Lord Beaconsfield merely asked him for a copy of this document, and no Minister then or at any subsequent period hinted at a private or public disavowal of Lord Carnarvon's statement. A very conciliatory answer was sent on the 12th of January to Prince Gortschakoff. It did not even suggest that the temporary military occupation of Constantinople would endanger British interests, but it asked Russia not to touch Gallipoli. On the 15th of January Prince Gortschakoff answered that Russia would not occupy Gallipoli unless Turkish troops were massed there; but he said that a British occupation of the Peninsula would be regarded by Russia as a breach of neutrality. On the 17th of January Parliament met, and, to its surprise, found itself greeted with a Royal Speech couched in the most dove-like terms of peace. The War Party were abashed. Even Lord Beaconsfield spoke not of daggers, though he hinted vaguely at the chances of using them. There was also a clause in the Queen's Speech which, after admitting that none of the conditions of British neutrality had been violated, alluded darkly to the possibility of something occurring which might render "measures of precaution" necessary. Lord Salisbury, however, went out of his way to state that the Czar, so far from having aggressive designs, had shown himself anxious to defer to the wishes of Europe, and was possessed with "an almost tormenting desire for peace," so that Members went about asking each other—Why had Parliament been summoned so soon, to the

and on the 20th of July the Czar further enforced this pledge by telling Colonel Wellesley that he would not occupy Constantinople merely for military *prestige*, but only if events forced him to do so.—*See Russia II.* (1877), No. 2; and *Turkey III.* (1878), No. 2.

great disturbance of business and the alarm of the nation, merely to be told that everything was going on smoothly? The fact is, that it had been Lord Beaconsfield's original intention to send the Fleet to the Dardanelles.

On the 12th of January, 1878, this proposal was discussed in the Cabinet, and it would have been necessary to follow up the step by asking the House of Commons for a war vote. At a meeting on the 14th, from which Lord Derby was absent, the proposal was adopted. On the 15th Lord Carnarvon sent in his resignation, but Mr. Montagu Corry came to him with a message from Lord Beaconsfield to say that certain telegrams had arrived which had caused the order to the Fleet to be cancelled. These telegrams must obviously have been from Lord Augustus Loftus, conveying Prince Gortschakoff's pledge that Gallipoli would not be touched, and his warning that Russia would regard the British occupation of it as a breach of neutrality. On the 16th Lord Carnarvon was at the Cabinet meeting, but his resignation was not returned to him till the 18th, when Lord Beaconsfield assured him that there was no longer any difference between them. Lord Beaconsfield, indeed, went further in his soothing assurances to the House of Lords on the 17th. Though he had Lord Carnarvon's resignation at that moment in his pocket, he said "there is not the slightest evidence that there has *ever* been any difference between my opinions and those of my colleagues."* As for the rumours of dissensions in the Cabinet, Lord Salisbury scornfully averred that they were only the inventions of "our old friends the newspapers."

To understand the events that followed, and which again threw the country into a panic, two facts must be kept in view. First, the resolution to send the Fleet to the Dardanelles had been taken on the 14th of January, after the receipt of a telegram from Mr. Layard warning the Government that the Russians were moving on Gallipoli. This false statement had been neutralised by Lord Augustus Loftus, who sent on the 15th the telegram conveying Gortschakoff's renewed pledges to respect British interests, in time to enable Lord Beaconsfield to cancel the orders to the Fleet. But the second point is, that the public and Parliament were kept in complete ignorance of Gortschakoff's fresh pledges not to approach Gallipoli, and not to occupy Constantinople. If the one pledge was to be trusted, so was the other, and the withdrawal of the orders to the Fleet proved that the Government thought that the one pledge was valid. Yet Lord Beaconsfield's friends strove without ceasing to impress the public with the false notion that Russia meant to seize Constantinople. On the 17th Mr. Layard sent another alarmist telegram. The Russians, he said, were marching on Adrianople. They were next to occupy Constantinople, and the Sultan was making ready to fly to Broussa. On the 22nd a deputation of the Tory War Party, representing seventy-five malcontents in the House of Commons, urged a policy of intervention on Sir Stafford Northcote. On the 23rd the Cabinet resolved to send immediate orders to

* Hansard, Vol. CCXXXVII., p. 31.

Admiral Hornby to take the Fleet to Constantinople. Lord Derby and Lord Carnarvon thereupon resigned. The order to the Fleet was countermanded, and Hornby was instructed to anchor in Besika Bay, whereupon Lord Derby returned to the Cabinet, but without Lord Carnarvon. Lord Derby afterwards admitted that neither he nor his colleagues had altered their opinions about the propriety of sending the order to the Fleet, so that the Ministry and its Foreign Secretary were now avowedly at variance as to a vital point of principle in Foreign policy. If the Cabinet was trustworthy Lord Derby should not have left it. If it was not trustworthy he was right to leave it, but wrong to go back. As for Lord Beaconsfield, that he should have permitted Lord Derby to return in such circumstances was, it need hardly be said, discreditable to him as a man of honour. On January 24th Sir Stafford Northcote gave notice that on the 28th he would move "a supplementary estimate for the military and naval services," and the Ministerial press immediately circulated the most startling accounts of the oppressive conditions which Russia sought to impose on Turkey, then negotiating for an armistice. The Liberal press, on the other hand, accused Sir Stafford Northcote of breaking his promise, passed on the opening day of the Session, that he would not ask for a Vote till he knew what the Russian terms of peace were, and saw that they plainly put British interests in peril.

As for the public, it had not the faintest idea that Ministers had received assurances from Prince Gortschakoff which they had dealt with as satisfactory. The official excuse for the War Vote now was that Russia, by delaying to communicate the terms of peace which were the basis of the armistice, rendered precautionary measures necessary. On the 25th, Count Schouvaloff communicated these terms to the Foreign Office, and they were found to be simply those which Russia had, with unusual frankness, forewarned England and the Powers at various stages of the war, she would exact from Turkey. On the evening of the 25th, Lord Beaconsfield alluded to these terms as a possible basis for an armistice. He must have regarded them as eminently moderate, for he said that they had induced him to cancel the order to the Fleet to proceed to Constantinople.* But the Ministry still persisted in going on with the War Vote, and on the 28th of January Sir Stafford Northcote denounced the terms of peace, in language which would have induced Turkey to reject them had Russia not astutely kept them secret

* Sir Stafford Northcote gave another reason. Mr. Layard, on the 24th, telegraphed that the question of the Bosphorus was to be settled between the Czar and a Congress. Next morning, the 25th, it was found that by a blunder the clerk had written "Congress" instead of "Sultan." It was on this account, said Sir S. Northcote, that the orders to the Fleet were withdrawn. In other words, when on the 24th the Government believed—if by this time they really believed any of Mr. Layard's telegrams—that the question of the Bosphorus was to be settled in accordance with Russia's pledges to England, the Fleet was sent to Constantinople. But when they found this to be a mistake, and that the Czar was going to settle the question in defiance of his pledges to England, the Fleet was ordered back to Besika Bay!

till Turkey had accepted them. On the same day Lord Carnarvon, in the House of Lords, explained his reasons for quitting the Cabinet.*

The feeling in the House of Commons was now running high against the Ministry, whose dissensions could no longer be concealed. But the War Party organised with some difficulty a strong agitation in London in their favour,



PRINCE GORTSCHAKOFF.

and the streets and public-houses soon rang again with the hymnal invocation to the war-god Jingo. His worshippers attacked and broke up meetings called to protest against the War Vote, and they themselves held meetings in Sheffield, in Trafalgar Square, and in Exeter Hall (6th February). Still these demonstrations were empty of real meaning, and the Opposition would not have been intimidated by them but for a curious circumstance.

On the 7th of February the debate on the War Vote was still dragging on, and every night the case of the Cabinet seemed to grow feebler and

* His place at the Colonial Office was filled by Sir M. Hicks-Beach, Mr. James Lowther becoming Irish Secretary.

feebler. The accommodating Mr. Layard, however, once more came to their rescue. He began again to pour in his stereotyped telegrams that the Russians, in spite of the armistice, were still marching on Constantinople. Finally his despatches formed the basis for a rumour that was circulated at Countess Münster's ball, on the 6th of January, that the Russians had actually occupied Constantinople. Next day the panic-stricken City was literally occupied by raging "Jingoes," and but for the police Mr. Gladstone's house would have been sacked. Every man who did not bow to the war-god was a traitor and a Russian spy, and the violence of the War Party ultimately frightened the wits out of the Opposition. When the House of Commons met, Sir Stafford Northcote, in reply to Lord Hartington, read Mr. Layard's alarming telegrams, and then the Liberal leaders ran from their guns in a panic. Mr. Forster made haste to withdraw his Resolution against the War Vote. Nobody would listen to Mr. Bright, who shrewdly suggested that Mr. Layard was again misleading the Government; and the Liberal Party, deserted by its leaders, sat in abject dismay, cowering beneath the triumphant cheering of their opponents. But in a moment the whole scene changed, as if by the touch of a magician. While Mr. Bright was casting doubt on Mr. Layard's telegrams, a note was passed on to Sir Stafford Northcote, after reading which he grew visibly agitated. He handed it to his colleagues, and when Mr. Bright sat down, Sir Stafford Northcote rose and, with a shame-faced visage, said he had something of importance to communicate. Both sides strained every ear to learn what fresh act of Russian perfidy had been discovered; but the reaction was indescribable when he read out an official denial from Prince Gortschakoff of Mr. Layard's sensational despatches. "The order," said Gortschakoff, "has been given to stop hostilities along the whole line in Europe and in Asia. There is not a word of truth in the rumours which have reached you." Peals of derisive laughter greeted this anti-climax, only it was difficult to know whether the Opposition and Ministers were laughing at themselves, or at each other.

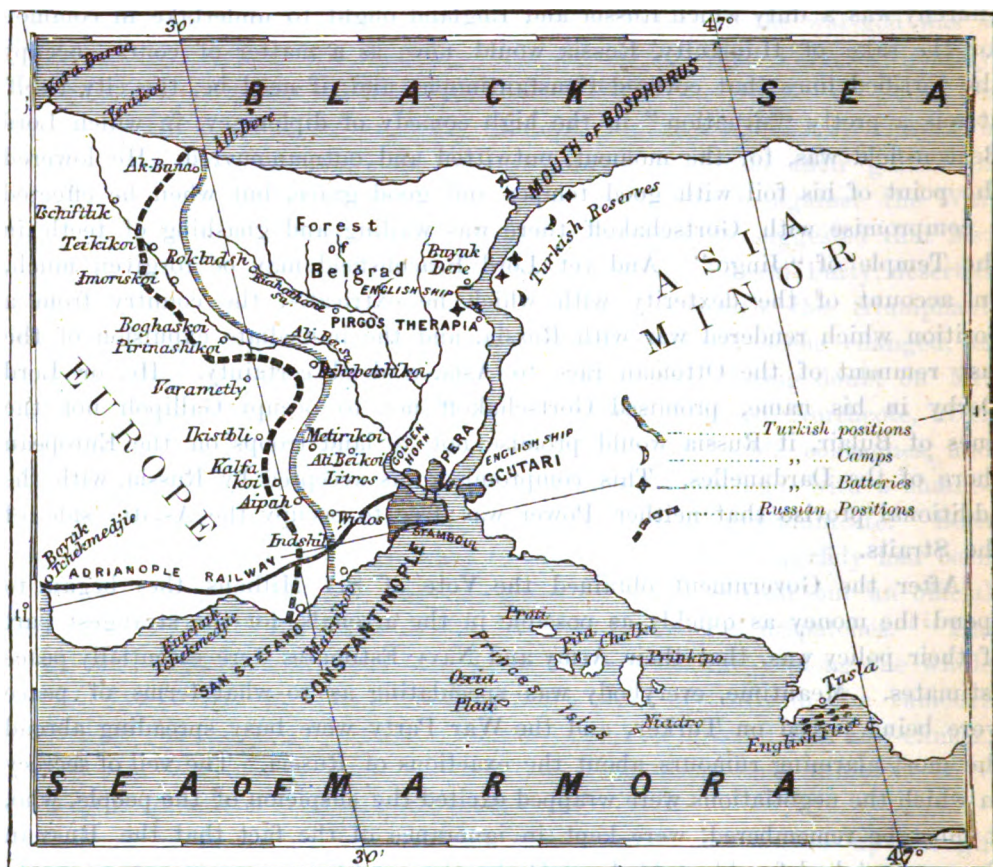
The end of the affair was that Mr. Forster could not muster up enough courage to press his Resolution, and when a division came he and Lord Hartington and about a hundred bewildered Liberals walked out of the House. Hence the Vote was carried into Committee by a majority of 295 to 199. The country did not conceal its contempt for Mr. Forster's manœuvre. Men of sense agreed that there was only one ground on which such a Vote could be fairly opposed. It was that till Ministers stated definitely, whether their policy was to be that of Lord Derby or Lord Beaconsfield, tempered at intervals by a telegraphic romance from the British Embassy at Constantinople, not a farthing should be granted to them. No such statement of policy was made, and the withdrawal of the Liberals from their position served to convince impartial observers that their opposition had been factious from the beginning.*

* Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone were, however, among those who voted against the Grant.

After this unexpected victory the "Jingoes" pressed the Government to follow it up. To please them the Fleet was ordered to Constantinople, but to soothe Lord Derby he was permitted to explain that it went there merely to protect British residents who were alarmed by the prevailing anarchy. The Turks, enraged at what they deemed their betrayal by Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Layard, churlishly refused to grant a firman opening the Straits to the Fleet. Prince Gortschakoff said, that as the protection of Europeans from anarchy was a duty which Russia and England ought to undertake in common for the sake of Humanity, Russia would now, as a matter of course, occupy the fortified lines that covered Constantinople, and, if need be, the city itself. It was a pretty "situation" in the high comedy of diplomacy, in which Lord Beaconsfield was, for the moment, outwitted and outmanœuvred. He lowered the point of his foil with good temper and good grace, but when he effected a compromise with Gortschakoff there was wailing and gnashing of teeth in the Temple of "Jingo." And yet Lord Beaconsfield may be forgiven much, on account of the dexterity with which he extricated the country from a position which rendered war with Russia, and the immediate expulsion of the last remnant of the Ottoman race to Asia, a dead certainty. He, or Lord Derby in his name, promised Gortschakoff not to occupy Gallipoli nor the lines of Bulair, if Russia would promise not to land troops on the European shore of the Dardanelles. This compromise was accepted by Russia, with the additional proviso that neither Power was free to occupy the Asiatic side of the Straits.

After the Government obtained the Vote of Six Millions, they began to spend the money as quickly as possible in the arsenals, for the strangest part of their policy was, that their Army and Navy Estimates were essentially peace estimates. Meantime, everybody was speculating as to what terms of peace were being forced on Turkey, and the War Party were busy spreading abroad the most alarming rumours about the exactions of Russia. The veil of secrecy in which the negotiations were wrapped excited the suspicion of the people, who, it must be remembered, were kept in ignorance of the fact that the Russian Government had frankly told Lord Derby the conditions on which they would make peace. There was thus a distinct oscillation of public feeling towards the "Jingoes." The Treaty of Peace was signed at San Stefano on the 3rd of March. Nineteen days afterwards the full text of this Treaty, by which, as Prince Bismarck told General Grant, "Ignatieff had swallowed more than Russia could digest," was printed in the English newspapers. At first, the War Party collapsed. It was clear that the Russians had not touched British interests, and that to offer to fight on behalf of Turkey after she was annihilated as a fighting Power, and had signed a Treaty of Peace, was a palpable absurdity. Some other basis for a policy had thus to be discovered, and it was soon found. The ghastly phantom of "the public law of Europe" was conjured up from the Crimean Museum of diplomatic antiquities. It was said that

England was bound to defend that law against the Treaty of San Stefano which had violated it, by upsetting the Treaty of Paris as modified in 1871 by the Powers. Austria also took a line that again inspired the War Party with false hopes. The Treaty of San Stefano had not arranged for an Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a counterpoise to a Bulgaria under Russian influence. Austria therefore began to arm. At the instance of



RUSSO-TURKISH WAR: MAP SHOWING POSITION OF RUSSIAN AND TURKISH LINES OUTSIDE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, AND OF THE BRITISH FLEET.

Germany, however, she invited all the Powers to meet in Congress and endeavour to harmonise the Treaty of San Stefano with the general interests of Europe. As Lord Derby was blamed, somewhat unjustly, for the failure of the project of a Congress, it may be well to state precisely his attitude to it. Unfortunately for himself he deemed it desirable to conceal his real objection to the scheme, which was this: he held that more harm than good results from a discussion among rival Powers on their competing interests in any Congress, unless they shall have arrived beforehand at a complete agreement as to the concessions which they will give and take.

Lord Derby's idea evidently was to delay the Congress till the Powers were so far agreed that their meeting would be virtually one to register foregone conclusions. Lord Beaconsfield and the War Party, on the other hand, knew that their only hope lay in preventing the Congress from meeting. Up to a certain point Lord Derby and Lord Beaconsfield could, therefore, hold common ground. But as Lord Derby's policy of obstructive procrastination destroyed the popularity of the project before it had brought about such an agreement among the Powers as would render the Congress innocuous, even in his eyes, it was easy for Lord Beaconsfield to take some warlike step that would get rid of Lord Derby and the Congress also. Hence throughout the period of diplomatic conflict that followed we find Lord Derby allowed to object to the Congress, first because Greece was not to be represented, and lastly because the Russians did not distinctly promise to submit the whole Treaty of San Stefano to it. The dispute finally centred round this last point. Out of England nobody at the time could understand Lord Derby's objection. He seemed, from beginning to end, either to be quibbling about words and phrases, or trying to force Russia to enter the Congress with less liberty of action and on a lower *status* of dignity and independence than the other Powers. Before England accepted the Congress he wrote to Sir Henry Elliot, saying that she would not enter it unless he distinctly understood that "every article in the Treaty between Russia and Turkey will be placed before the Congress, *not necessarily for acceptance*, but in order that it may be ascertained what articles require acceptance or concurrence by the several Powers, and what do not." Russia had already admitted that at the Congress each of the Powers "would have full liberty of appreciation and action" as regards the Treaty of San Stefano, and on the 9th of April Prince Gortschakoff's Circular Note further stated that "in claiming the same right for Russia we can only reiterate the same declaration." Lord Beaconsfield, on the 8th of April, complained, in the House of Lords, that the phrase "liberty of appreciation and action" was involved in classical ambiguity. "Delphi herself," said he, with a provoking sneer at the Russian Chancellor, "could hardly have been more perplexing and august." Yet, on the 27th of March, Count Schouvaloff wrote to Lord Derby as follows: "The liberty of appreciation and action which Russia thinks it right to reserve to herself at the Congress the Imperial Cabinet defines in the following manner. It leaves to the other Powers the liberty of raising such questions at the Congress as they may think it fit to discuss, and reserves to itself the liberty of accepting or not accepting the discussion of those questions."* Russia had communicated the Treaty in its entirety to all the Powers. She had expressly and explicitly informed Austria, who had summoned the Congress, that she admitted the competence of that body to overhaul every clause of the Treaty in European interests—a fact of which Lord Derby was well aware. Austria

* See Sir Stafford Northcote's statement in the House of Commons, *Times*, 29th April, 1878.

and the Continental Powers were satisfied that Russia had sufficiently recognised the competence of the Congress. England alone denied this, and pressed for a declaration which would have technically left all the Powers except Russia free not only to decide what affected their individual interests, but free to decide what affected those of Russia also. Lord Derby's demand seemed as if meant to put the Russian Government, behind which stood a great and irritable army, flushed with victory, in the position of a criminal at the bar of Europe, and to force from her an admission that on certain vital points she pledged herself to bow to the decision of the Congress, though no other Power was to be put under a similar obligation.* Whilst this pedantic controversy was going on the "Jingoes" beat the war-drum with so much sound and fury that Lord Beaconsfield was misled into the idea that they were strong outside London. On the 26th of March the Cabinet accordingly resolved to call out the Reserves, to summon a contingent of native troops from India, to seize Cyprus, and land an army at a port in Syria. Lord Derby was not much alarmed about the order to call out the Reserves, but to seize one portion of the Turkish Empire, and land an army on another, without a declaration of war, was to his mind an act of piracy. Moreover, it would have instantly led to the catastrophe which he had made every sacrifice to avoid—the Russian occupation of Constantinople.

At this crisis Lord Derby saved his country from the direst calamity—a war between England and Russia, in which victory could bring no other gain to England than the privilege of restoring the liberated Turkish provinces to barbarism, and in which, since India had been put down by Lord Beaconsfield as one of the stakes in his game, defeat would have meant the loss of her Asiatic and Colonial Empire. Lord Derby resigned, and the panic caused by his withdrawal from the Cabinet compelled Lord Beaconsfield to abandon the filibustering expedition to Cyprus and Syria, and confine himself to those steps which did not make war inevitable. Russia, who was strengthening her own forces, could not object to England calling out her Reserves. As for the summons to the Indian troops, it would have been harmless, but for a circumstance not known at the time. It gave Prince Gortschakoff an opportunity for carrying out a diabolically malignant scheme of vengeance. He considered himself free to ignore the arrangement by which Russia was bound not to interfere in the "neutral zone" between her Asiatic Empire and the Indian frontier. Russian troops were accordingly ordered to move towards the Oxus for the invasion of India. Russian agents hastened in advance to the frontier to brew trouble for England in Afghanistan. Nay, so swift and secret were these counter-strokes, that even after the dispute

* It is, however, but fair to Lord Derby to say that though all the Tory speakers and writers assumed this to be his object, his obstinacy might be due to another and more honourable motive. He probably persuaded himself that the refusal of Russia implied that she meant to object to the discussion of Articles that in the opinion of the Powers affected their interests as well as hers.

between Russia and England in Europe had been settled, Russia was unable to undo the mischief she had wrought in Asia. England was dragged into the costly agony of another Afghan War, and it may therefore be said that the luxury of bringing the native troops to Europe in 1878 not only permanently disorganised the finances of India, but cost the country hecatombs of lives and £20,000,000 of money in 1879-80. Though the step was at first popular, the nation in time began to appreciate the grave political and fiscal objections which could be urged unanswerably against the employment of Indian troops out of Asia, or out of that portion of Eastern Africa which is practically Asiatic.

But when Lord Derby resigned it was not known that Indian troops were to be brought to Cyprus and landed in Syria, and the Ministerial explanations were so couched as to make it appear that he left the Government merely because the Reserves were called out. His real reasons could not be given at the moment, and he had to submit to a tirade of abuse from Tory speakers and writers unparalleled in its ferocity. Even his personal character was attacked by abominable slanders. Violence and virulence are the outward and visible signs of decaying power in a political Party. These evil qualities had, however, never been displayed to a greater extent by the Tories since the wars of the Protectionists and the Peelites in 1852, when a band of the former one day after dinner at the Carlton Club explored the drawing-room in order to "fling Mr. Gladstone out of the window."* Yet it is curious to observe that Lord Beaconsfield and his followers were forced by events to adopt the policy and even the method of their slandered colleague. They floundered deeper and deeper every day into a quagmire of difficulties, till they actually made a secret arrangement with Russia as to the points in the Treaty of San Stefano, about which, however much they might wage a sham fight in the coming Congress, neither Power would go to war.

In fact it is now evident that of the statesmen who figured in the controversy at this crisis, Lord Derby is the one who emerges from it with least damage to his reputation. Alike in his strength and weakness, in his resolute determination to spend neither British blood nor British treasure for the sake of Turkey, and in his lack of red-hot enthusiasm for the cause of Slavic

* Mr. Charles Greville dwells on one of these ebullitions of patrician rowdiness with much anger. (*See Memoirs, Part III.*). At the same time, it is but fair to say that the Peelites had given the Tories just provocation. Lord Aberdeen had led the Tory leaders to believe that, whenever they abandoned Protection, they (the Peelites) would return to the Tory fold, and reunite the Conservative Party. Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli did abandon Protection, incurring great obloquy from their followers. But the Peelites declined to fulfil their part of the implied bargain, and, having got all they wanted out of the Protectionists—a recantation of their principles—not only refused to join them, but attacked them with the Whigs. Mr. Gladstone was supposed to have inspired what Lord Hardwicke, in a letter to Mr. Croker, denounced as a "disgraceful" manoeuvre due to "personal pique and hatred."—*See Croker Papers*; also an article in the *Observer*, Feb. 13, 1887, p. 3.

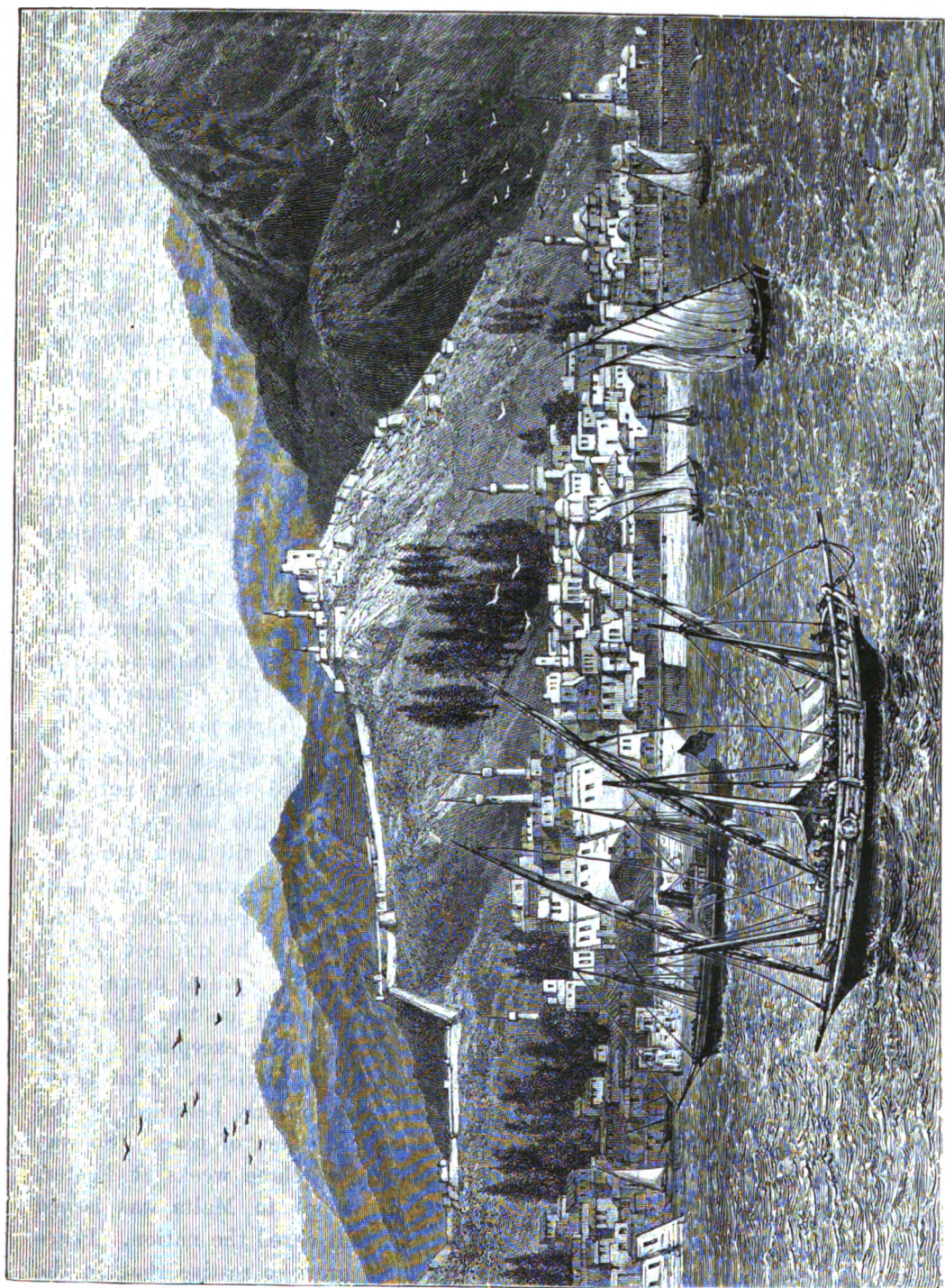
nationality, Lord Derby's diplomacy was the diplomacy of the British people in their saner moments, when they were not under the spell of passion or partisanship. His blunders—the rejection of the Berlin Memorandum and the refusal to give an executive character to the decisions of the Constantinople Conference—had at all events wrought no evil to England or the world, unless it were an evil to hasten the destruction of Ottoman tyranny in Europe, and the deliverance of Bulgaria from barbarism.* As for his successes, they are now obvious. His shrewd appreciation of British interests, and his firmness,



THE MARINA, LARNACA, CYPRUS.

candour, courtesy, and lucidity in defining them at the outset of the struggle between the belligerents, made it easy for Russia to avoid a collision with England. That he fell short of his opportunity in neglecting to establish British influence in Egypt was a mistake excusable in a minister whose leader, like a character in one of his own novels, "had but one idea in Foreign

* It ought to be said that Lord Derby's ablest apologist, Mr. T. Wemyss Reid, in an article in *Macmillan's Magazine* for June, 1879, advanced a fair defence for his hesitancy to work zealously with the European Powers. Mr. Reid asserts, and in a manner which commands respectful attention, that Lord Derby knew that as far back as 1873 Russia, Germany, and Austria had entered into a secret agreement to upset the *status quo* in Turkey. No historian can presume to pass a final judgment on Lord Derby's career at the Foreign Office without carefully studying this remarkable article. It explains much that is otherwise inexplicable in Lord Derby's policy, and had it been an official *communiqué* it would have been almost conclusive.



SALONICA.

Policy, and that was wrong"—the "maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire." But the net result of Lord Derby's administration was that he kept the country out of war, and out of enfeebling and disreputable alliances. He thrust a peace policy on bellicose colleagues. Even when they broke from his control he still forced them back to the paths of peace by inflicting on them the penalty of his resignation. In quitting them he left them as his legacy the secret of going into the Congress, and bringing back from it "Peace with Honour."

Mr. Gladstone, in a famous speech at Oxford, said, on the 30th of January, that he had devoted his life, during the past year, to counteract the Machiavelian designs of Lord Beaconsfield. Mr. Gladstone, however, never appeared to less advantage than when he made that statement. It was not Lord Beaconsfield but Lord Derby who was the master-mind of the Cabinet during 1877-78, and who moulded its diplomacy and controlled its action in Foreign Affairs. That Mr. Gladstone strengthened Lord Derby's hands by rendering a war for the sake of Turkey unpopular is true; but that he weakened them by seeming to advocate a military alliance with Holy Russia for a crusade against Islam, is true also.

Lord Derby's successor was Lord Salisbury. His first act was to issue a Circular to the Powers, which was a furious and unrestrained condemnation of every line of the Treaty of San Stefano. If it were to be taken seriously it meant the condemnation even of the proposals of the Constantinople Conference, to which he was himself a party. Prince Gortschakoff, however, did not take it seriously. He replied to it with polite irony in his Circular of the 9th of April, pointing out that the difficulty Lord Salisbury put him in was that he confined himself to saying what England did *not* want. The situation, however, could not be understood by the Powers till Lord Salisbury stated plainly what she did want. The only logical answer which Lord Salisbury in terms of his Circular could give was, "The restoration of the *status quo* in Turkey." Hence it is needless to say that he did not find it convenient to issue a direct reply to Prince Gortschakoff's cynical despatch.

The Resolution calling out the Reserves was carried in the House of Commons by 319 against 64, the Liberal leaders, with the exception of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright, refusing to take part in the division. That fewer than half the House supported the Government was bitterly bewailed by the War Party, but was taken by the country as a good omen of peace. So was the proposal to adjourn Parliament for a holiday of three weeks at Easter, though, when the order summoning the Indian troops to Malta was issued immediately after the adjournment, war alarms again vexed the nation. Peace meetings were once more held, and the provinces grew so restive that in the end of April Mr. Hardy and Mr. Cross, speaking at Bradford and Preston, tried to soothe public opinion by the most pacific assurances. When Parliament met after the Recess the Government were taken to task because,

in sending for the Indian troops, they seemed to be endeavouring to nullify Parliamentary control over the Army. Though the Opposition were beaten in the division in the House of Commons, independent Conservatives did not conceal the suspicions and the dislike with which they regarded a proceeding which appeared more in harmony with the policy of Rome in her decay, than of the British Empire in the full vigour of virility. Though the War Party were more noisy than ever in London, there grew up a strong feeling towards the end of May that the Congress would meet after all, and that the risk of war was over. Intimidated by the Peace demonstrations, the feeble vote of support on the motion for calling out the Reserves, and the suspicions with which many Conservatives viewed the employment of Asiatic troops to fight the battles of England in Europe, the Government adopted Lord Derby's plan, and entered into a secret agreement with Russia as to what was to be conceded in Congress. After that agreement it mattered little on what terms the two Powers met. The compromise between Lord Salisbury and Count Schouvaloff pushed back the Bulgaria of the San Stefano Treaty from the *Ægean* Sea to the limit fixed by the Constantinople Conference, cutting it off from all possible contact with England, an arrangement not altogether disadvantageous to Russia. It divided Bulgaria into two provinces—one to be free, but tributary to Turkey, and the other to have an autonomous government, under a Christian Pasha, appointed by the Porte with the sanction of the Powers. This weakened Bulgaria so as to give Russia a dominant influence in both provinces, which was not shaken till 1885, when their aspirations for union were realised by a Revolution, which it was Lord Salisbury's fate to sanction, perhaps, indeed, in some measure to encourage. Greek populations were excluded from the new Bulgarias, greatly to the satisfaction of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Derby. Bayazid was restored to Turkey, but Batoum and Kars were to be taken by Russia, who thus had the Asiatic frontier of Turkey at her mercy. Russia was to take Bessarabia, and Turkey to cede Kolour to Persia—obviously to earn Persian gratitude for Russia. Subject to this compromise Lord Beaconsfield agreed not to make a *casus belli* of any Article in the Treaty of San Stefano, each one of which had been so fiercely condemned by Lord Salisbury's Circular of the 1st of April.

The intention of the Government was to keep the Salisbury-Schouvaloff compromise secret. The people were to be left to imagine that Ministers had won a diplomatic victory by forcing Russia into the Congress fettered, whilst England entered it free. All the points agreed on privately were to be fought over publicly by the representatives of England in the Congress as if no such agreement were in existence, and Englishmen were to be deluded into the idea that their diplomatic agents had, by superhuman efforts at Berlin, not by private huckstering in London, obtained enormous concessions from Russia. But when the *Globe* newspaper astonished the world by divulging the secret agreement, the people—more especially the enthusiastic Tories—refused to be

deluded. What, they asked, had Ministers made such a fuss about? Why had they passed war votes, brought Indian troops to Malta at the risk of violating the Constitution, and kept Europe in a fever of unrest, if they were prepared to accept a compromise with Russia, so fatal to the Turk as this? In fact, public opinion was so much excited that Lord Salisbury, on



PRINCE BISMARCK.

(From the Photograph by Lescher and Petsch, Berlin.)

the 3rd of June, had the courage to deny that the secret compromise published by the *Globe* on the 31st of May was "authentic." Ministerial organs also tried to convince the world that it was a forgery which had been treacherously uttered from the Russian Embassy.* For a time this denial

* Lord Salisbury said, in reply to Lord Grey, in the House of Lords, that the statements in the *Globe* were "wholly unauthentic." Lord Grey said he could not have believed it to be true that Lord Salisbury had agreed to the retrocession of Bessarabia. "It appeared," he said, "to be too

lulled all popular suspicions. By way of enforcing it Sir Stafford Northcote, when pressed, on the 6th of June, as to what policy Ministers would pursue in Congress, referred the House of Commons to the drastic Circular of the 1st of April, which tore every Article in the Treaty of San Stefano to pieces. As a matter of fact that Circular became a bit of waste-paper when Lord Salisbury signed his secret agreement with Russia, the existence of which the Government were now denying.

Three days after this compromise was arrived at, Germany, on the 3rd of June, issued invitations to the Powers to meet in Congress at Berlin on the 14th.* Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury then proceeded to represent England at the conclave in the Radziwill Palace. Few will forget the almost breathless excitement with which the people of England watched what they believed would be a terrible diplomatic duel for the honour of their Queen and country between Lord Beaconsfield and Prince Gortschakoff, for all this time the country had accepted as true Lord Salisbury's denial of his secret compact with Count Schouvaloff.† But the tension of public feeling suddenly relaxed in the reaction of a ludicrous anti-climax. On the day after the Congress met (14th June) the *Globe* published the full text of the Secret Agreement. In vain did Sir Stafford Northcote and the Duke of Richmond repeat Lord Salisbury's equivocal denials of its authenticity. Lord Grey indignantly condemned the Government for their misleading disclaimers. Lord Houghton, a Liberal supporter of Lord Beaconsfield's foreign policy, said "the effect of the document on the whole of Europe had been portentous,"

monstrous to be believed that her Majesty's Government could have made such a stipulation as was agreed to"—an observation which Lord Salisbury ratified by his silence.—Hansard, Vol. CCXL., p. 1061.

* The words of Bismarck's Circular were:—"While addressing this invitation to the ——— Government, the Government of his Majesty [the German Emperor] supposes that the ——— Government, in accepting the invitation, consents to allow free discussion of the contents of the Treaty of San Stefano in their totality, and that it is ready to take part in it." It is curious to notice how persistently Russia refused to yield even verbally, and after signing the Secret Agreement, to the English demand. As the Vienna correspondent of the *Times* said, "the formula of invitation is a compromise. While doing full justice to the full demand of England for free discussion of the Treaty of San Stefano in its totality, it contrives to spare the susceptibilities of Russia. Germany steps in and supposes that none of the Governments invited will object to a free discussion. In issuing invitations on this hypothesis, Germany gives a moral guarantee that it will be so; and Russia, who has hitherto objected to such a course, is not distinctly asked to withdraw this opposition, but only gives her consent, like the other Powers, to a Congress convoked by Germany for the purpose."—*Times* Vienna Correspondent, 4th June, 1878. The effect of this formula was to make Prince Bismarck absolute master of the Congress after acceptance of his invitation. He alone had given a guarantee that the Treaty should be fully discussed. He alone was therefore entitled at every stage to define what he meant by the phrase, "in its totality."

† Sir M. Hicks-Beach, on the 12th of June, gave his Party and the country further assurances on this head in a speech at Cheltenham, in which he said that the main points in Lord Salisbury's Circular of the 1st of April would be adhered to by the British representatives at the Congress. This statement, of course, recoiled on him in the most damaging manner when, on the 14th, it was found that what the Ministerialists considered to be main points had been bargained away to Russia in Lord Salisbury's Secret Agreement of the 30th of May.

and had lowered the dignity of the Government.* The theory of the Ministerial Press, that the document came from the Russian Embassy was refuted in a few days by the Ministry. They raised criminal proceedings against Mr. Charles Marvin, a writer in the Foreign Office, for surreptitiously copying the paper and sending it to the *Globe*.† The prevarication of Ministers and the revelations attendant on the disclosure of the Secret Agreement shocked the confidence of the nation in the Cabinet. Lord Salisbury and his colleagues earned for themselves at this time an evil reputation for mendacity, which did much to bring about the defeat of Lord Beaconsfield's Administration at the General Election of 1880. And yet it was difficult for them to be quite candid with Parliament in the circumstances. On the day after they had signed the Secret Agreement with Russia (which, it must be kept in view, bound her to encroach no further on Turkey in Asia) they began to negotiate a Convention with the Porte by which England promised to defend the Asiatic frontier of Turkey, on condition that the Sultan would reform the Government of Asia Minor, and permit the British Government to hold Cyprus as long as Russia kept Kars. It would have been inconvenient to divulge this scheme before Congress had decided the fate of Bulgaria. Hence Lord Salisbury was really within the mark in saying that the Secret Agreement with Russia did not "wholly" represent the Government policy. On the 8th of July it was announced that the Anglo-Turkish Convention had been signed on the 4th of June—most reluctantly, as it seemed, by Turkey. Her hesitancy, indeed, was not overcome till Lord Salisbury in the Congress abandoned, and Lord Beaconsfield actively opposed, the cause of the Greeks, whom they had buoyed up with delusive hopes. In an instant the scandal of the Secret Agreement was forgotten. The wildest tales of the wealth that was to be exploited in Cyprus flew from mouth to mouth. Englishmen saw with prophetic eye, "in a fine frenzy rolling," Asia Minor "opened up," under a British Protectorate, by the British prospector and pioneer. Indeed, it was not till the 9th of November, when the nauseous wines of Cyprus (of which such glowing accounts had been published) were served at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, that the truth dawned on the City. Then it was recognised that the country had been deceived as to the teeming riches of its new possessions and

* Lord Houghton, as a supporter of the Ministerial Foreign Policy, said:—"Even if the surrender which we are required to make according to this document is one to which the country would give its consent, it would have been better that the fact should have appeared at the Congress than that it should have been made known by this paper [the *Globe*]. It now stands before the world that England did not go into the Congress with free hands, but before going into it had made a contract, and had, in the main, abandoned some of the most important points which I and other Members of the House considered it was the duty of this country to insist upon."—*Hansard*, Vol. CCXL., p. 1569 *et seq.*

† The proceedings against Mr. Marvin were withdrawn. He pleaded that copying on paper did not amount to theft, and his legal advisers threatened a cross-examination of the Foreign Office officials (whose laxity of administration was obvious), which determined the Government to retreat.

positions in the East. Cool-headed men did not, however, at the outset conceal their opinion that the privilege of occupying Cyprus and of defending the Asiatic frontier of Turkey was a poor substitute for the occupation of Egypt as a means of restoring British influence in the East and safeguarding British communications with India. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington both denounced the Anglo-Turkish Convention as an "insane covenant," and the Opposition attacked it savagely in Parliament, but without success. Independent Members attributed less importance to the arrangement than Mr. Gladstone. They argued that, as the introduction of reforms into Asia Minor was the condition precedent of defending the frontier by arms, the Treaty, so far as England was concerned, would remain a dead-letter. Great commercial interests, if created in Asia Minor by English adventurers, might doubtless need defence. But, on the other hand, it was impossible to create those interests so long as Asia Minor was desolated by misgovernment, which the Sultan had not the power, even if he had the will, to reform. Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury returned to London on the 15th of July, bringing with them, as they said, "Peace with Honour." Applauding crowds welcomed them with passionate enthusiasm. The Tories were delighted with the Anglo-Turkish Convention, for as yet the gilt had not been rubbed off their Cyprian toy. The Liberals, though indignant at the betrayal of Greece, were pleased that Lord Beaconsfield had come out of the Congress without involving England in war. They could say very little against a Treaty the net result of which was to free eleven millions of Christian Slavs from the direct rule of the Sultan, to render even divided Bulgaria practically autonomous, and to create Servia and Roumania into independent Kingdoms. On the 18th of July Lord Beaconsfield gave the House of Lords an apologetic explanation of the Treaty of Berlin, which was only the Treaty of San Stefano modified by the Salisbury-Schouvaloff Agreement, and by the concession to Austria of the right to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina. The debate raised no point of interest, save Lord Derby's disclosure of the Ministerial decision in May, to send a naval Expedition to Syria, a project which was abandoned when he quitted the Cabinet. Lord Salisbury created a scene by comparing Lord Derby's revelations to those of Titus Oates, and he gave them a flat denial. But Lord Derby had spoken from a Memorandum which he had made of the decision to which he referred at the time it was arrived at. As Lord Salisbury's reputation for veracity had been sadly shaken by his statements about his Secret Agreement with Russia, the country paid little heed to his disclaimers, and Lord Derby's version of the facts has ever since been taken as correct.

Triumphant majorities endorsed the policy which had been adopted in the Congress, and at the end of the year Ministers went about predicting for the country halcyon days of peace. Domestic affairs gave them little trouble. Irish obstruction was bought off by the Irish Intermediate Education Bill,

which appropriated £1,000,000 to encourage secondary schools in Ireland, by prizes, exhibitions, and capitation grants. An attempt was made to pass a Bill, which, under the pretext of excluding diseased cattle from English ports, might have been so applied as to shut out foreign competition in the cattle trade. But when it was discovered that the effect of the measure would be to raise meat to eighteen-pence and two shillings a pound, the Tory borough members threatened to revolt, and after a long and obstructive struggle in Committee concessions were extorted from the Government which satisfied the Opposition. The Government and the Opposition agreed to pass a Bill consolidating forty-five Factory and Workshop Acts—a most useful measure which removed many legal ambiguities. But no other Bills of importance were carried, and no debates of much consequence raised, save on foreign questions.

The Budget was introduced on the 4th of April. But for the money spent under the Vote of Credit, Sir Stafford Northcote would have had a balance in hand of £859,000. As it was he had a deficit on the accounts of 1877–78 of £2,640,000. Supposing that no change either in taxation or ordinary expenditure occurred in the coming year, he admitted that he would also have a deficit in the accounts of the coming year of £1,559,000. But besides this, Sir Stafford Northcote contended that he must make provision for an “extraordinary expenditure” of £1,000,000, or perhaps £1,500,000, in addition to what appeared in the regular estimates for the Army and Navy for 1878–79. The ordinary income and expenditure he estimated at £79,640,000, but his attempt to introduce the vicious system of bankrupt or half-bankrupt States, whose Governments confuse their accounts by mixing up ordinary and extraordinary expenditure could not conceal one fact. Adding his extraordinary expenditure to his past and estimated deficits, the existing taxation of the country would fail to meet the expenditure of 1878–79 by at least £5,300,000. Hence it was necessary to impose new taxes. Sir Stafford Northcote therefore added 2d. to the income-tax, and 4d. per pound to the duty on tobacco, but even then he estimated a deficit of about £1,500,000, which he added to the floating debt.

Parliament was prorogued on the 16th of August, and, amidst optimist anticipations of peace, an end was put to a Session in which the House of Commons, for the first time in the century, had permitted itself to be treated by the Ministry like a Bonapartist *Corps Législatif*. When it adjourned many people wondered why it had been summoned. In the stirring crises of the year the Government had on every momentous occasion carried out their policy without consulting it. The legislative work that it was allowed to do might have been deferred for another year without serious inconvenience. It had been converted into a court of registration for the decisions of a Minister who treated it as an ornamental appendage to a new system in which the Monarch and the Multitude, under his guidance, were the only real governing forces. Ministers, however, when they went down to their constituents in the autumn, and told them to hope for peace, plenty, and

reduced taxation, did not apparently know that a cunning trap had been set for them by Russia. Before Parliament rose there were rumours afloat that the policy of the Indian Government was becoming restless and disquieting.



SHERE ALI, AMEER OF CABUL.

Lord Lytton had put the vernacular Press under a harsh censorship. The native Princes were threatened, or they expected to be threatened, with a demand for the reduction of their armies. A frontier policy of perilous adventure was mooted, greatly to the alarm of experienced Indian officials like Lord Lawrence.

It has been already stated that Lord Salisbury, when Secretary of State for India, had a scheme in view for covering Afghanistan with European residents, and that Lord Northbrook resigned office rather than further it. In 1878 Lord Lytton found an opportunity made for him by Russia for developing this scheme, and he hastened to seize it. He had already estranged Shere Ali, the Afghan Ameer, by his menaces, and this prince was perhaps not indisposed to intrigue with a rival Power. When Lord Beaconsfield brought the Indian troops to Malta, Russia not only made secret preparations for the invasion of India, but sent a Mission to Cabul for the purpose of securing the co-operation of the Afghans. It does not appear that Shere Ali entered into any bargain with the Russian Envoys, whom he sent away as soon as he could, because whilst they were in Cabul he seems to have been very nervous about their safety. But the Indian Government, hearing of what was going on, demanded that they too should send an Embassy to Cabul, urging that the reception of the Russian Mission showed that Shere Ali's apprehensions as to the safety of Europeans in his capital were groundless. A Mahometan official of rank, the Nawab Gholeim Hasan Khan, was entrusted with the task of conveying the demand to Shere Ali, and he did his work honestly, and with great tact and skill. The Nawab, on the 30th of August, left Peshawur, where the British Envoy, Sir Neville Chamberlain, and his escort of a thousand troops were waiting for the Ameer's reply. The Nawab apparently did not see Shere Ali till the 12th of September, who told him that he did not like the idea of the Mission being forced on him. The advice of the Nawab, who appears in these transactions as the only diplomatist who correctly appreciated the situation, was to delay the Mission, "otherwise some harm will come." By "some harm" Gholeim Hasan Khan meant an Afghan war, at all times a dire calamity for India, whether it ended in victory or defeat. The Nawab, as the result of further negotiations, reported that Shere Ali was willing to send for the British Mission, and clear up any misunderstanding that might have arisen about his reception of the Russian Envoys, if the Indian Government would give him time. The Russians had come to Cabul uninvited, and they had all been sent away, save some who were ill, and who were to be sent back whenever they recovered. As the Nawab sensibly said, Shere Ali did not want his people to suspect that the British Mission was thrust on him. "If Mission," said the Nawab, "will await Ameer's permission, everything will be arranged, God willing, in the best manner, and no room will be left for complaint in future."* But during September all these details—afterwards revealed in the Blue-books—were concealed from the British people. The Indian Government primed the correspondents of the Press with mendacious accounts of Shere Ali's insulting refusal to receive a British Envoy, whereas he had not only invited a Russian Mission to Cabul in violation of his pledges to us, but was loading them

* Afghan Correspondence I., pp. 242, 243.

with attentions, whilst Sir Neville Chamberlain was kept ignominiously waiting his pleasure at Peshawur. British *prestige*, it was said, rendered it necessary to coerce the Ameer, and so Sir Neville Chamberlain was ordered to enter Afghan territory without the Ameer's permission, with a force "too large," as Lord Carnarvon said, "for a mission, and too small for an army." When the advance guard of the Mission came to the fort of Ali Musjid the Commandant stopped it. At the time the country was told in the inspired telegrams in the newspapers that the Commandant, Faiz Muhammed Khan, was violent and insulting, and threatened to shoot Major Cavagnari. When the Blue-book appeared with Major Cavagnari's account of the affair it showed that the Khan behaved with the greatest courtesy, and though he said he must, in obedience to orders, oppose the advance of the Mission, he had actually prevented his troops from firing on Cavagnari and his men. What need to expand the story? The Mission returned. A pretext for a quarrel with Shere Ali, which Lord Salisbury had instructed Lord Lytton to find, was at last discovered. War was declared on Afghanistan, and Parliament was summoned on the 5th of December to hear the news.

Of course Parliament was called into consultation too late. The Viceroy of India had deliberately put himself into a position to invite and receive a blow in the face from a semi-barbarous Asiatic prince. The Government were therefore compelled either to recall Lord Lytton, and treat the whole affair as a blunder, or avenge the rebuff which he had received by war. They chose the latter alternative, and the hearts of Liberal wirepullers were lifted up, because manifestly even Lord Beaconsfield's Administration could not survive such an escapade as a third Afghan war. The debates on the policy of the Government were dismal reading for those who knew what Afghan campaigns meant. The Government shrank from resting their case on the transactions which caused the war. It could not be concealed that on the 19th of August Lord Salisbury asked Russia to withdraw her mission from Cabul, and that on the 18th of September he received a scoffing reply informing him that the Mission was only a temporary one of courtesy. As Sir Charles Dilke put it, Lord Salisbury was naturally dissatisfied with this reply, but being "afraid to hit Russia, yet determined to hit somebody," he "hit Shere Ali." Ministers, however, took up a broader ground of defence. They said that the Russian advances in Asia rendered it necessary for England to secure the independence of Afghanistan. All Indian statesmen were agreed that this could be done by guaranteeing his throne to Shere Ali, he on his side giving the Indian Government control over his policy. Shere Ali had been always willing to accept the guarantee and the pledge to defend him against foreign and domestic foes. But he would never consent to pay for it by putting his country under a diplomatic or military protectorate. On no consideration would he permit European agents to be stationed at Cabul, though he had no objection to receive Mussulman agents, and neither Lord Mayo nor Lord Northbrook thought it wise to press him on the point. They confined themselves to a

promise of aid, reserving to themselves the right of determining when they should give it. Shere Ali was not satisfied with this arrangement, but he had to make the best of it. In 1875 Lord Salisbury urged Lord Northbrook to find some pretext for forcing European residents on the Ameer. Lord Northbrook refused and resigned. Lord Lytton took his place. Lord Lytton roused Shere Ali's suspicions at the outset by occupying Quetta. At a conference at Peshawur in 1876, between Sir Lewis Pelly and Shere Ali's representative, Mir Akbor, menaces were exchanged for persuasion, and even the conditional promise of support given by Lord Mayo and Lord Northbrook to Shere Ali was withdrawn. This aggravated Shere Ali's suspicions, and it was while he was in this frame of mind that Lord Lytton attempted to force a British Mission upon him. The theory of the Government was that as diplomacy had failed to make the Ameer accept our protectorate, resort must be had to coercion. This had led to war, it was true. But war must end in victory, and victory in the occupation of the southern part of Afghanistan, which, as Lord Beaconsfield said, would give India a "scientific frontier." The objection to his idea was that to push our outposts farther north was to put ourselves at a disadvantage in defending India. Not only would the occupation of Afghanistan be ruinously costly, but it would lengthen and attenuate the line of our communications with our base—a line, moreover, which would run through the lands of wild and fanatical hill-tribes. The debates in both Houses perhaps served to render the war unpopular. But it had begun, and it was absurd to refuse supplies to carry it on, because such a refusal merely exposed British troops to disaster in the field. However, it was notorious that in the majorities who supported the Government were many who, like Lord Derby, felt forced to support in action a policy which in opinion they disapproved.

During the Session of 1878 only one matter personally affecting the interests of the Queen came up for discussion. On the 25th she sent to both Houses a Message announcing the approaching marriage of the Duke of Connaught with the Princess Louise, third daughter of Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia, the celebrated cavalry leader, popularly known as "The Red Prince." He was a man of large private fortune, and his daughter was described by Lord Beaconsfield as "distinguished for her intelligence and accomplishments, and her winning simplicity of thought and manner." As for the Duke of Connaught, Lord Napier of Magdala bore testimony to his efficiency as a soldier. In the House of Commons an addition of £10,000 a year was voted to the Duke's income, thus raising it to £25,000, of which £6,000 a year was to be settled on his wife in the event of her surviving him. The vote was passed without a division, the only protest made coming from Sir Charles Dilke, who asserted that no good precedent could be cited for such a provision for a Prince, when it was not manifestly a provision for succession to the Crown.

The only great public function of the year in which the Queen took part



THE QUEEN REVIEWING THE FLEET AT SPITHEAD.

was the Review of the Fleet at Spithead on the 13th of August. The spectacle was marred by the storm of wind and rain, which too often spoils naval reviews, but it was one which had a special interest. It was designed to show the country what kind of naval defence could be organised on short notice, amidst rumours of war, when the Channel Fleet was absent in foreign waters. It represented a naval force which, but for its ordnance which was utterly obsolete and inefficient, would have been equal in strength to the navy of any of the Continental Powers, and the Queen saw for the first time the manœuvring of two malevolent-looking little torpedo boats, which astonished her by dashing about in all directions at the rate of twenty-one knots an hour. At noon the ships were dressed. At half-past three the Royal Yacht with the Queen on deck passed down the lines. Salutes were fired, and yards manned, and her Majesty, accompanied by the Prince and Princess of Wales, Princess Beatrice, and the Lords of the Admiralty, was enthusiastically cheered. When the Queen's vessel emerged from the lines it was followed by a gay flotilla of yachts. Those that were sailing craft luffed their wind and, headed by Mr. Brassey's *Sunbeam*, went round by starboard, the steamers going round by port, and with the Royal Yacht in the centre the brilliant pleasure fleet came back with the Squadron. All evolutions were countermanded on account of the weather, but at night the Fleet was illuminated.

At Paris, on the 12th of June, there died George V., ex-King of Hanover, Duke of Cumberland, grandson of George III. of England and first cousin of the Queen. Court mourning was ordered for him, though it was not very generally displayed. The old jealousy with which the people regarded English Princes, who had interests separate from England, accounted for their indifference to his death. Nor was there any strong family sentiment at Court to counteract this feeling. On the contrary, the sentiment of the Queen's family was as anti-Hanoverian as that of the nation. She had not forgiven the treasonable intrigues which his father, her uncle, King Ernest Augustus of Hanover—the most universally hated of all the sons of George III.—carried on with the Orange Tories to set up Salic law in England, and usurp her throne. She had unpleasant memories of his arrogance in persistently conferring the Guelphic Order on Englishmen, not only without asking her permission, but in defiance of her prohibition, as if in suggestive assertion of an unsundered hereditary right of English sovereignty. More recently the Queen had been still further offended by the pretensions of his son, her cousin George V., to sanction or veto the marriages of English princes and princesses, as male head of the House of Brunswick-Sonneberg. His attempt to treat the marriage of the Duchess of Teck (the Princess Mary of Cambridge) as a mere morganatic connection, and his refusal to let the Duke of Teck sit beside the Duchess at dinner, had also strained the relations between the Queen and her cousin. Still, in 1866, she had, in response

to his appeal, used her influence on his behalf with the German Emperor. She had even pressed Lord Derby and Lord Stanley to save Hanover from Prussian annexation, and though they refused, she had induced them to mediate on his behalf in order to secure for him a comfortable personal position as a dethroned monarch. His misfortunes roused her sympathies, and when he died, so far as the Queen was concerned, all feuds with the Hanoverian branch of the Royal Family were buried in his grave.

But the end of the year brought a more bitter sorrow to the Queen than the death of George V. The Princess Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse, died in extremely touching circumstances. She had spent the summer months with her children at Eastbourne, where she had endeared herself to the people by her sweetness of disposition, and by the personal interest she manifested in the poor of the town. She was usually to be seen visiting the cottages of the sick in the fishing quarter. She had taken a keen interest in studying the management of certain charitable institutions, evidently with a view to making use of her knowledge when she returned to Darmstadt, and a charming visit to Osborne completed a holiday that was for her full of happiness. Her life was uneventful at Darmstadt till the 8th of November, when her daughter, the Princess Victoria, was smitten with diphtheria. The Grand Duchess was herself a skilled and scientifically-trained nurse, and she tended her child personally. She was the first to detect the appearance of the diphtheritic membrane in the little Princess's throat, and she promptly attacked it with inhalations of chlorate of potash. In spite of careful isolation, the whole family, including the Grand Duke, with the exception of the Princess Elizabeth, caught the disease, and it need hardly be said that the strength of the Grand Duchess soon began to give way under the strain of mental anxiety and bodily fatigue. The Princess May died, but on the 25th of November the Grand Duke recovered. On the 7th of December the Grand Duchess went to the railway station to see the Duchess of Edinburgh, and next day she too was prostrate with diphtheria. Lord Beaconsfield, in his speech of condolence in the House of Lords on the 16th of December, described her, with ornate rhetoric, as receiving "the kiss of death" from one of her children, and he recommended the tragic incident as fit to be commemorated by the painter, the sculptor, or the artist in gems. There was no foundation for this histrionic flight. Nobody knew how the Princess caught the contagion, but her biographer states "it is supposed that she must have taken the infection when one day, in her grief and despair, she had laid her head on her sick husband's pillow."* Her sufferings were severe and protracted, and on the 13th of December it was seen that she must die. Still she lingered on. In the afternoon she welcomed her husband with great joy. She saw her lady-in-waiting, and even read two letters, the last one being

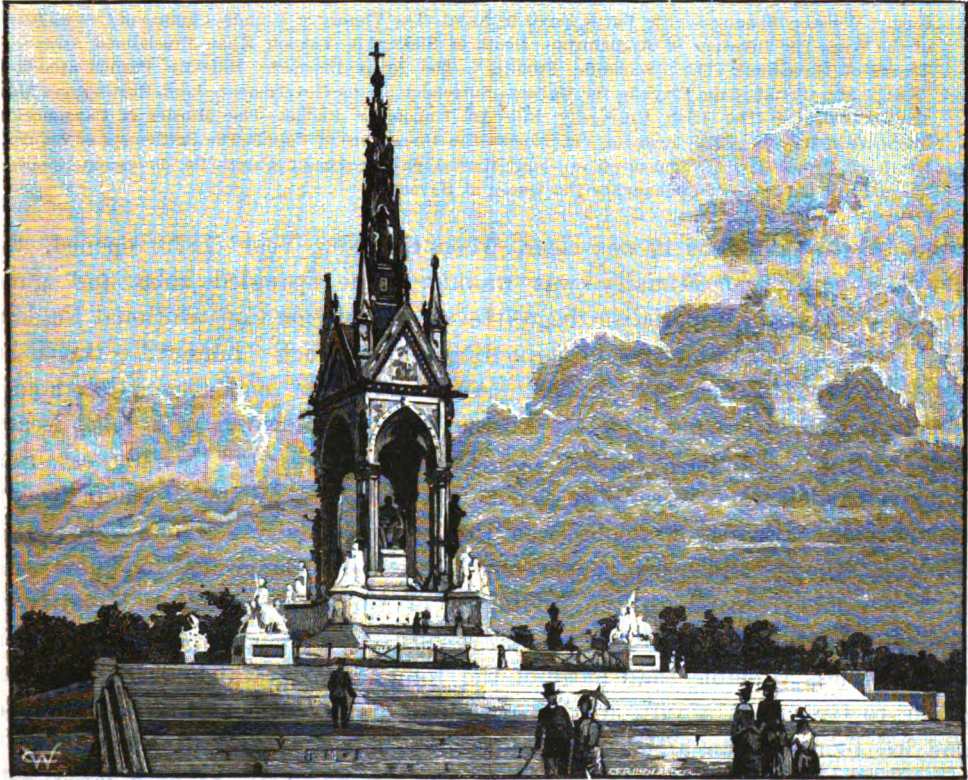
* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 375.

from the Queen, her mother. Then she fell asleep and never woke again. At half-past eight on the morning of the 14th, the anniversary of her father's death, she passed away, quietly murmuring to herself these words: "From Friday to Saturday, four weeks—May—dear papa!" All through her life she had worshipped her father's memory with passionate devotion, and in death his name was the last on her lips.

The grief of the Queen was only equalled by that of the Prince of Wales, who seems to have regarded the Grand Duchess as his favourite sister. As for the English people, they mourned for her with simple-minded sincerity. The character of the Princess Alice—so full of sense and enterprise, and high-spirited self-helpfulness—had been to them peculiarly attractive. She had won their gratitude by her devotion to her mother in the first hours of her widowhood, and to the Heir Apparent, when in 1871 his life hung in the balance. That her daily existence was clouded with sordid cares due to straitened means was not known to her countrymen till after her death. But they were well aware that much domestic sorrow had entered into her life. Her efforts to raise the condition of her sex in Germany procured for her many enemies in a country where it is deemed desirable to reduce the house-mothers to the position of upper servants in their families, who, however, do their work without claiming wages. Sticklers for Court etiquette were shocked by the unconventional activity manifested by the Princess in furthering the organisation of charitable and educational movements. Even the poor in most instances viewed her visits to their homes—visits which she ultimately found prudent to make *incognito*—with suspicious hostility. She had the character in fact of being bent on revolutionising the domestic and social life of Darmstadt by English ideas. She loved learning, and delighted in the society of men of letters and artists, who were always her most favoured guests. Hence it was bruited about that she was an infidel, and a foe to religion. Undoubtedly at one time, when she cultivated close relations with Friedrich Strauss, under whom she studied the works of Voltaire, her theological views ceased to be orthodox. But her musings on the mystery of life, the problem of duty, the conflict between Will and Law in the world, reveal a profoundly reverent and eagerly upstriving spirit, ever struggling towards the light. Some day the story of the spiritual conflict that went on in the still depths of this pure and gentle soul may be told. Here it is enough to say that personal influences played a great part in bringing it to a happy issue. Some time after her philosophical conclusions had crumbled away like dust, one of her most intimate relatives writes, "She told me herself, in the most simple and touching manner, how this change had come about. I could not listen to her story without tears. The Princess told me she owed it all to her child's death, and to the influence of a Scotch gentleman, a friend of the Grand Duke's and Grand Duchess's," who was residing with his family at Darmstadt.* "I owe all

* The death of the child here alluded to was that of her little son Fritz, who accidentally fell from one of the palace windows on the 29th of May, 1873.

to this kind friend," she said, "who exercised such a beneficial influence on my religious views; yet people say so much that is cruel and unjust of him, and of my acquaintance with him."* In Germany, her biographer † admits "her life and work were not easy," and she had not the intrepid intellect, the ardent temperament, the caustic wit and the soaring ambition, which enabled her sister, the Crown Princess, to conquer for herself a position of dominant influence in the midst of an unsympathetic Court, and an antipathetic Society. Perhaps this explains why through life she had every year been drawn more closely



THE ALBERT MEMORIAL, KENSINGTON.

to the land of her birth, where her worth was more justly appreciated than in the land of her exile. "How deep was her feeling in this respect," writes the Princess Christian in her touching preface to her sister's memoirs, "was testified by a request which she made to her husband, in anticipation of her death, that an English flag might be laid on her coffin; accompanying the wish with a modest expression of a hope that no one in the land of her adoption would take umbrage at her desire to be borne to her rest with the old English colours above her."

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 385.

† Dr. Sell, a good clergyman of Darmstadt, who was entrusted with her papers and her correspondence with the Queen, and who knew the Princess well during the greater part of her Darmstadt life.

CHAPTER XXII.

PEACE WHERE THERE IS NO PEACE.

Ominous Bye-Elections—The Spangles of Imperialism—Disturbed state of Eastern Europe—Origin of the Quarrel with the Zulus—Cetewayo's Feud with the Boers—A "Prancing Pro-Consul"—Sir Bartle Frere's Ultimatum to the Zulu King—War Declared—The Crime and its Retribution—The Disaster of Isandhlwana—The Defence of Rorke's Drift—Demands for the Recall of Sir Bartle Frere—Censured but not Dismissed—Sir Garnet Wolseley Supersedes Sir Bartle Frere in Natal—The Victory of Ulundi—Capture of Cetewayo—End of the War—The Invasion of Afghanistan—Death of Shere Ali—Yakoob Khan Proclaimed Ameer—The Treaty of Gundamuk—The "Scientific Frontier"—The Army Discipline Bill—Mr. Parnell attacks the "Cat"—Mr. Chamberlain Plays to the Gallery—Surrender of the Government—Lord Hartington's Motion against Flogging—The Irish University Bill—An Unpopular Budget—The Murder of Cavagnari and Massacre of his Suite—The Army of Vengeance—The Re-capture of Cabul—The Settlement of Zululand—Death of Prince Louis Napoleon—The Court-Martial on Lieutenant Carey—Its Judgment Quashed—Marriage of the Duke of Connaught—The Queen at Baveno.

FROM the bye-elections it was clear, when the New Year (1879) opened, that the *prestige* of the Ministry was waning. The spangled robe and gaudy diadem of Asiatic Imperialism began to sit uneasily on Constitutional England. The Treaty of Berlin had not brought Englishmen much "honour." But it had not even brought Europe "peace." Austria had to make good her hold of Bosnia and Herzegovina by war. Albania was in the hands of a rebel League that executed "Jeddart justice" on Turkish Pashas of the highest rank. Bulgaria and Thrace were only saved from anarchy by the Russian army of occupation. Eastern Roumelia was the scene of daily conflicts between the Turkish troops, and the people of Greece were clamorous to know when Turkey would respond to the invitation of the Conference, and rectify the Hellenic frontier. The discovery that Cyprus was a poor pestilential island, infinitely less valuable than most of the Ionian group, which Englishmen had given to Greece as a gift, was a profound disappointment to popular hopes, and led to an undue and exaggerated depreciation of its value as a place of arms. The Anglo-Turkish Convention was already seen to be a farce. The Sultan, after the resources of diplomatic menace had been well-nigh exhausted, conceded to the agents of England in Asia Minor a few illusory rights of surveillance. But he set on foot no reforms, and he made it plain that he would resist to the death any attempt to "open up" his Asiatic provinces under a British Protectorate to the enterprise of the British projector and pioneer. The Afghan War was unpopular, and though victory did not prove, as was feared, inconstant to our arms, the people seemed convinced, from the history of the first and second Afghan Wars, that a triumph would be almost as disastrous in its cost to India as a defeat. It was impossible now to conceal the fact that when the Indian troops were brought to Malta, the country was placed in a position of far greater peril than had been imagined. While Ministers were wasting their energies in protecting more or less imaginary

interests in Eastern Europe, they were apparently quite ignorant that their policy had exposed the vital interests of the Empire to attack in Asia. Nay, it was seen that their policy of irritating and menacing the Afghan Ameer, and of terrifying the Native Princes with enforced disarmament, had rendered it easy for Russia, without doing more than giving our enemies and discontented feudatories merely some unofficial support, to shake the fabric of Indian Empire to its very centre. To put the Imperial Crown of India down among the stakes in Lord Beaconsfield's game with Russia in Europe was magnificent. But men of sense and prudence now began to suspect that it was not good business or good diplomacy. Never was England less restful or less easy in mind. Abroad Lord Beaconsfield, as was said, had created a situation which was neither peace with its security, nor war with its happy chances. At home the classes were groaning over the collapse of their most remunerative investments, and the masses writhing under a fall of wages, which, in many trades, amounted to fifty per cent. To complete the popular feeling of depression, it was plain that the Government were fast drifting into another Kaffir War. On the 3rd of February, 1879, in fact, it was officially announced that hostilities with the Zulus had begun.

There is no difficulty in understanding the causes of the Zulu War. The Zulu king (Cetewayo) had ever been a staunch ally of England. But he had a blood-feud with the Boers of the Transvaal, and he claimed part of their territory as having been originally stolen by them from his race. When England in an evil moment annexed the Transvaal, she found that she took over with it the quarrel of the Boers with the Zulus. Cetewayo pressed his claims all the more confidently that a friendly Power now held the land which had been taken from him. In every colony there is a clique of land-speculators, who also, as a rule, form the War Party, and, by a singular coincidence, net most of the profits that are to be derived from a colonial war waged at the expense of the British taxpayer. This Party in Natal ridiculed the notion of giving Cetewayo his land. They also stirred up a war panic, vowing that the Zulus were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to pounce upon Natal and exterminate the Europeans. Sir Bartle Frere—"a prancing pro-consul," as Sir William Harcourt called him—was High Commissioner at the Cape, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces there was Lord Chelmsford. A more ominous combination could hardly be imagined. Sir Bartle Frere even in India had been a hot annexationist. He had the restless brain to devise schemes of conquest, whilst his military colleague had neither the brain nor nerve to carry them out. The Blue-books indicate that Sir Bartle Frere had been preparing beforehand a grand project of conquest in South Africa.* Unfortunately, Sir M. Hicks-Beach was not sharp enough to detect and blight this scheme in the bud, and it is doubtful if he even suspected its existence till he was galvanised

* See South African Correspondence (C 2220), pp. 136—320.

into vigilance by the startling ultimatum which Sir Bartle Frere suddenly sent to the Zulu king. The award of the British Boundary Commissioners on the dispute between the Zulus and the Boers had been in favour of the Zulus. It was given in June, 1878. Yet it had been kept back by Sir Bartle Frere, apparently to stimulate the War Party among the Zulus with the provocation of delay. Then when it was communicated to King Cetewayo, there was tacked on to it an irrelevant and menacing demand that King Cetewayo should immediately disband his whole army. "To make the case our own," wrote Lord Blachford, one of the highest living authorities on Colonial Policy, "it is as if the Emperor of Germany, in concluding with us a Treaty of Commerce, suddenly annexed a notice that he would make war on us in six weeks unless before the expiration of that time we burnt our Navy."* And the ultimatum was not only a crime, but a hideous blunder. To annihilate instead of utilising the Zulu power was to relieve the Boers of the Transvaal from the pressure on their flank that alone prevented them from throwing off the British yoke. But it was of no use to argue the case on the grounds of justice or common sense. "The men who had been in the country"—who always come forward to defend every act of folly that is about to be perpetrated in a distant colony—dinned their defence of Sir Bartle Frere into the ears of Englishmen, who were at last half persuaded that it must be the duty of England to exterminate the Zulus, when a satrap like Sir Bartle Frere was eager to annihilate them in the interests of Christianity. Moreover, as in the case of the Afghan War, the people were kept in utter ignorance of the arrogant ultimatum by which Frere had gone out of his way to fix a quarrel on King Cetewayo.

But if the crime was rank, the retribution by which it was avenged was swift and stern. Chelmsford's advance guard crossed the Tugela on the 12th of January. A petty success was recorded at Ekowe on the 7th, and then on the 22nd of January the English column at Isandhlwana was smitten as with the sword of Gideon. Our troops were beaten not only in the actual conflict, but they were out-manceuvred and out-generalled. The barbarians under Cetewayo had fought like lions, and they had inflicted on a British army a defeat so disgraceful that the history of half a century supplies no parallel to it. Frere, like a reckless gambler, had staked everything on this cast of the die. Neither he nor Chelmsford had made provision for a disaster, and the result was that the rout of Isandhlwana left the whole colony of Natal, even then discounting the spoils of victory, open to invasion. Nothing, in fact, stood between the Europeans in Natal and extermination, save the little post of Rorke's Drift. There Lieutenants Bromhead and Chard, with a handful of men, stemmed the tide of invasion, and redeemed the honour of England which had been smirched by the political incapacity of Frere, and the military failure of Chelmsford. In vain did the Queen and the Duke of

* *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1879.



ISANDHLWANA: THE DASH WITH THE COLOURS.

Cambridge send sympathetic messages to the seat of war. It was reinforcements that were needed, if the English in South-East Africa were not to be driven into the sea. Parliament, when it met on the 8th of February, was as wrathful as the country. The Government had let Sir Bartle Frere drag the country into a war, which in a few days the disaster of Isandhlwana showed they were incompetent to conduct with credit to the Empire. If Ministers were not able to emerge, without ignominy, from a conflict with the Zulu king, what must have happened had they been allowed to challenge the Czar of Muscovy to mortal combat? Criticism was felt to be futile, in view of the pressing need to retrieve the disgrace of a defeat, none the less ignominious that the Government and their agents had courted it. But a stern demand was heard on all sides for the recall of Frere and Chelmsford, a demand which, like a vote of censure that was proposed in the House of Lords by Lord Lansdowne on the 25th, and in the Commons by Sir Charles Dilke on the 11th of March, Ministers evaded by administering a strong rebuke to the High Commissioner. As a man of spirit, Frere would have naturally resigned after this rebuke. But he held on to his place, and this was so discreditable, that to account for his conduct a strange theory was mooted. It was said that private letters were sent to him by high personages, some of them connected with the Government, assuring him that the censure of the Secretary of State was not meant to be taken as real, but had been penned merely to save Ministers from a Parliamentary defeat.* Sir M. Hicks-Beach's despatch with the censure ended with these words: "But I have no desire to withdraw the confidence hitherto reposed in you." Such was the feeble manner in which the Government dealt with a satrap who had virtually usurped the prerogative of the Sovereign to declare war. Soon after the Ministry had warded off the vote of censure in Parliament, the country was again agitated by tidings of further reverses in Zululand, and it was not till the 21st of April that the Government could announce that Pearson's column, which had been locked up at Ekowe since the outbreak of the war, had been able to save itself by retreat. The indignation of the country grew apace, and at last it was found necessary to allay it by superseding Sir Bartle Frere's authority in Natal and the Transvaal. Sir Garnet Wolseley was accordingly sent to take supreme command at the scene of action. Ere he could arrive Chelmsford, stimulated into action by Colonel Evelyn Wood, had however taken a decisive step. He gave the Zulus battle at Ulundi on the 3rd of July, and won a victory which put an end to the war. Cetewayo was taken prisoner on the 28th of August, and, despite the efforts made by Sir Garnet Wolseley and others to set up another Government for

* Sir M. Hicks-Beach censured Frere for not sending his *ultimatum* home for approval before delivering it. In fact, Frere's claim was virtually that a Colonial Governor had the right to declare war without consulting the Crown or Parliament. The majority that supported the Government in the Lords was 61. In the Commons Sir C. Dilke's motion was defeated by a majority of 60.

the one which had been destroyed, Zululand lapsed into the confusion and anarchy in which it has since remained.

The Afghan War had been more skilfully managed. The British invaders overcame all resistance, and when Parliament assembled General Stewart was in possession of Candahar, and Shere Ali had fled from Cabul. Soon afterwards he died, and his heir, Yakoob, came with his submission to the British camp at Gundamuk. There, on the 25th of May, he signed a Treaty which bound the Indian Government to give him a subsidy of £60,000 a year and defend him against his enemies, in return for which he ceded the "scientific frontier," and agreed to manage his foreign policy in accordance with the advice of a British Resident who was to be received in Cabul. This gleam of success neutralised the effect of the reverses in South Africa, and both Houses voted their thanks to the Indian Viceroy and to the Generals who had carried out the expedition. The Government had no difficulty in persuading Parliament to sanction a loan of £2,000,000 without interest to India, to enable her to pay the expenses of the campaign. In fact, when the Session closed Ministers were jubilant at having upset the predictions of the experienced Anglo-Indians, who had declared that it was impossible to keep a British Resident at Cabul. They assured the nation not only that the British Resident was there, but that the Cabulees were delighted to receive him.

The severe winter of 1879 aggravated the distress which had settled like a blight on the labouring and trading classes, and the existence of which Ministers attempted to ignore. They were, indeed, so ill-advised as to propose a grant of money for the relief of the Turks, who were enduring great sufferings in the Rhodope district. But some of the Tory borough Members threatened to rebel if this project were persisted in, and it was withdrawn. The programme of domestic legislation was long and ambitious, and Ministers very properly began the Session by an attempt to guard against obstruction. They carried a rule which prevented any amendment from being made to the motion that the Speaker of the House of Commons leave the Chair on going into Committee of Supply on Monday nights. This enabled a Minister who came to explain his Estimates to do so at once, because it prevented private Members from interposing, between him and the Committee, with long and irrelevant debates on real and imaginary grievances. The chief measure of the Session was a Bill to consolidate the Mutiny Act and the Articles of War—a measure which still further extended the Parliamentary control of the Army by incorporating these Articles into an Act of Parliament. It was read a second time on the 7th of April; but when it went into Committee it attracted the attention of Mr. Parnell and his followers.

Mr. Parnell now appeared in the character of a British patriot and philanthropist who took an absorbing interest in perfecting the discipline of the Army and in ameliorating the condition of the private soldier. As in

the case of the Prisons Bill, he had mastered every detail of the subject, only he had become a much more formidable personage than he had been in 1877. He had deposed Mr. Butt from the leadership of the Irish party, and, for all practical purposes, he had taken his place.* He had shown Ireland that he had been able to procure for her, by one short year's obstruction in 1877, not only the endowment of her secondary education, but even the release of several Fenian convicts in 1878—a year, said the *Times*, marked by the cessation of obstruction, and the good relations which



BAVENO, ON LAGO MAGGIORE.

obtained between the Government and the Home Rulers. In March he had discussed the Army Estimates with an ability and knowledge which even the Minister for War recognised; and when the Army Discipline Bill was sent before the House in Committee Mr. Parnell was conspicuous for his cleverness in exposing its anomalies, its obsolete applications of the principles of martial law, and its prevailing bias in favour of the officers and against the rank-and-file. When the 44th clause was reached, Mr. Parnell and his friends made a stand against the continuance of flogging in the Army, and at this stage Liberals vied with Ministerialists in denouncing their obstructive tactics. But Mr. Parnell persisted. He had foreseen that he was raising a popular

* Mr. Parnell was not formally elected leader. After Mr. Butt's retirement, in 1878, the Irish party elected, not a leader, but a Sessional Chairman. The office was filled by Mr. Shaw during 1879.

cry. A General Election was at hand, and he knew that the moment it was discovered that he had touched the heart of the constituencies, it would be a question with the Liberals and Conservatives who were then storming at him as to who should be the first to fall into line with him. Mr. Parnell's cynical prevision was justified by events.

Both parties, to do them justice, held out manfully night after night against



THE VILLA CLARA, RAVENNA.

the pressure of this appeal to the sordid side of their political character. But the longer the game of obstruction on the flogging question was played, the stronger grew the feeling among the populace against flogging, and night after night Mr. Parnell was at his post with cold malice giving an additional turn to the electoral screw. The first to succumb to the torture was Mr. Chamberlain, and something like a faded smile flitted across Mr. Parnell's stony visage when that successful and practical politician scurried into his camp. Mr. Chamberlain's unexpected speech against flogging fell like a bombshell in the House of Commons, where it was understood that Englishmen of all parties had entered

into an honourable understanding to meet Mr. Parnell's obstructive policy with a firm and united resistance. It was a speech which, as Sir Robert Peel very justly said, "entirely upset the calculations of the Government,"* a fact which was forgotten or concealed by those critics of Lord Beaconsfield's Administration who afterwards vilipended them for their weak and vacillating attitude to this question. No sooner had Mr. Chamberlain deserted to the Irish ranks than he found himself the object of unsparing obloquy which Liberals and Conservatives impartially bestowed on him. Of course other Radicals, if they desired to save their seats in a General Election, were forced to follow him, and as soon as Mr. Parnell found that he had lured nearly the whole Radical party into his net, he and the Irish Members suddenly vanished from the scene as leaders in the struggle. They were never absent from their posts, and they never failed to support the cause they had espoused by their votes. But they thrust the work of obstruction and of speaking on the Liberal and Radical Members who had tardily become their allies. The advantage they gained was soon apparent. Mr. Chamberlain speedily lost his temper, and not only publicly quarrelled with Lord Hartington, but one evening he even insulted him amidst furious cries of protest from the Liberal benches, by describing him as "the *late* Leader of the Liberal Party."† Nothing could be more complete than the disintegration of the Liberal Party which Mr. Chamberlain thus produced, unless it were the perplexity of the Ministry. The Tories did not dare to stand by the lash as a British institution unless they got what they had been promised—the loyal support of the Opposition. Yet under Mr. Chamberlain's obstructive agitation, and under popular pressure from the constituencies, it was clear that the Opposition was going over piecemeal to the opponents of flogging. What wonder, then, that Colonel Stanley, the Minister of War, temporised, when Mr. Chamberlain extorted from him a damaging schedule, giving a list of the offences for which a soldier could be flogged?

Debates instinct with a strange kind of fierce frivolity raged as to the sort of "cat" that should be used in flogging a soldier. Infinite time was wasted in discussing whether the word "lashes" should be used instead of "stripes" in the Act, Mr. Chamberlain being beaten in his effort to get the word "stripes" inserted. Endless discussions arose as to the maximum number of lashes that should be sanctioned. When there was any sign of hesitancy Irish obstructionists were always ready to join in the fray, and not only screw Mr. Chamberlain up to the "sticking point," but ironically suggest that Liberal and Conservative leaders would alike find it profitable to go to the country in the coming election, with a "new cat and an old Constitution," as a taking "cry." Colonel Stanley at last gave way, and offered to reduce the *maximum*

* Hansard, Vol. CCXLVII., p. 53.

† It must be mentioned that Lord Hartington had in a previous speech haughtily repudiated all responsibility for the action of Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Hopwood, and other Radicals who had now allied themselves with the Parnellites.

number of lashes from fifty to twenty-five, whereupon Mr. Chamberlain showed that he was as dangerous to run away from as Mr. Parnell. Indeed, all through these debates Mr. Chamberlain fought the battle of obstruction with an amount of courage and fertility of resource that placed him in the front rank of Parliamentary gladiators. Friends and foes alike admitted that but for his asperity of temper he might have disputed the palm of success even with Mr. Parnell himself. The fight was virtually won when Colonel Stanley proposed to reduce the number of lashes from fifty to twenty-five. Even Lord Hartington then made haste to go over to Mr. Chamberlain whilst it was yet time, just as Mr. Chamberlain had made haste to desert to Mr. Parnell.

On the 17th of July Lord Hartington accordingly proposed that corporal punishment should be abolished for all military offences. Though on a division he was beaten by a majority of 106, it was felt that the "cat-o'-nine-tails" was doomed whenever a Liberal Government came into power. It was foreseen that at the next election many Conservative Members would be driven from their seats, because they had been forced to vote in the majority, and the Ministerialists denounced Lord Hartington's surrender to Mr. Parnell and Mr. Chamberlain with exceeding bitterness. As Lord Salisbury said in addressing a Tory meeting in the City of London, Lord Hartington was like the Sultan, because, though he had a group of political Bashi-Bazouks in his party, whom he could not control, and whose conduct he politely deprecated, yet his motion showed he would not hesitate to profit by their misdeeds, when the conflict of parties was fought out at the polls. As it was, the Government were only able to obtain their majority by agreeing to restrict corporal punishment to those offences which were then punishable by death.

The only other Bill of importance passed during the Session was one dealing with Irish University education. It abolished the Queen's University, and substituted for it the Royal University of Ireland, an examining body like the University of London, empowered to grant degrees, except in Theology, to all qualified students who might present themselves.

The Budget, as might be expected, was by no means a popular one. Since 1878 extraordinary expenditure, incurred on account of an adventurous Foreign Policy, had simply been treated as a deferred liability. On the 3rd of April Sir Stafford Northcote, in explaining his Budget, admitted that the revenue, which he had estimated at £88,230,000, had fallen short of that sum by £110,000. As for his expenditure, it had exceeded his estimate by £4,388,000. He had therefore no money in hand with which to meet the deferred liabilities of 1878-79; in fact, he was face to face with a fresh deficit. Comparing his actual revenue with his actual expenditure, the deficit was seen to amount to £2,291,000. The position, then, was this. In 1878 he had paid off £2,750,000 by bills, which he thought he would have been able to meet in 1879. Now he found he could not meet them. These he reserved

for another year, adding to them a fresh set of bills for the new deficit, which transferred to the future a lump sum of debt equal to £5,350,000. Leaving this item out of account, and ignoring the cost of the South African War, he estimated the expenditure of 1879-80 at £81,153,000. The revenue, he hoped, would amount to £83,000,000, so that the estimated surplus he



THE DUCHESS OF CONNAUGHT.

expected would suffice to cover the cost of the operations in Zululand. It was a dismal statement, at best. But ere the Session ended it was discovered that the real position of affairs was even worse than Sir Stafford Northcote had admitted. In August he had to inform the House that the Zulu War was costing the country £500,000 a month, and that he must get a Vote of Credit of £3,000,000. This, with an addition of £64,000 to the ordinary Estimates, raised the original estimate of expenditure to £84,217,000. Thus the estimated surplus of £1,847,000 vanished, and in its place there stood a deficit of £1,217,000 for 1879-80, which might probably be increased. The

plan of evading the payment of debt, so as to render a costly policy palatable to the electors, was thus a failure. The longer the payment of the debt was deferred the more it grew, and it was clear that the finances of the country were drifting into inextricable confusion.

Parliament was prorogued on the 15th of August, and it had hardly risen



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when the predicted calamity in Afghanistan arrived. As experienced Anglo-Indians had anticipated, Sir Louis Cavagnari, the British Envoy at Cabul, was murdered, and his suite massacred (3rd September), by the fanatical soldiers of the Ameer. During the short period of his residence, Cavagnari had justified the arguments of those who averred that a European Envoy would never be able to furnish his Government with any valuable information from Cabul. The only intelligence worth having that was received by the Indian Government came from native sources, and it had consisted of warnings

that Cavagnari's life was in grave peril.* It was necessary to order an Army of Vengeance to enter Afghanistan, and this was done. But, in England, the verdict of public opinion was that Lord Beaconsfield's Afghan policy had proved an irredeemable failure. It was no longer possible to dream of avoiding the costly and harassing annexation of Afghanistan, by extending over it a veiled British Protectorate, to be administered by a British Envoy at Cabul as Political Resident. There was no alternative but a military occupation, which meant that England must be ready to hold down by the sword a country as large as France, as impracticable for military movements as Switzerland, and inhabited by wild fanatical tribes as fierce, lawless, and savage as the hordes of Ghengis Khan.† The Army of Vengeance under Sir Frederick Roberts, after much toil and many struggles, fought its way through the Shutargardan Pass, and captured Cabul on the 12th of October. The Ameer, Yakoob Khan, was forced to abdicate, and he was deported to Peshawur, and in the meantime Roberts governed the country by sword and halter. The hillmen attacked his communications. The attitude of the Cabulees was, from the first, threatening, though General Roberts disregarded the warnings of the Persian newswriters, who told him that Afghanistan was going to rise about his ears. On the 14th of December the insurrection broke out in Cabul, and Roberts had to leave the city and fight his way round to the cantonments at Sherpore, where his supplies were stored, and where he took refuge, and was soon besieged. In fact, in the middle of December the public learnt with extreme anxiety that every British post in Afghanistan was surrounded by swarms of fierce insurgents, and that a rescuing army must be organised at Peshawur without delay. Cabul itself was in the hands of Mahomed Jan, the victorious Afghan leader. Bitterly did Englishmen recall Lord Beaconsfield's speech a month before at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, in which he assured his audience that the operations in Afghanistan "had been conducted with signal success," that the North-West frontier of India had been strengthened and secured, and that British supremacy had been asserted in Central Asia. Fortunately, ere the year closed, General Gough, who had advanced from Gundamuk, was able to join hands with Roberts, who again made himself master of Cabul.

In South Africa affairs began to assume a more hopeful aspect towards the end of the year. After the victory of Ulundi the Zulu chiefs one after another submitted to the British Government. Cetewayo—who, as we have seen,

* These warnings were published at Lahore from Persian newswriters in Cabul. They showed that even as far back as the 16th of August the Ameer had implored Cavagnari not to ride about the streets, as he ran the risk of being murdered. At this time Lord Lytton was assuring the Government, on the authority of messages which he alleged he had received from Cavagnari, that all was going on well in Cabul.

† Colonel Osborn, in an article in the *Contemporary Review* for October, 1879, estimated that a British army 40,000 strong would be needed to occupy Afghanistan.

had been captured on the 28th of August—was sent as a State prisoner to Cape Town, and Sir Garnet Wolseley made peace with the Zulu chiefs and people.* The Kaffir chief, Secocoeni, who had defied the Government before the Zulu War broke out, was attacked and subdued. He had been secretly aided by the Boers, who had warned Sir Bartle Frere that they did not accept the annexation of the Transvaal. At Pretoria Sir Garnet Wolseley, however, told the Boer leaders that the annexation which they were resisting was irreversible, and the Boers for a time confined themselves to obstructing the judicial and fiscal administration of the British Government.

The Zulu War was marked by one incident that powerfully influenced the destiny of Europe: it cost the heir of the Bonapartes his life. The young Prince Louis Napoleon—or the “Prince Imperial,” as the Bonapartists insisted on calling him—had resolved to serve with the British Army in Zululand. His object was to acquire a military reputation that might be useful to him as a Pretender. A proud and self-respecting Government, however hard pressed, cannot accept the services of a foreign mercenary, however high his rank might be. But, in deference to Courtly influences, the Prince was permitted to proceed to the seat of war in an ambiguous position. He held no commission, but he was treated like a junior officer of the General Staff, and the Duke of Cambridge requested Lord Chelmsford to let the Prince see as much of the war as he could. Lord Chelmsford issued instructions to the military authorities, which made the Prince a burden—perhaps, in some degree, a nuisance—to them. When he joined Lord Chelmsford Prince Louis seems to have been attached to the Quartermaster-General’s Department. But he was not to be allowed to go out of the camp without Lord Chelmsford’s permission, and even then he was to be guarded by an escort under an officer of experience. On the 1st of June Colonel Harrison allowed the Prince to make a reconnaissance for the purpose of choosing the site of a camp, but without obtaining Lord Chelmsford’s sanction. The Prince’s party was to consist of six troopers and six Basutos, and though no officer was sent to accompany him, Lieutenant Carey, an accomplished and intelligent soldier, happened, by an accident, to join the band. Carey had been employed to survey and map out some of the adjoining ground, and he asked leave to go with the Prince to clear up a doubtful topographical point on which he and Lord Chelmsford differed in opinion. Carey merely went for his private convenience. He was not told to look after the Prince; in fact, he was told that, if he went, he was not to interfere with him, because his Imperial Highness, eager to re-gild the tarnished Eagles of his House, desired to have all the credit of conducting the

* H’s “settlement” of Zululand organised the country into thirteen provincial governments, a British Resident controlling them all. Native rights, laws, and customs were to be respected, and Europeans prohibited from emigrating into native territory.



MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT.
(From the Picture by S. P. Hall.)



QUEEN VICTORIA (1887).

(From a Photograph by Lafayette, Dublin.)

Expedition. The Prince was in command of the party,* and in a fit of boyish impatience, and in defiance of Carey's advice, ordered it to march without waiting for the six Basutos, who were late of putting in an appearance. He led his little troop on for some distance, and then, without taking the most ordinary precautions against surprise, he halted—again against Carey's counsel—for a rest in a deserted kraal surrounded by a field of



THE MAUSOLEUM, FROGMORE.

tall Indian corn. This was a fatal blunder, for the cover of the cornfield rendered the place eminently convenient for the concealment of an ambuscade. Here the Prince waited an hour, whilst the Zulus surrounded him. Then he gave his men the order to move. The Zulus sprang from their hiding-places and fired on the little band, whose startled horses were difficult to mount. It was impossible to see what was going on in the cornfield, and it was not till

* This is clear from the censure passed by the Duke of Cambridge on Colonel Harrison, Assistant Quartermaster-General. The Duke blamed Harrison for not impressing on the Prince "the duty of deferring to the military orders of the officer who accompanied him." Of course, if Carey had been in command, there would have been no need to have impressed on the Prince (who had graduated in the military school at Woolwich) the necessity for obeying the orders of Carey, who would, in that case, have been his superior officer.

the troopers had retreated for some distance that Lieutenant Carey and his comrades discovered that the Prince was missing. To have made a stand in the cornfield would have been to court instant death. It appeared that the Prince had been unable to mount his horse, which was frightened and restive, and that the Zulus overtook him and stabbed him with their assegais. Thanks to Carey's knowledge of the ground, the rest of the party, with the exception of two troopers, were saved, and Carey was able to give Colonel Wood's force the valuable intelligence that the enemy, contrary to the general belief, were infesting the country in front.

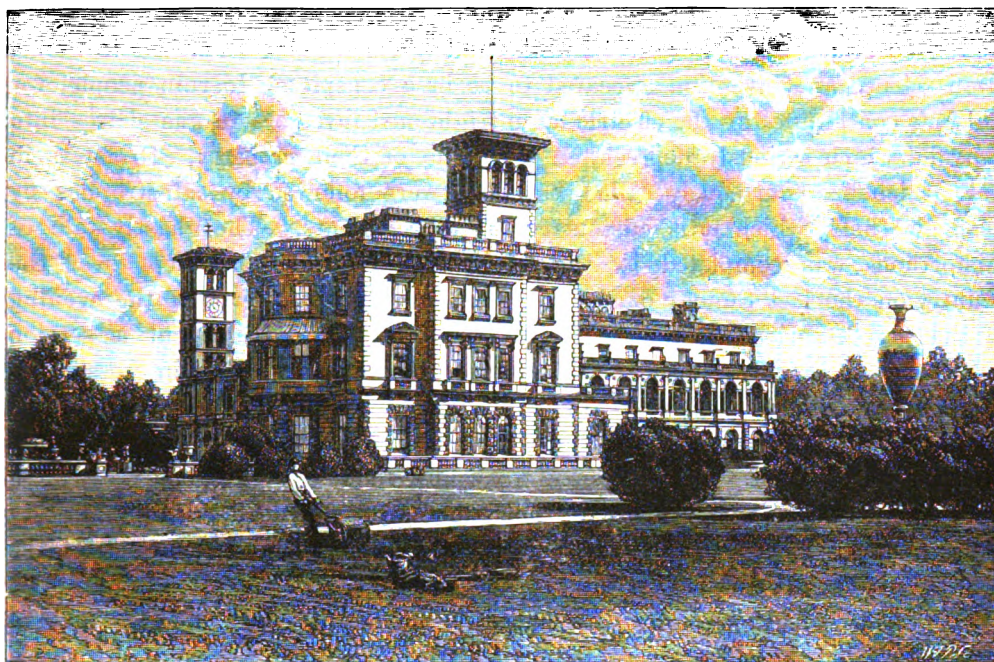
The indignation of the French Bonapartists at the death of the Prince Imperial was without limit. The ex-Empress, who had encouraged her son to go to South Africa, was prostrated with sorrow and remorse. Even the tender sympathy of the Queen could not console her for the loss of one whose life was necessary for her ambition, and whose death shattered the last hopes of Imperialism in France. It was thought desirable that somebody should be sacrificed to appease the ex-Empress, and Lieutenant Carey was accordingly tried by Court-martial and promptly condemned for "misbehaviour in front of the enemy" while in command of a reconnoitring party. There were only two reasons for attacking Carey. He was the officer of lowest rank who had any connection with the Prince's ill-fated reconnaissance, and he had absolutely nothing whatever to do with the command of that expedition, or with the Prince's mismanagement of it. In fact, all that Carey could be blamed for was for saving, by his superior knowledge of the ground, four of the six troopers whom the Prince had led into a fatal ambushade. It need hardly be said that, on review, the finding of the Court-martial was set aside by the Duke of Cambridge, and Lieutenant Carey restored to his rank. The Duke laid all the blame on Colonel Harrison, who, however, was not tried by Court-martial. But he also complained that Carey made a mistake in imagining that the Prince was in command of the party, a mistake which was not only natural but inevitable, and which was shared by all his comrades. The melancholy and stubborn imprudence of the Prince obviously led the expedition to disaster. The Duke of Cambridge argued that Colonel Harrison should have warned the Prince to be guided by Carey. Having blamed Harrison for not giving Carey sufficiently definite instructions as to the command of the expedition, he made Carey responsible for the defects in Harrison's instructions. Carey, according to the Duke, should have provided that military skill which the Prince lacked. The truth was that Carey was warned not to meddle with the Prince, who from first to last took command, and who, when advice was tendered to him, rejected it in a manner that did not encourage a spirited and self-respecting officer to press it on him.

The family life of the Court in 1879 was brightened by a Royal wedding. On the 13th of March the marriage of the Duke of Connaught with the Princess Louise Marguerite of Prussia was celebrated with some display. The

ceremony took place in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. At noon the four processions—those of the Queen, the Princess of Wales, the bride and the bridegroom—quitted the quadrangle. The Queen drove in her own carriage, drawn by four ponies, the remainder of the Royal Family occupying the gilded State coaches, driven by the Royal coachmen in their liveries of scarlet and gold. The display of decorations and uniforms and costumes among the august guests was seen to be very brilliant as the Royal party took their places round the Communion rails, where were assembled the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Worcester, and the Dean of Windsor. As Mendelssohn's march from *Athalie* resounded through the sacred building the Queen was observed to take her place, dressed in a complete Court dress of black satin, with a white veil and a flashing coronet of diamonds. The Princess Beatrice had discarded Court mourning, and appeared in a turquoise blue costume with a velvet train to match. The bridegroom, wearing the uniform of the Rifle Brigade, was supported by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh. The bride was accompanied by her father, Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia, better known as the "Red Prince," and the German Crown Prince, who wore the uniform of the 2nd or Queen's Cuirassiers. The German Crown Princess and the King of the Belgians were also present. The Red Prince gave his daughter away. At the close of the ceremony the Queen and Royal Family returned to the Palace amidst a salute of twenty-one guns.

On March the 25th the Queen and Princess Beatrice, attended by General Sir H. F. Ponsonby, Lady Churchill, Sir W. Jenner, and Captain Edwards, left Windsor Castle for the North of Italy. The Royal departure took place in very wintry weather, snow and sleet falling heavily. In spite of this the railway platform was crowded by visitors, who offered many loyal salutations as the train steamed out of the station at 9.40 a.m. Portsmouth was reached at noon, and the Royal party embarked on board the *Victoria and Albert*, the yacht sailing at once for Cherbourg, which was reached early in the evening. The Queen slept on board, and left for Paris. When she arrived in Paris she found that though crowds had collected at the station, no one was admitted to the platform except the British Ambassador, Lord Lyons. The Queen, who was dressed in deep mourning, though almost invisible to the people as she drove to the English Embassy, was, nevertheless, greeted with cheers and waving of hats all along the way. On the 27th her Majesty left Paris for Arona. Prior to starting, she was much affected by the receipt of a message announcing the death of her grandson, Prince Waldemar of Prussia. She, however, went through the appointed tasks of the day with her customary self-possession, and received President Grévy and M. Waddington, both visits being brief and formal. The Duc de Nemours also paid her a friendly visit, accompanied by Prince and Princess Czartolyski. On the 28th the Queen, preserving the strictest incognito, arrived at Modane, and after a

short interval continued the journey to Turin and Baveno on Lake Maggiore, which was her final destination. On reaching the Italian frontier the Queen received a despatch from the King and Queen of Italy welcoming her Majesty upon Italian soil. The Queen sent a reply immediately, expressing her thanks in cordial terms. On March 31st Prince Amadeus, brother of the King of Italy, arrived at Baveno and had an audience of the Queen. During her stay in Italy her Majesty assumed the title of the Countess of Balmoral, and occupied the Villa Clara, which was placed at her disposal by M. Henfrey, the owner. At first the weather was bad, but in spite of that the Queen made many excursions to places of interest, and as her incognito was respected, her holiday was not burdened with the wearisome formalities of Court etiquette. Alike in France and Italy she was received with hearty good wishes by the people. Garibaldi and the Pope vied with King Humbert in welcoming her with congratulatory messages. On the 17th of April King Humbert and Queen Margherita and the members of their household left Rome for Monza, and on the 18th proceeded to the railway station to meet the train which was to bring the Queen and her suite from Baveno. Punctually at the time arranged the Queen arrived, and, on alighting from her carriage, warmly greeted the King and Queen of Italy. The party then drove to the Royal Castle, where lunch was served, after which the Queen returned to Baveno, which she left on the 23rd of April, arriving in Paris next day. Her return was clouded, as her setting out had been, by the shadow of death. On her arrival at Turin she received the painful intelligence of the death at Genoa of the Duke of Roxburghe, the husband of one of her valued friends. She left Paris on Friday, the 25th, and before her departure she gave away memorial tokens to several of the members of the Embassy. She arrived at Windsor on the 27th, where the German Empress came to spend some days with her in May. During this visit both Royal ladies became great-grandmothers, for the Queen's first great-grandchild was born on the 12th of May. This was the first-born daughter of the Princess Charlotte of Saxe-Meiningen, the eldest daughter of the German Crown Prince and Princess.



OSBORNE HOUSE, FROM THE GARDENS.

(From a Photograph by J. Valentine and Sons.)

CHAPTER XXIII.

FALL OF LORD BEACONSFIELD.

General Gloom—Fall of the Tay Bridge—Liberal Onslaught on the Government—The Mussulman Schoolmaster and the Anglican Missionary—The Queen's Speech—The Irish Relief Bill—A Dying Parliament—Mr. Cross's Water Bill—"Coming in on Beer and Going out on Water"—Sir Stafford Northcote's Budget—Lord Beaconsfield's Manifesto—The General Election—Defeat of the Tories—Incidents of the Struggle—Mr. Gladstone Prime Minister—The Fourth Party—Mr. Bradlaugh and the Oath—Mr. Gladstone and the Emperor of Austria—The Naval Demonstration—Grave Error in the Indian Budget—Affairs in Afghanistan—Disaster at Maiwand—Roberts's March—The New Ameer—Revolt of the Boers—The Ministerial Programme—The Burials Bill—The Hares and Rabbits Bill—The Employers' Liability Bill—Supplementary Budget—The Compensation for Disturbance Bill—Boycotting—Trial of Mr. Parnell and Mr. Dillon—The Queen's Visit to Germany—The Queen Presents the Albert Medal to George Oatley of the Coastguard—Reviews at Windsor—The Queen's Speech to the Ensigns—The Battle of the Standards—Royalty and Riflemen—Outrages in Ireland—"Endymion"—Death of George Eliot.

If 1880 opened cheerfully, it was solely because men felt a sense of relief at getting rid of what they called "the bad old year." It had begun with bitter frosts, varied by black fogs. Its spring was a prolonged winter. Cold gloom marked its dog-days. There was no summer worth recording, and as for autumn, October and November saw the crops rotting in the fields. Farmers and squires, like Sheridan, were striving "to live on their debts." Two great bank failures—that of the City of Glasgow Bank and that of the West of England Bank—had shaken the fabric of credit and reduced thousands of the

well-to-do middle class to penury, while trade seemed going from bad to worse. Even science and invention appeared to be in a conspiracy to ruin people, for Edison's contrivance of the electric lamp frightened investors in gas shares into a panic, which seriously depreciated the value of their property. Disasters in war, which are courteously called blunders, were followed by catastrophes by flood and field, which it is customary to call accidents. The ghastly tale of misfortunes was completed by the frightful hurricane that swept over the country on the last Sunday of the old year. At half-past seven of the evening of that day a furious gust swept down the Firth of Tay and cut a section out of the great railway bridge that spanned the estuary. A train crossing at the moment was blown, with the wreckage of the bridge and its precious freight of human life, into the surly waters of the Firth.* Very promptly did the Queen instruct Sir Henry Ponsonby to telegraph from Osborne a sympathetic message from her to the relatives of the dead.† Her Majesty had herself crossed the bridge on her way to Balmoral, and the shock of the disaster struck her to the heart.

It was when the people were moodily pondering over the evil fate of England under the Government that was to have given it rest and prosperity, that Lord Beaconsfield's opponents became unusually active. Mr. Gladstone reprinted his speech on Finance which he had delivered in Edinburgh in November (1879), and reminded the electors how Lord Beaconsfield, after promising to repeal the Income Tax in 1874, had raised it; how in bad times he had increased expenditure, whereas in good times the Liberals had reduced it; how he had imposed £6,000,000 more taxes than he remitted, whereas the Liberals remitted £12,500,000 more than they imposed; how he had transformed a surplus into a deficit, and kept on rolling up debt, instead of paying off the nation's liabilities as they were incurred. There was a stroke of high art in publishing this sombre speech when the New Year opened. Sir Stafford Northcote had, at Leeds, essayed a mild and apologetic reply to it. Mr. Gladstone thus considered it necessary, when men were beginning to suspect that they were ruled by a Government of bad luck, to answer Sir Stafford in an appendix to the November speech, which tended to deepen the prevailing depression of spirits. Sir William Harcourt, in his New Year orations at

* The gap torn out of the bridge—the whole length of which was 10,612 feet—measured 3,300 feet. Of the eighty-five spans, the first twenty-seven from the Fife coast were left intact. Then came thirteen of which only the stonework remained, everything else being swept away. This left forty-five spans on the northern side standing. The bridge had been tested and certified as safe by Government inspectors. An inquiry was ordered into the disaster, which showed that the bridge was, in the words of Mr. Rothery, one of the Court of Inquiry, "badly designed, badly constructed, and badly maintained." For the mishap the engineer—Sir Thomas Bouch—was held "mainly to blame." The bridge, which from a distance looked like a long plank set up on pipe-shanks, cost £500,000. It was opened on the 30th of May, 1878.

† There were seventy-five adults, and from ten to fifteen children. The bodies were nearly all washed away by the tide.

Oxford, on the other hand, dealt with the Government from a comic point of view. He touched with caustic wit on their incongruities and inconsistencies, and by contrasting their swelling words with their small deeds, their affluence of promise with their poverty of performance, contrived to create an impression that Ministers were making the country the laughing-stock of the world. When Mr. Gladstone showed that the nation was being ruined, Sir William Harcourt immediately followed up by declaring, in speeches which everybody read, because they were amusing and personal, that it was being ruined by a group of mountebanks. To him succeeded Mr. Bright, who, at a Liberal banquet at Birmingham (20th of January), elaborately explained how that which had happened was only what might have been looked for. He exhibited, from the treasure-house of his memory, an interminable series of examples to illustrate one simple thesis. It was that the history of England had ever been a tragic conflict between the Spirits of Good and Evil—the Tory Party representing the Spirit of Evil. His political Manichæism would not have influenced the country if it had not been downhearted. Inasmuch as it manifestly affected public opinion, it ought to have warned Lord Beaconsfield that the people were out of humour with him. The Tories, however, had eyes and ears for nothing, save Sir William Harcourt's jokes and gibes, and flouts and sneers. These were not highly refined or polished, but they were just what was wanted to make the average voter laugh at Imperialism. The Imperialists being sensitive, not to say short-tempered persons, instead of pleading their own case rationally before the country, spent their force in vituperative attacks on Sir William Harcourt. It was also the misfortune of Lord Beaconsfield, that at this juncture he became nervous over the growing hostility of the clergy of all denominations to his foreign policy, the tone of which they deemed anti-Christian.

A desperate effort which was made to counteract this impression, displayed Sir Henry Layard at Constantinople—an Envoy who was supposed to be more Turkish than the Turks—figuring as a champion of the Cross against the Crescent. People, in fact, were startled at the beginning of the year to learn that the Government had suspended diplomatic relations with Turkey, because the Turkish authorities had threatened to execute a Mussulman school-master for helping an Anglican missionary to translate the Bible.* Sir Henry Layard had been unmoved by the massacre and judicial murder of thousands of Christian subjects of the Sultan in Epirus, Macedonia, and Armenia, in defiance of Treaty law. It was, therefore, amazing that he should have suddenly burst into a convulsion of diplomatic wrath because a Turkish Court

* Dr. Köller, a Church of England clergyman, employed by the Church Missionary Society in Constantinople, had engaged Ahmed Tewfik, a Mohammedan schoolmaster, to help him to translate the Scriptures into Turkish. Ahmed and the MSS. were seized, and the former adjudged worthy of death by the Sheik-ul-Islam. For three months Sir Henry Layard had vainly demanded his release, and the dismissal of the Minister of Police, Hafiz Pasha, from his post.

passed on a Turkish Mussulman the sentence appointed by the law of his race and creed for an act which, when done by him, was legally a crime. Still, from the point of view of the practical statesman on the eve of a General Election, the step taken by Sir Henry Layard would not have been open to criticism merely because of its inconsistency and injustice. The fatal objection to it was that, whilst it failed to conciliate the religious world, it made the Government seem ineffably ridiculous to the electors. The foreign policy that was to give England ascendancy in the councils of Europe, had reduced her to such a poor pass that, at Constantinople, Sir Henry Layard had to threaten war ere the Porte would even listen to his appeal for clemency to the obscurest of offenders against the letter of a

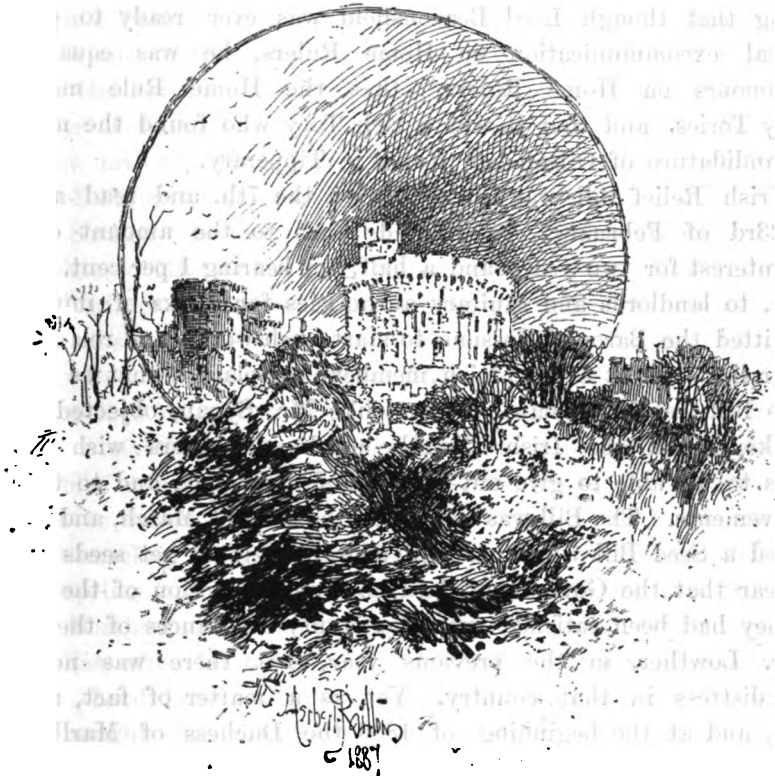


THE FIRST TAY BRIDGE, FROM THE SOUTH.

harsh and obsolete law. Nor was the situation improved as the quarrel developed. The Turks resolutely refused even to deliver up Dr. Köller's MSS., which they hardly had any right to keep, and it was not till the German Ambassador interfered on behalf of the English missionary that they were restored. When Sir Henry Layard pressed for the dismissal of Hafiz Pasha, he was foiled by the Sultan averring that he, and not the Minister, had ordered the arrest of Ahmed Tewfik. After Lord Beaconsfield's Guildhall eulogies on the Sultan, Ministers were seriously embarrassed by this new turn in the affair. Ultimately the intervention of Germany and Austria induced the Sultan, who listened to the menaces of the British Government with imperturbable serenity, to offer concessions. He still refused Sir Henry Layard's demand for the annulment of the sentence of death on Ahmed Tewfik. But he offered to commute it by exiling Ahmed to a remote Turkish island with a Christian population. He also ordered Hafiz Pasha, the Minister of Police, to apologise.* The commutation of Ahmed's sentence meant that, though

* Hafiz was one of the savages, whose share in the Bulgarian atrocities was so patent, that Lord Derby had demanded his punishment. The answer to this demand by the Turks was the appointment of Hafiz as Minister of Police at Constantinople, where he and Sir Henry Layard suddenly fell out.

England had saved him from the gallows, "Kismet" had destined him for a premature grave. The apology from Hafiz was immediately converted into a further insult to the British Government, for, as soon as it had been delivered, the Sultan decorated him with the Grand Cordon of the Medjidie. Nor was this act quite atoned for by the issue of an Imperial edict forbidding the Mohammedan Press to laugh at the British Ambassador. It was,



WINDSOR CASTLE: A PEEP FROM THE DEAN'S GARDEN.

therefore, easy to predict that the Queen's Speech would be demure, if not actually meek in tone, when it touched on Foreign Affairs.

Parliament was opened on the 5th of February, and her Majesty's Speech was read by the Lord Chancellor. Events, according to the Royal Message, still tended to safeguard the peace of Europe on the basis of the Berlin Treaty, and the Sultan had signed a Convention for the suppression of the Slave Trade. The abdication of the Ameer rendered it impossible to recall the army of occupation. But the Government, in their dealings with Afghanistan, merely desired to strengthen their Indian frontier and preserve the independence of that State. The success of Sir Garnet Wolseley's policy in South Africa was touched on. It was stated that the Irish authorities had been instructed to make special provisions for coping with distress in Ireland, which would

necessitate an Indemnity Bill; and a Criminal Code Bill, a Bankruptcy Bill, a Lunacy Bill, and a Conveyancing Bill were promised. Mr. Cross had, at the end of the previous Session, also promised a Bill to transfer the Metropolitan Water Companies to the ratepayers of London. The debates on the Address were uninteresting. The Tories tried to discredit their opponents by proving that in election contests they angled for the Irish vote by promising to support an inquiry into the demand for Home Rule. The Liberals retorted by proving that though Lord Beaconsfield was ever ready to pass sentence of political excommunication on Home Rulers, he was equally ready to confer honours on Home Rulers,* that the Home Rule movement was started by Tories, and that it was a rich Tory who found the money for the Fenian candidature of O'Donovan Rossa in Tipperary.

The Irish Relief Bill was introduced on the 7th, and read a second time on the 23rd of February. It granted loans to the amount of £1,092,985 without interest for two years and a half, but bearing 1 per cent. interest after that time, to landlords and sanitary authorities for works of improvement; it also permitted the Baronial Sessions to start such works, and relaxed the law of out-door relief. Most of the Irish members complained that as a measure of relief, the Bill was inadequate. Some, like Mr. Synan, objected to the loans being taken from the Irish Church surplus. Others wished Boards of Guardians to be able to give out-door relief in money, and to take up loans for improvements. The Bill was passed on the 15th of March, and Major Nolan also passed a Seed Bill which enabled poor farmers to get seeds on loan. It is now clear that the Government had no true conception of the state of Ireland. They had been satisfied with the jaunty assurances of the Chief Secretary, Mr. Lowther, in the previous year, that there was no exceptional agrarian distress in that country. Yet, as a matter of fact, a famine was imminent, and at the beginning of 1880 the Duchess of Marlborough, wife of the Lord-Lieutenant, and Mr. E. Dwyer Gray, Lord Mayor of Dublin, were compelled to start Relief Funds to avert that dreadful calamity.

Even with this evidence before them, the Tory Ministry in 1880 fell into a blunder worthy of the Whigs in 1847-9. They adopted the fatal Whig principle, that the best way to relieve the Irish peasant's distress was to vote the relief money to be doled out in wages by his landlord, who, by rack-renting and evictions had aggravated that distress, and who, though in most cases an absentee, was yet for some inexplicable reason supposed to be the best almoner the State could find in Ireland.† That this mistake was made can only be accounted for by the fact that Lord Beaconsfield's advanced age, and his absorption in Foreign Affairs, rendered it possible for his less competent colleagues to control his policy.‡

* He had given the Lord-Lieutenancy of a county to Colonel King-Harman.

† Loans to Baronial Sessions for improvement works were virtually loans to the landlords.

‡ Nobody knew better than Lord Beaconsfield, from his experiences of 1846, that the potato is the

However, all Englishmen were predisposed to believe that Mr. Gladstone's Land Act of 1870 had averted famine for ever from Ireland. They did not know that it had broken down because it made no provision against rack-renting, and, therefore, no real provision against unjust eviction. It permitted eviction in cases where a tenant was unable to pay rent; so that, in order to evict, a landlord had merely to put up his rent to the point at which the tenant could not pay it, the tenant's claim for improvements on eviction being in such a case usually swallowed up in long out-standing arrears. It was quite obvious to those who looked beneath the surface that the coming question was the agrarian difficulty in Ireland. And yet the Ministry treated it as a matter of trivial importance, a blunder which, however, was also committed by the majority of Liberals, who were convinced that Mr. Gladstone's Land Act had brought content to Ireland.

Still, the Session was quiet and business-like, and the Liberal leaders were studiously polite to Ministers. They helped to pass a Standing Order checking obstruction, hinting that it was not strong enough. By these tactics they artfully neutralised the insinuation that they were fishing for the Home Rule vote.* But it was clear that Parliament was moribund and quite "gravelled for lack of matter." It could not legally survive another year; in fact, since the sixteenth century only four Parliaments had existed as long. Naturally public opinion was pressing for a dissolution, and it merely remained for Ministers to select the "psychological moment" which was most advantageous to themselves for going to the country. Lord Beaconsfield suddenly resolved in spring not to exhaust his mandate, and on the 8th of March Sir Stafford Northcote intimated that the Budget would be brought in before Easter, and that, after taking formal and necessary business, Parliament would be dissolved. Lord Beaconsfield was guided to this step by three considerations. He thought that the glamour of his Asiatic Imperialism still blinded

barometer of Famine in Ireland, and it is impossible to suppose that he would have been satisfied with Mr. Lowther's Bill if he had looked into the facts. For these all pointed to a dreadful failure of the potato crop. In 1876 its value was £12,464,382. In 1878 it was only £7,579,512. In 1879 it fell to £3,341,028. In England a crisis like this would have compelled the Government to take strong measures of relief, and yet in England such a state of affairs is always eased by the landlords abating or wiping out rent. But the distress in Ireland was aggravated because the worse it grew the fiercer became the demand of the landlords for rent. "Evictions," writes Mr. J. Huntley McCarthy, "had increased from 463 families in 1877 to 980 in 1878, to 1,238 in 1879; and they were still on the increase, as was shown at the end of 1880, when it was found that 2,110 families were evicted." Moreover, the Irish peasantry paid part of their rent out of wages earned as migratory labourers during part of the year in England and Scotland. But English and Scottish farmers were themselves cutting down their labour bills, and the loss to the Irish on migratory labour alone in 1877 was £250,000 (Hancock). See Healy's "Why is there a Land Question?" pp. 71, 72; O'Connor's "Parnell Movement," pp. 166-7. J. H. McCarthy's "England under Gladstone," p. 103.

* The new Rule was to the effect that a Member "named" by the Speaker or Chairman for obstruction might be suspended for the rest of the sitting on a motion voted without debate; and if he repeated the offence three times, he might be suspended for an indefinite period till pardoned by the House.

the eyes of the nation to the disasters in Afghanistan and South Africa. He imagined that, because the returns from three bye-elections were favourable to the Tory Party, public opinion was still with him.* He trusted that Mr. Cross's Water Bill would consolidate the popularity of the Ministry, not only in the Capital, but among municipal reformers all over the country. This last forecast was most untoward. When Mr. Cross produced his Water Bill on the 2nd of March, the *Standard*, which was the organ of the Ministry in the Press, suddenly deserted its Party and its leaders, and assailed Mr. Cross's scheme with astounding ferocity.† The opposition of the *Standard* at the critical moment not only depressed the spirits of the Tories, but also forced the hand of the "independent" newspapers, who had up till now supported Lord Beaconsfield loyally. They could not be more royalist than the King, so they, too, poured forth their invective on Mr. Cross's Bill. The effect of this sudden attack of the whole metropolitan Press was to paralyse a vast body of metropolitan opinion that up till then had run in favour of the Ministry. "It came into power on beer," said a malicious Liberal one afternoon in the Tea-room of the House of Commons, "and it will float out on water." A more cautious statesman would have postponed dissolution till a happier moment; but Lord Beaconsfield persisted in appealing to the people, and the Government passed an Electoral Bill repealing the law which prohibited candidates from paying for the carriage of voters to the poll. It was obvious that in the coming struggle the Tories were at least resolved to give the rich men on both sides all the advantages of their opulence.

When the Budget was produced Sir Stafford Northcote had a sad tale to tell. His revenue for the past year, instead of yielding £83,055,000, only yielded £80,860,000, showing a deficit of £2,195,000, to which had to be added

* These were Barnstaple, Liverpool, and Southwark. At Barnstaple the Liberal (Lord Lymington) increased the Liberal majority by 60 votes. But Sir R. Carden increased the Tory minority by 99. In Liverpool Mr. Whitley was returned by a majority of 2,221, though Lord Ramsay, the losing candidate, polled 3,000 more votes than the winning candidate had ever polled before. Southwark (vacated by the death of Mr. Locke, a strong Radical) was carried by Mr. Edward Clarke, a strong Conservative, by a large majority. Lord Beaconsfield's calculations were here faulty. The verdict of Barnstaple, being a corrupt constituency, went for nothing on either side. In Liverpool the Tories maintained their ascendancy, but not at all with the proportionate majority they obtained in 1874. Southwark was dominated by the publican vote, and the Liberal candidate (Mr. Dunn) was not only a bad speaker, but especially hateful to the working-class, because he had, by insisting on standing at a former election, ruined the candidature of Mr. Odger, and, by splitting the Liberal vote, had handed over the second seat in Southwark to Colonel Beresford, the Conservative candidate. The bye-elections to which Lord Beaconsfield trusted afforded no true guidance as to the drift of opinion.

† Mr. Cross created a Water Trust, partly representative and partly nominated, for taking over the business of the water companies. He had in the previous Session promised Mr. Fawcett that he would not give the companies a "fancy" price for their property. He now proposed to hand over a Three and a Half per Cent. Stock to the companies as compensation for their property. The actual value of that property was about £19,000,000; but the *Standard* and the critics of the scheme complained that Mr. Cross gave the companies £30,000,000 compensation. Water shares rose 75 per cent. when Mr. Cross's Bill was produced.



AFTER THE MIDLOTHIAN VICTORY: MR. GLADSTONE ADDRESSING THE CROWD FROM THE BALCONY OF LORD
ROSEBERY'S HOUSE, GEORGE STREET, EDINBURGH. (From the Picture in "The Graphic.")

supplementary estimates for South Africa, bringing it up to £3,340,000. For the coming year, however, he estimated, supposing there were no changes of taxation, a revenue of £81,560,000, and an expenditure of £81,486,472. But it was no longer possible to postpone payment of past deficits. These had accumulated to a sum of £8,000,000. He proposed to pay this off by creating £6,000,000 of annuities terminable in five years, and meeting the yearly charge for them by adding £800,000 a year to the service of the National Debt. As this would relieve the Government from its existing payments for interest on Exchequer Bonds, the fresh revenue needed to meet the payments for the new annuities in reality came to £589,000, and not £800,000. As to the remaining £2,000,000 of deficits, Sir Stafford Northcote seemed to trust to luck for their payment. The additional revenue he proposed to get by a revision of the Probate Duty. As he increased the Succession Duty on personal property, and left that on land untouched, the Budget was extremely unpopular with the landless class. But even his scheme as it stood, with its £6,000,000 added for five years to the National Debt, and its £2,000,000 of postponed deficits, involved the sacrifice of his Sinking Fund for paying off the debt. Virtually the Government told the electors that they had brought Britain to such a pass, that she had to abandon for five years her scheme for paying off her National Debt, in order to clear off £6,000,000 of their deficits.

On the 24th of March Parliament was dissolved, and the new writs were made returnable on the 29th of April. Lord Beaconsfield's Manifesto, however, had been issued in the shape of a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, on the 8th of March. In this letter he called on the people to support the Ministry in order to give England an ascendancy in the councils of Europe, and check the Home Rule movement in Ireland, which was "scarcely less disastrous than pestilence or famine." This movement had been patronised, he declared, by the Liberal Party, whose "policy of decomposition" was meant to destroy the Imperial character of the realm. On the other side, the leaders traversed all Lord Beaconsfield's insinuations. They scoffed at his Foreign Policy, asserted that it was pretentious, futile, and costly; they denounced his restless turbulence and his bankrupt finance, and, though they declared against Home Rule, they promised to give Ireland equal laws and equal rights with England. When the struggle began it was predicted in London that Lord Beaconsfield's majority would be so vastly increased that the Liberals would be ostracised from power for a generation. As the contest proceeded it was noticed that at Liberal meetings no man could mention Mr. Gladstone's name without being stopped by prolonged outbursts of cheering. That had happened in 1868, and it was a bad omen, whereupon it was said that the Tories would come back with only a slight reduction in their majority. Finally it was admitted, when the first day's returns came in, that Lord Beaconsfield's majority had vanished, and that he himself had fallen from power. The incidents of the struggle were curious. Mr. Gladstone's

campaign in the North was a marvellous achievement, and the sustained passion and energy of his attack on the policy of the Government, alike in principle and detail, seemed to paralyse the Tory leaders. Lord Hartington's political duel with Mr. Cross in Lancashire completed the wreck of that Minister's reputation, already damaged by his abortive Water Bill. Lord Derby's letter to Lord Sefton (12th March) intimating his inability to support the Ministry and his adhesion to the Liberal Party, was a cruel blow, struck at the Tory Party in their most formidable stronghold. Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Lowe vied with each other in rendering Ministers ridiculous. Mr. Bright roused the conscience of the nation against their warlike policy. Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke stirred the latent socialistic sympathies of the masses. As for the Irish vote, it was cast solidly against the Tories, in order to avenge the passage describing Home Rule in Lord Beaconsfield's letter. Looking back on this historic election, it is amazing to find how few Ministerial speeches of importance were made. Lulled into a false sense of security by the support of the London Press and the gossip of Pall Mall clubs, Ministers seem to have permitted their opponents to talk them down. As for the result, why dwell on it? The first day's Borough elections destroyed Lord Beaconsfield's majority. The Counties deserted him in the most unaccountable manner. In Scotland the Tory Party was almost obliterated.* In Ireland two-thirds of the Members elected were Home Rulers. The net result was, that when the Election was over, there were returned 351 Liberals, 237 Tories, and 65 Home Rulers. The verdict of the country, therefore, was this: the electors were more afraid of Lord Beaconsfield's Foreign Policy than of Mr. Gladstone's Irish Nationalist sympathies. The sweeping reforms which he was pledged to demand and support by his Midlothian speeches did not displease the country so much as Lord Beaconsfield's manifest reluctance to pledge himself to a strong programme of domestic legislation.

While the elections were taking place the Queen was abroad. Little dreaming that the verdict of the people would destroy Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry, she had arranged to visit Hesse-Darmstadt to be present at the confirmation of the daughters of the late Princess Alice, and after that ceremony to spend a brief holiday at Baden. Her Majesty returned to England on the 17th of April, and on the 28th of April Ministers resigned office. Lord Beaconsfield was not present on the occasion. He had bade farewell to the Queen on the previous day. After the results of the Election were known strenuous efforts were made to prevent Mr. Gladstone from

* The contest in Midlothian excited the keenest interest. When the poll had been counted it was found that Mr. Gladstone had obtained the seat by a majority of 211 votes, the figures being Gladstone 1,579, Dalkeith 1,368. As soon as the result became known the utmost enthusiasm was aroused throughout the country. In Edinburgh the excitement was intense and Mr. Gladstone had to address the shouting crowd, under a fall of snow, from the balcony of Lord Rosebery's House in George Street.

becoming Prime Minister. The general opinion, however, was that, as Lord Beaconsfield's fall from power was due mainly to Mr. Gladstone's energetic and persistent criticism of his policy, Mr. Gladstone ought to take the responsibility of forming a Government. His own views on the subject can be gleaned from two letters which he wrote to Mr. Hayward. In one he seems to resent the idea of taking any office lower than that of the Premiership, supposing he took office at all.* In another he tries to explain away a statement he was alleged to have made to a reporter of the *Gaulois*, who asked him in November, 1879, if he would resume office, and to whom he replied, "No; I am now out of the question." He (the reporter), says Mr. Gladstone, "rejoined, '*Mais vos compatriotes vont vous forcer.*' I said, '*C'est d'eux à déterminer, mais je n'en vois aucun signe!*' I meant by these words to get out of this branch of the discussion as easily as I could. My duty is clear: it is to hold fast by Granville and Hartington, and try to promote the union and efficiency of the Party led by them."†

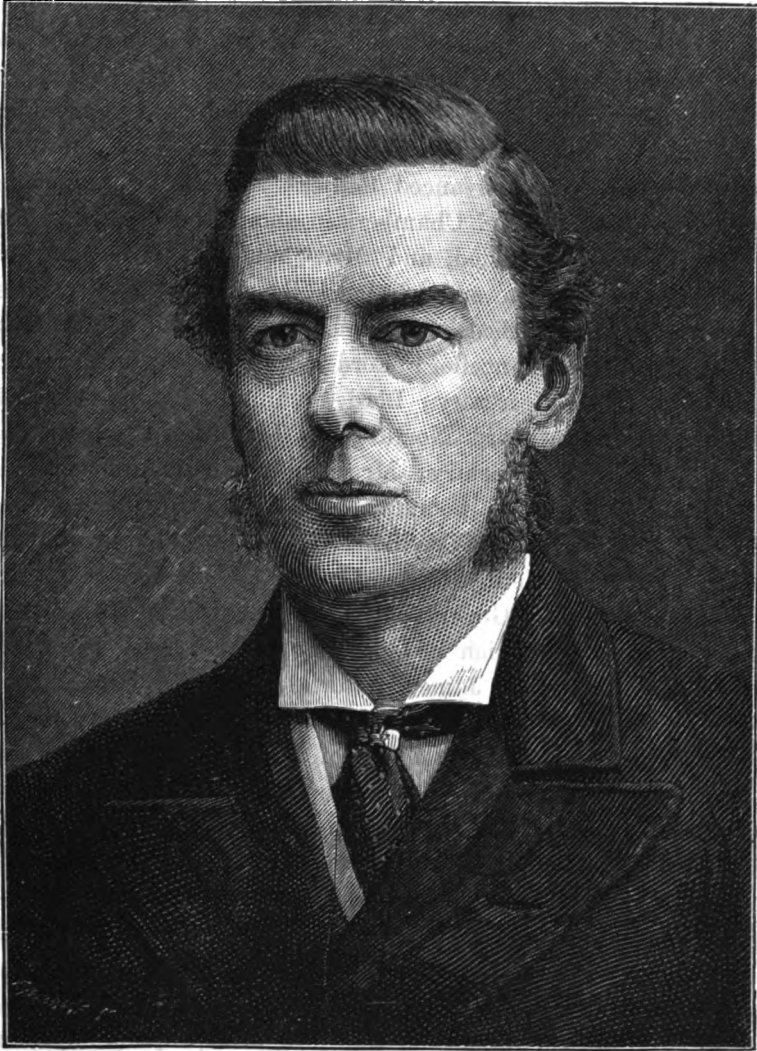
In the ordinary course it was the duty of the Queen to send first for the actual Leader of the Opposition, who was Lord Granville. On the contrary, the first Liberal statesman summoned to Windsor was Lord Hartington, who, when he arrived there on the 22nd of April, it was remarked, declined the use of one of the Royal carriages, and strolled in a leisurely manner to the Castle. He informed her Majesty that a Liberal Ministry which was not headed by Mr. Gladstone could not command the confidence of the country. Next day the Queen sent for Lord Granville, who went to Windsor, accompanied by Lord Hartington. His advice was to entrust Mr. Gladstone with the formation of a Cabinet. They returned to London, and, after an interview with them, Mr. Gladstone proceeded to Windsor and received the Queen's commission to organise a Government. Whenever Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister the Whigs (who had secretly done their utmost as a Party to prevent his return to office) swarmed round him like a cloud of locusts. The Whigs and moderate Liberals were, as of old, to have all the comfortable places.

As for the Radicals, they would, it was suggested, be amply repaid for their services by a few of the minor offices under the Government, by including Mr. Bright and Mr. Forster in the Cabinet, and by offering a seat to Mr. Stansfeld, whose health prevented him from accepting it. That, however, was not the view of the Radicals. North of the Humber they constituted the bulk of the Liberal Party. Their system of representative Party organisation, invented in Birmingham and popularised by Mr. Chamberlain, had enabled them to consolidate the opposition to the Tories, to prevent double candidatures, and to win seats that, under a looser form of discipline, it would have been hopeless to contest. If Mr. Gladstone was the Napoleon,

* Mr. Hayward's Letters, Vol. II., p. 307.

† Mr. Hayward's Letters, Vol. II., p. 308.

Mr. Chamberlain was the Carnot of the campaign. The cry went forth that some uncompromising Radical must have a seat in the Cabinet, and Mr. Chamberlain was suggested as the fittest person to select. But what had Mr.



MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(From a Photograph by Russell and Sons.)

Chamberlain done? His speeches—hard, brilliant, and clever—were permeated with “socialism.” Good Tory matrons were said to frighten their unruly babes with the whisper of his name. In Parliament he had chiefly distinguished himself by his obstructive tactics and his revolt against Lord Hartington’s leadership. He was even a more persistent opponent of the Monarchy than Sir Charles Dilke, who had abandoned the advocacy of Republicanism for the

critical study of Foreign Affairs. Mr. Gladstone's chief objection to Mr. Chamberlain was that he had no official training. Lord Hartington (who knew, to his cost, that his obstructive opposition in the House of Commons could be most embarrassing), on the other hand, was in favour of including Mr. Chamberlain in the Cabinet. So was Lord Granville, who probably thought that there was no surer way of muzzling a dangerous Republican than that of making him a Cabinet Minister. 'Still, the Whig antagonism to Mr. Chamberlain was too strong to be ignored, and a compromise was arrived at when office was offered to Sir Charles Dilke. He, however, refused to take any place unless one advanced Radical, at least, was included in the Cabinet, and he said that Mr. Chamberlain should be chosen. After much intriguing Mr. Gladstone yielded, and Mr. Chamberlain became President of the Board of Trade. At the end of April the Cabinet was complete. Mr. Gladstone combined the two offices of Premier and Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Selborne was Lord Chancellor; Lord Granville, Foreign Secretary; Sir William Harcourt, Home Secretary; Lord Hartington, Indian Secretary; Mr. Childers, War Secretary; Lord Northbrook, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Kimberley, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Bright, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Mr. Forster, Chief Secretary for Ireland; the Duke of Argyll, Lord Privy Seal; Mr. Dodson, President of the Local Government Board; Lord Spencer, Lord President of the Council. Outside the Cabinet, Mr. Fawcett became Postmaster-General; Sir Charles Dilke, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs (the office which he specially desired, and for which he was specially qualified); Sir Henry James, Attorney-General; Sir Farrer Herschel, Solicitor-General; Mr. Mundella, Vice-President of the Council; Mr. Adam (the famous Whip), First Commissioner of Works; and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, Secretary to the Admiralty. Mr. Lowe was sent to the Upper House with a Peerage as Lord Sherbrooke. Mr. Goschen (whose opposition to any extension of Household Franchise to the counties rendered him impossible as a Cabinet Minister) was sent as a Special Ambassador to Constantinople. Sir H. A. Layard was not recalled, but he was granted an indefinite leave of absence. Lord Lytton having resigned the Indian Viceroyalty, Lord Ripon was appointed in his place.

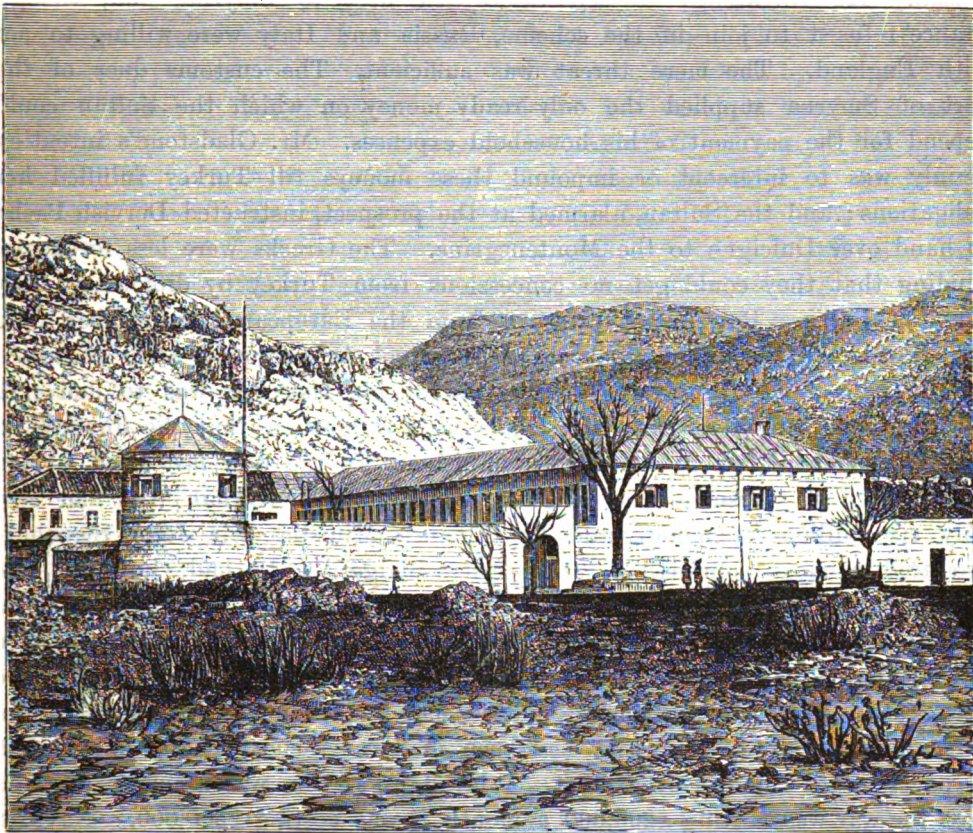
No sooner had Parliament met, on the 29th of April, than it was apparent that one gentleman had read aright the lesson to be derived from Mr. Chamberlain's successful career. To prove that one's capacity for obstruction was not inferior to that of Mr. Parnell, to reform on a popular basis the organisation of one's Party, and to flout openly on fitting occasions the authority of one's leader, these, argued Lord Randolph Churchill, are the keys that unlock the doors of the Cabinet. He, together with Sir H. D. Wolff, Mr. A. J. Balfour, and Mr. Gorst, organised a small band of Tory obstructionists called the Fourth Party, who hoped, by their unscrupulous tactics in embarrassing Mr. Gladstone, that their gibes at Sir Stafford Northcote's prudent leadership

would be forgiven. Their first opportunity for wasting the time of the House arrived when Mr. Bradlaugh, the Member for Northampton, came forward to be sworn on the 3rd of May. Mr. Bradlaugh was notoriously an Atheist, and he claimed to make an affirmation. At first the Fourth Party did not move in the matter, but the Speaker doubted if he could affirm, and a Select Committee appointed to consider the question, reported that he could not. Lord Frederick Cavendish had, in nominating the Committee, included several members who being Ministers would have to stand for re-election, and Sir Drummond Wolff and his friends raised an acrimonious debate by objecting to the names of gentlemen who were not technically members of the House being appointed to the Committee. On the 21st of May Mr. Bradlaugh came forward and claimed to take the oath. This the Fourth Party opposed as revolting to their consciences, for had not Mr. Bradlaugh publicly declared that as he was an Atheist the religious sanction in the oath was to him meaningless? There was no precedent for refusing to swear a member. The law seemed to be that it was his duty to his constituents to get himself sworn. But the point was referred to another Committee, and they reported that Mr. Bradlaugh could not be sworn. The absurdity of this proceeding is easily illustrated. In the Parliament of 1886, Mr. Bradlaugh was allowed to take the oath without a word of protest from the conscience-seared pietists of the Fourth Party. But by that time most of them had become Ministers, and were not anxious to encourage the obstruction of public business. On the 21st of June Mr. Labouchere, the senior member for Northampton, moved that Mr. Bradlaugh be allowed to affirm. The motion was rejected on the 22nd of June by a vote of 275 to 230, and when Mr. Bradlaugh, after speaking in his defence, refused to leave the bar, Sir Stafford Northcote carried a motion that he be imprisoned in the Clock Tower. This step made the House the laughing-stock of the nation, and the Tories promptly released Mr. Bradlaugh from his luxurious retreat. On the 1st of July Mr. Gladstone moved and carried a resolution allowing Mr. Bradlaugh to affirm at his own risk, and subject to any penalties he might incur by doing so, if it were found by the Courts that he had broken the law. Three points had been gained. Lord Randolph Churchill and his friends had forced Sir Stafford Northcote to follow their lead. They had blocked Government business. They had, to some extent, disseminated an impression abroad that the Cabinet was a champion of Atheism—and no doubt there were many good people who looked with suspicion on Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright for endeavouring to prevent Northampton from being disfranchised by a combination of faction and bigotry in the House of Commons.

During the interval between the appointment of the Ministry and the reading of the Queen's Speech, a last attempt was made by the foreign allies of Lord Beaconsfield—and not without some success—to damage the new Government. One of the strange incidents of the Election had been the

appearance every morning in the London papers of extracts from the Continental Press urging the English people to vote for Lord Beaconsfield's supporters. Lord Beaconsfield, as the candidate of the foreigner, was pressed on the constituencies with abject servility by Tory speakers, who, if they had reflected for a moment, must have seen that they were deeply offending the insular instincts and prejudices of Englishmen. But the zenith of imprudence was attained when one morning a semi-official telegram purporting to emanate from the British Embassy at Vienna, appeared in a Ministerial organ informing Englishmen that it was the august desire of the Emperor of Austria that Mr. Gladstone should be defeated in Midlothian. No Englishman will tolerate, even from a foreign Emperor, any interference between him and his constituents during a contested election. Mr. Gladstone accordingly treated the Emperor of Austria as if he had been an interloper from the Carlton Club, who had come down to Midlothian to give extraneous aid to Lord Dalkeith, the Conservative candidate. He snubbed the successor of the Cæsars mercilessly, and greatly to the delight of the British Democracy. This called forth a denial from Sir Henry Elliot that the Emperor of Austria had ever used the words attributed to him, though Sir Henry did not explain how the correspondent of the *Standard* had come to publish them. Mr. Gladstone retorted that the interest of Austria in preventing his election lay in his known determination to upset her plans for absorbing the heritage of the rising nationalities in Turkey. Austria had always shown herself to be an incompetent tyrant in dealing with subject races, and his warning to the Austrian intriguers, who hoped, if Lord Beaconsfield were returned to power, to make a dash for Salonica, was "Hands Off." When Mr. Gladstone became Premier this speech was brought up for dissection. Would his Ministry quarrel with Austria? Would Count Karolyi ask for his papers? Then two long telegrams from Vienna were published in the *Times*, of date 28th of April and 6th of May, semi-officially denying that Austria was conspiring to make a dash for Salonica. Her sole desire now was to stand by the Treaty of Berlin. Count Karolyi had some interviews with Lord Granville on the subject, and in return for assurances of Austrian loyalty and goodwill, he pressed for some expression of opinion from Mr. Gladstone that would allay irritation in Vienna. Mr. Hayward seems to have been asked to use his influence over Mr. Gladstone to get him to make this explanation. Mr. Gladstone accordingly, in a letter to Count Karolyi (4th of May), declared that since he had become a Minister he had resolved not to defend by argument polemical language which he had used in a position of "greater freedom and less responsibility." He wished Austria well. He had threatened to thwart her policy solely because the evidence at his command indicated that she was hostile to the freedom of the rising nationalities of Turkey. But he accepted the assurances of Count Karolyi that Austria had no designs against that freedom, and added, "Had I been in possession of such an assurance as I have

now been able to receive, I never would have uttered any one of the words which your Excellency justly describes as of a painful and wounding character." The moment this letter was published, the Austrian organs in England, indeed, every Tory speaker and writer, made political capital out of it. The Premier was held up to odium for having humiliated England by an apology which was, undoubtedly, somewhat too exuberant. The people



OLD PALACE OF THE PRINCE OF MONTENEGRO, CETTIGNE.

would have been better pleased if Mr. Gladstone had replied that an explanation should have been sought when it was possible for him to give it as the candidate for Midlothian. To ask for it now was to assume that a foreign potentate had a right to expect the Prime Minister of England to apologise for what he might choose to say, as a private person, fighting a contested election.

Difficulties of a more serious character soon gathered round the Ministry. The Turks refused to make those concessions of territory to Montenegro and Greece which had been recommended by the Treaty of Berlin. Lord Granville succeeded in uniting the European Powers in a vain attempt to induce Turkey

to fulfil her obligations. The Porte was warned that, unless Dulcigno was given up to Montenegro by a certain date, the Powers would resort to coercion. When that date arrived the European Fleets assembled at Ragusa, under the command of Sir Beauchamp Seymour, to make a naval demonstration against Turkey, but, as the captains of the ships were prohibited from firing a shot, the naval demonstration amused rather than alarmed the Porte. At this point Mr. Gladstone hit on a happy expedient for bringing the Sultan to reason. He threatened to send a British fleet to Smyrna, and, though France refused to join in the scheme, Russia and Italy were willing to act with England. The mere threat was sufficient. The customs dues of the port of Smyrna supplied the only ready money on which the Sultan could depend for the payment of his household expenses. Mr. Gladstone's intention plainly was to intercept or impound these moneys till Turkey fulfilled her obligations; and the Sultan, alarmed at the prospect, instructed Dervish Pasha to hand over Dulcigno to the Montenegrins. The Greeks were less fortunate. Finding that they could get no concessions from Turkey by diplomacy, they threatened war. But, under pressure from the European Powers, they were held down, and the diplomatists again undertook to reconsider their claims.

In India Lord Lytton resigned. One of his last acts was to deliver a contemptuous speech refuting Mr. Gladstone's suggestion that the finances of that Dependency were in a state of confusion. To the very last Lord Lytton endeavoured to persuade the English people that the Afghan War had cost only six millions of money, and his Finance Minister (Sir John Strachey) produced a most comforting "Prosperity Budget." It had, however, one defect. As Lord Hartington discovered when he went to the India Office, a trifling sum of £9,000,000 sterling had been dropped out of the expenditure side of the Afghan War accounts; in other words, a mistake which would have been called by a very ugly name indeed had it been made in the office of a bank or of a railway company, had been made at the expense of the British taxpayer by the Indian Government. While Lord Lytton was assuring England that the war was costing £200,000 a month, it was costing £500,000. Nay, for two years he had been paying away this excess of expenditure over estimates without knowing it, or getting from the Treasury a monthly statement of the money spent on the war! But the position of affairs in Afghanistan was rapidly becoming unendurable. England held Cabul as the Emperor Augustus held Rome—like a man who had a wolf by the ear. Lord Lytton recognised Shere Ali Khan as independent Wali of Candahar, and the ex-Ameer Yakoob was a prisoner in India. But Abdurrahman Khan (a grandson of Dost Mahommeḍ, and an exile in Russia) was a pretender for the throne; and so was the warlike Ayooḍ Khan, a son of the ex-Ameer, Shere Ali. Ayooḍ was, moreover, marching from Herat against the British at Candahar with a force of fierce irregular troops.

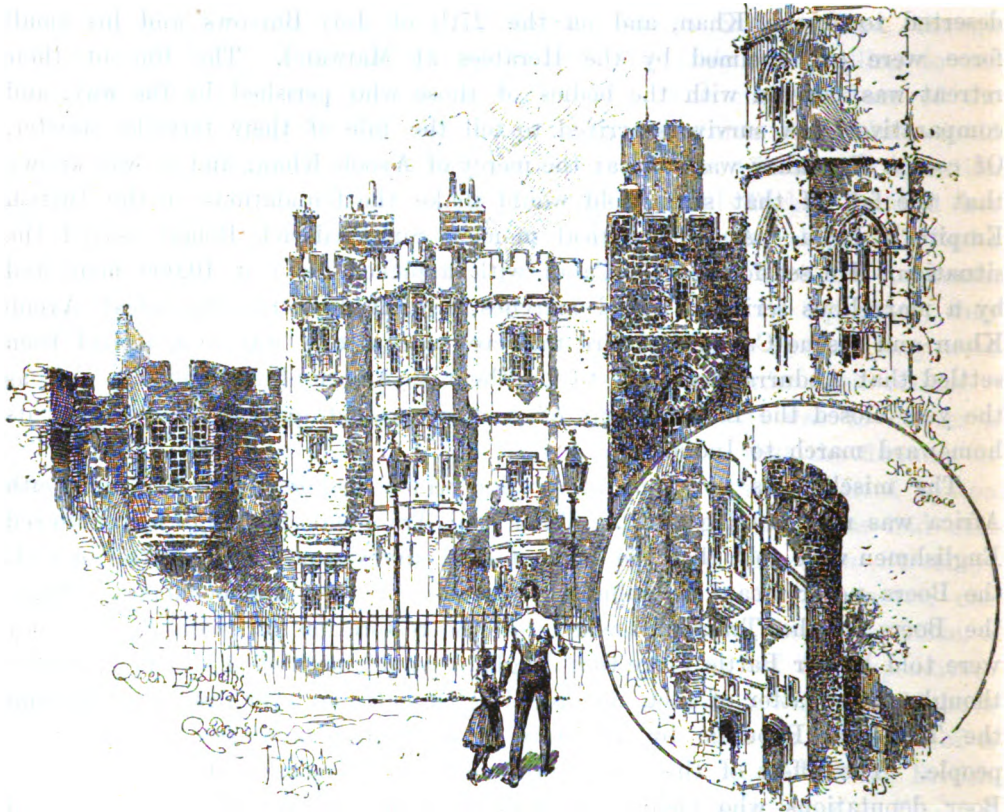
When Mr. Gladstone's Government took office they began by trying to

discover a Prince who could take Afghanistan off their hands, and for that purpose they tried to treat with Abdurrahman Khan. Unfortunately, Candahar was not only held by a weak force under General Primrose, but it had been decided by the Indian authorities to still further weaken it by sending General Burrows with a moiety of its garrison—some 2,000 men—to meet Ayoo Khan, and co-operate with the troops of the Wali of Candahar in checking the advance of the Heratees. The troops of the Wali, however, deserted to Ayoo Khan, and on the 27th of July Burrows and his small force were overwhelmed by the Heratees at Maiwand. The line of their retreat was covered with the bodies of those who perished by the way, and comparatively few survivors arrived to tell the tale of their terrible disaster. Of course Candahar was now at the mercy of Ayoo Khan, and it was known that the fall of that stronghold would shake the foundations of the British Empire in India. At this critical moment Sir Frederick Roberts saved the situation. He set forth from Cabul with a picked force of 10,000 men, and by a marvellous series of forced marches he arrived in time to defeat Ayoo Khan and rescue Candahar. Ere this crowning victory was won, it had been settled that Abdurrahman was to be the new Ameer of Afghanistan, and as the year closed the British Army of occupation had quitted Sherepore on its homeward march to India.

The mischievous policy of annexation which had been pursued in South Africa was now bearing fruit. When the Transvaal Republic was annexed Englishmen were told that the Boers desired annexation. As a matter of fact, the Boers never meant to submit to the loss of their independence. When the Boers in the Transvaal asked for the restoration of their rights, they were told by Sir Bartle Frere that England would never concede their claims; though, as a matter of fact, no sane Englishman had ever dreamt of holding the Transvaal Republic by an army of occupation against the will of its people. The effect of these misrepresentations was somewhat neutralised by Boer deputations who visited England, by Radicals like Mr. Courtney, and Home Rulers like Mr. Parnell and Mr. F. H. O'Donnell, who warned Englishmen that the Boers were discontented, and that they would rise in insurrection. Mr. Gladstone, too, in his election speeches kept alive Boer aspirations for independence, by condemning their enforced subjection to a British Colonial bureaucracy. The Boers ultimately rebelled, the occasion of the revolt being the refusal of a citizen at Pretoria to pay an illegal claim made on him by the Treasury. On the 13th of December, 1880, at Heidelberg, they proclaimed a Republic under the Triumvirate of Kruger, Joubert, and Pretorius. A collision between the insurgents and British troops under Colonel Anstruther occurred at Bronkhorst Spruit, which ended in the defeat of the latter; and as the year closed, General Sir George Pomeroy Colley was making a futile effort to quell the rising and reconquer the Transvaal.

The Ministerial programme of domestic legislation was popular, but it

took a long time to carry it out. At the end of July business was seriously in arrear, and yet Ministers said that they were determined to push on all their Bills. Towards the end of August no great progress had been made, and the proposal of a Session which might be prolonged into October was seriously discussed. The obstructive strategy devised by Mr. Parnell in Lord Beaconsfield's Parliament was now developed with great success by the little



WINDSOR CASTLE : QUEEN ELIZABETH'S LIBRARY, FROM THE QUADRANGLE.

band of Tories called the Fourth Party, under the leadership of Lord Randolph Churchill. Their method differed from Mr. Parnell's in one point. He obstructed great measures in mass, so to speak. The Fourth Party organised persistent and systematic obstruction in detail, that is to say, they wasted small scraps of time all through a sitting at odd moments, the cumulative effect of which was most serious. Nor did they on this account refrain from obstruction on the system practised by Mr. Parnell when occasion served, only they carried it on without raising the clamant scandals that spring from prolonged and melodramatic sittings. At the end of August their efforts provoked Lord Hartington into revealing the fact that in the course of the Session Mr. Gorst had made 105 speeches and asked 18 questions, that Lord Randolph Churchill had made 74 speeches and asked

21 questions, that Sir H. Drummond Wolff had made 68 speeches and asked 84 questions, while three Irish Members had delivered 160 speeches and asked 80 questions. In fact, six Members (Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Gorst, Sir H. D. Wolff, Mr. Biggar, Mr. O'Connor, and Mr. Finigan) had delivered during the Session 407 speeches. Still, the Government persevered and, after Lord Hartington's exposure of the tactics of the Opposition, business progressed more rapidly. A Burials Bill, allowing Dissenting ministers to hold services in parish churchyards at the burial of their dead, was passed. Sir William Harcourt passed a Bill giving farmers an inalienable right to kill hares and rabbits. Mr. Dodson's Employers' Liability Bill was fiercely obstructed, but it passed and gave great satisfaction to the working classes. It made employers responsible for accidents to their work-people where the accident was traceable to the conduct of the master's representative, or any workman or person who might reasonably be supposed to be his representative. In the House of Lords, it is true, Lord Beaconsfield succeeded in limiting the operation of the Bill to two years, but this period was extended to seven years by the Commons. The Supplementary Estimates had devoured the small surplus which Sir Stafford Northcote's Budget showed in March. Hence on the 10th of June Mr. Gladstone brought in a Supplementary Budget, in which he abolished the Malt Tax, substituting for it a Beer Duty, reduced the duties on light foreign wines, increased and readjusted the licence duties on the sale of spirits, and added a penny to the Income Tax. The general result was that a final surplus of £381,000 could be shown on the year's accounts.

Nothing could be more embarrassing than the condition of Ireland when Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister. The Home Rulers returned sixty-eight members to the House of Commons, and, though a few of them were lukewarm Nationalists, they had organised themselves into a separate Party, under the leadership of Mr. Parnell. He plainly indicated that they would make use of the feuds between the Opposition and the Government to further their own cause. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster first of all decided to rule Ireland without coercive legislation. But during the debates on the Address to the Crown it was made manifest that they had no clear idea of the extent to which agrarian distress prevailed in Ireland; that they ignored the alarming increase of harsh evictions, which were certain to excite the peasantry to savage deeds of retaliation; that they failed to understand how famine had been averted solely by the charitable funds raised during the previous year; and that they accordingly did not mean to reopen the Land Question. The Irish Party, therefore, at the outset ranged themselves with the Opposition, and even sat beside the Tories below the gangway on the left side of the Speaker's chair. They began operations by bringing in a Bill to suspend evictions for non-payment of rent, which the Government opposed. But the case presented by the Irish Members seemed too serious to be put aside.

It was at last admitted that there was a crisis in Ireland to be dealt with, and Mr. Forster therefore introduced a short Bill, which so far amended the Act of 1870 as to make disturbance for non-payment of rent, where the tenant was too poor to pay, a case for compensation. The Bill passed through the House of Commons after violent recriminatory debates, in the course of which Mr. Gladstone declared that in the distressed districts eviction was "very near to a sentence of death." * The measure was promptly rejected by the House of Lords. Ministers acquiesced in this rebuff, and from that moment they lost their hold over rural Ireland. They had publicly declared that 15,000 persons were to be evicted that year, in circumstances which rendered eviction tantamount to a sentence of death. They had publicly admitted that it was wicked to extort rack rents from these persons by threats of eviction, and that, unless they were protected from the rapacity of their landlords, the peace of Ireland would be imperilled. And then they permitted the Peers to reject the protective Bill, which Mr. Forster had pressed forward as necessary for the preservation of tranquillity! Either the Government was wrong in introducing the Bill, or it was wrong to remain responsible for the peace of Ireland after the Bill had been rejected. All that Mr. Forster did in this crisis was to promise a new Land Bill next year, and appoint a Commission to inquire into Irish distress. Rural Ireland had by this time been completely organised into a Land League by Mr. Michael Davitt, and this Land League was really a gigantic trades-union, to promote a strike against rack rents. Incidentally, its organisation was also used to further the Home Rule cause. The leaders of the League advised the people to resist eviction, and Mr. John Dillon used words to which Sir W. Barttelot called attention in the House of Commons on the 17th of August, that seemed to advise a general strike against rent. Acrimonious debates followed day after day, in the course of which the hostility between the Parnellites and the Ministry deepened with every turn. Mr. Parnell's cynical argument that as Ministers could not, because of a Parliamentary defeat, carry the Disturbance Bill, which they admitted was essential for the good government of Ireland, they ought, as men of honour, to free Ireland from the mischievous interference of the Imperial Parliament, seemed to cut Mr. Forster to the quick. At last, in Committee of Supply on the 26th of August, it was clear that an organised attempt to coerce the Government by obstruction was to be made. On the motion for going into Supply, Lord Randolph Churchill raised an irrelevant and discursive debate on the Irish policy of the Government, which had already been under bitter discussion for the best part of a fortnight. This set the Parnellites and the Ministerialists by the ears, and consumed a great part of the sitting. Then, when the vote for the Irish Police was moved, Lord Randolph Churchill and the Fourth Party vanished into the background, and left the work of obstruction to the

* Hansard, Vol. CCLIII., p. 1663.

Parnellites, who kept it up till one o'clock in the afternoon of the following day (Friday, the 27th of August). The debate was at this stage adjourned till next Monday, when, after further discussion, the vote was carried. During these exciting and troublous scenes Mr. Gladstone was absent from the House of Commons. He had fallen ill on the 4th of July, and had gone for a cruise in one of Sir Donald Currie's steamers, the *Grantully Castle*, to recover his health. During his absence his duties were taken up by Lord Hartington, who led the House till Mr. Gladstone was able to reappear on the 3rd of September. On the 6th of September Parliament was prorogued. But during the recess the condition of Ireland grew worse and worse. The landlords, dreading the forthcoming Land Bill, pressed on evictions. The Land League urged the people to refuse to pay rack rents, and the League had by this time become so powerful, that it could enforce its decrees almost as surely as if it had been the regular Government of the country. Its favourite weapon of coercion was to pronounce against bailiff or landlord, land agent or "land grabber"—i.e., a man who offered to take a farm from which the tenant had been unjustly evicted—sentence of social ostracism. The victim of this sentence was not assaulted or outraged, but he was treated as if he were a leper by his neighbours, and the system came to be known as "boycotting."* Boycotting was indignantly assailed in England, and yet it was in itself a mark of progress. Just as slavery in primitive warfare was an improvement on cannibalism as a means of disposing of prisoners, so boycotting, carefully carried out within the law, was an improvement on assassination as a means of agrarian coercion. But the demand for retaliatory measures against the Parnellites was loud and strong among the upper and middle classes. Mr. Forster at last yielded to it, and it was in vain that Mr. Bright protested in one of his speeches that "force was no remedy." Outrages increased in Ireland. The ladies of the Tory aristocracy, and some of the great Whig families, made arrangements for devoting their *salons* during the coming Session, to a social campaign against Mr. Chamberlain and the Radical section of the Cabinet. On the 2nd of November, 1880, the Irish Attorney-General filed an indictment of nineteen counts, against Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, and various leaders of the Land League, for conspiring to incite tenants not to pay rent or take farms from which the occupiers had been

* The origin of the term was as follows :—Captain Boycott, an agent of Lord Earne, and a farmer at Lough Maak, had served notices of eviction on the Earne tenantry. Suddenly he found himself "marooned," as it were, on his farm. Nobody would work for him, speak to him, do business with him, or even supply him at any price with the necessaries of life. Police guards watched over him and his family whilst they did their own farm and household work. At last some of the Orange lodges in the North sent down a gang of armed labourers to help him out of his difficulties. These were called "Emergency men." Subsequently the dispute between Lord Earne and his tenants was arranged, and all of a sudden Captain Boycott found that the leper's ban had been removed from his household, and he himself treated as if he had been all his life the most popular person in the neighbourhood.

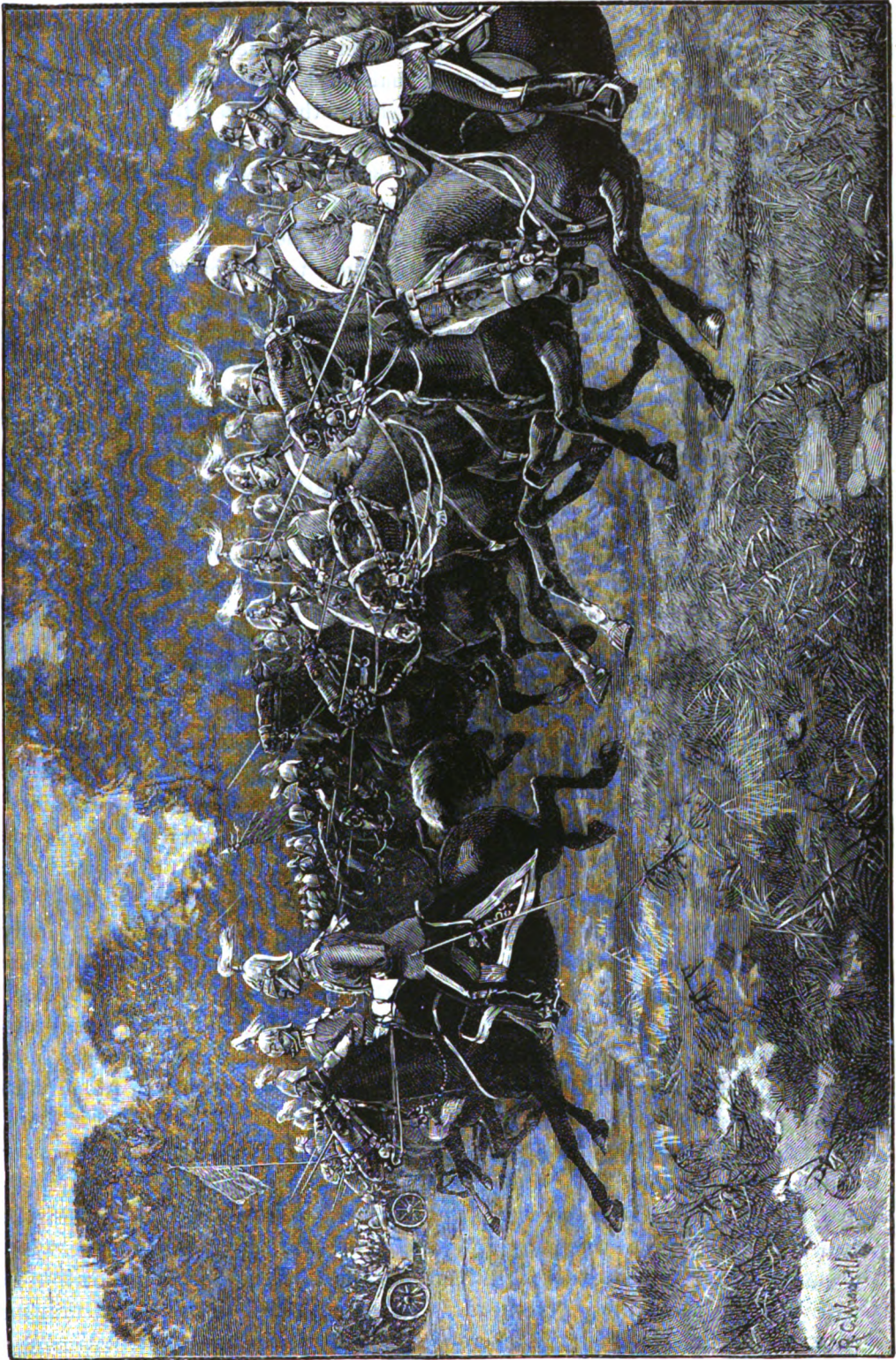
evicted, but the trial, after lasting for twenty days, broke down, because the jury could not agree on a verdict. Ere the year ended it was known that the Cabinet, though it had nearly been broken up by the decision, had at last consented to let Mr. Forster bring in a strong Coercion Bill next Session.

The year was not an eventful one in the family life of the Court. Before



THE QUEEN PRESENTING THE ALBERT MEDAL TO GEORGE OATLEY, OF THE COASTGUARD.

Parliament was dissolved the Queen arranged to visit her relatives in Germany. The time had come when her granddaughters, the Princesses Victoria and Elizabeth of Hesse, were to be confirmed, and she desired to be present at the ceremony. Her Majesty and the Princess Beatrice (travelling as the Countess of Balmoral and the Countess Beatrice of Balmoral), attended by Sir H. F. Ponsonby, Viscount Bridport, and Lady Churchill, left Windsor Castle on the 25th of March, and embarked at one o'clock on the royal yacht *Victoria and Albert*. It was intended that the Queen should proceed to Darmstadt to visit the Grand Duke of Hesse and the tomb of Princess Alice. There the Queen would be joined by the Prince and Princess of Wales. On the 25th the Queen and her suite landed at five o'clock at Cherbourg, and entered their special train. The public were excluded from the stations on



REVIEW IN WINDSOR PARK: CHARGE OF THE 5TH AND 7TH DRAGOON GUARDS.

the route, and every effort was made to respect the Queen's incognito. The Royal party arrived at Baden-Baden at half-past three in the afternoon of the 27th, and the Queen drove immediately to the Villa Hohenlohe, which was to be her residence during her stay. As for her suite, they were lodged at the Hotel Europe. On the 30th her Majesty, the Princess Beatrice, and suite, left Baden-Baden by special train for Darmstadt, where they were received by the Grand Duke and the elder Princesses of Hesse. A carriage drawn by four horses was in waiting to convey the Royal party to the Castle, where the Queen occupied the Assembly Chamber, whilst apartments were allotted to the Princess Beatrice in the Clock Tower. The Prince and Princess of Wales, who had left Marlborough House three days before, arrived at Darmstadt on the 29th. On the 31st the Queen and Princess Beatrice, accompanied by the Grand Duke of Hesse, proceeded at half-past four to the mausoleum on the Rosenhöhe, where Princess Alice was buried. On the morning of the same day the Queen, with the Prince and Princess of Wales, and Princess Beatrice, the German Crown Prince, the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess, and the Hereditary Grand Duke of Baden, attended the confirmation of the Princesses Victoria and Elizabeth, daughters of the Grand Duke of Hesse. The Queen and Princess Beatrice then returned to Baden on the 1st of April. On April the 16th, on her return from Baden, her Majesty arrived at Laeken, and was received at the railway station by the King and Queen of the Belgians and Mr. Lumley, the British Minister. After visiting the park and grounds of the Palace, and partaking of luncheon, the Queen left for Flushing. On April the 17th her Majesty and suite left Flushing for Queenborough, *en route* for Windsor, where she arrived in safety, to find the station thronged with residents, who had gathered to welcome her on her return, while crowds of kindly spectators lined the way to the Castle. She returned just as the electoral crisis was over, to find the Ministry she had thought so stable overthrown, and public opinion not only clamouring for the dismissal of Lord Beaconsfield from office, but for the return of Mr. Gladstone to power. On the 27th of April she gave Lord Beaconsfield his farewell audience, and for the next fortnight was deeply absorbed in transacting the business incidental to the formation of a new Ministry amidst distracting intrigues which were not altogether friendly to the new Ministers.

On the 20th of May the Queen and the Princess Beatrice left Windsor for Balmoral, and the Prince and Princess of Wales discharged her Majesty's social duties during her absence. On her way to her Highland home the Queen took part in a ceremony of which she was, in fact, the promoter. During a terrific storm on the 16th of February, a Swedish ship had been thrown on the rocks near Peterhead. The Coastguard succeeded in flinging a rocket over the wreck, but the crew were apparently unable to understand the working of the apparatus. And so, in all human probability, the vessel

would have been lost with all souls but for the bravery of George Oatley, one of the Coastguard. Oatley, disregarding every appeal to the contrary, resolved to swim out to the distressed ship. After a fierce conflict with the angry waves he gained the vessel, fixed the rocket appliance, saw the crew safely conveyed ashore, and was himself the last to take his place in the cradle. The Duke of Edinburgh having recommended him for the Albert Medal of the First Class, her Majesty presented it in person on the 22nd of May. The interesting ceremony took place at Ferry Hill Junction, where a platform had been erected for the occasion along the side of the line. The Queen and Princess Beatrice were greeted with the heartiest cheers as they left the saloon. Captain Best, R.N., Commander of the coastguard division to which the hero of the day belonged, having introduced him to her Majesty, the Queen attached the medal to Oatley's breast, and expressed the pleasure it afforded her to decorate him for his gallant conduct. She then resumed her seat in the train, and her journey was continued. The Court returned to Windsor on the 23rd of June.

On the 13th of July a General Order was issued by the Duke of Cambridge, by command of the Queen, conveying her congratulations to the Volunteers on the completion of the twenty-first year of their existence, and expressing her regret that she was unable to hold a review of the citizen soldiers in Windsor Great Park. On the afternoon of the following day her Majesty reviewed 11,000 regular troops in Windsor Great Park. This was a brilliant affair, the 5th and 7th Dragoon Guards winding up the display with a most dashing charge. On the 19th of July the Queen and the Princess Beatrice left Windsor and took up their quarters at Osborne where, on the 28th, her Majesty received a party of eight officers and men of the 24th Regiment, who brought with them the colours of that corps, which had been rescued from the hands of the Zulus by two ensigns at the cost of their lives. Her Majesty inspected the colours, and spoke with brief and simple eloquence of the bravery and loyalty of the regiment, touching with manifest emotion on the death of the ensigns who had sacrificed their lives for their standards. Curiously enough, Indian telegrams published about this time in the newspapers showed that at the battle of Maiwand the majority of the officers of the 66th Regiment were killed in the vain attempt to defend their colours; in fact, the regiment lost 400 out of its strength of 500 in this action. The attention of military men was thus drawn to the practice of carrying colours into action, and it was argued that it was one more honoured in the breach than the observance. History hardly records a case where a regiment has been rallied on its colours. On the other hand, a hundred fights besides Isandhlwana and Maiwand testify that many valuable lives have been lost in defending them. Nor are colours necessary as incentives to bravery, for the Rifle regiments (whose record is one of unsullied glory) never carried any colours, though they fought fully as well as the

regiments that encumbered themselves with flaunting banners.* On the 21st of August the Queen crossed over to Portsmouth, and inspected the 1st battalion of the Rifle Brigade previous to its departure for India. The regiments were not drawn up in line in spick and span order, but were visited by her Majesty as they sat at mess in undress uniform on board the troopship, and, as she made a minute inspection of their quarters, the novelty of the scene apparently interested and amused her very much. The exceptional honour thus conferred on the Riflemen was due to the close connection of the corps with the Royal Family.†

On the 26th of August the Court went to Balmoral, from whence, just before Parliament was prorogued, she addressed to the Ministry a strong Memorandum drawing attention to the frequency with which railway accidents were occurring, and urging that steps should be taken to provide travellers with better security for safety. In October she held many anxious consultations with Lord Granville and Lord Hartington on the state of Ireland, where the increase in outrages, such as the savage murders of Mr. Boyd and Lord Mountmorres ‡ gave her great pain. The result was that Lord Hartington, when he arrived in London from Balmoral on the 11th of October, was immediately visited by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville, and in political circles it was soon rumoured that the Irish Government was about to prosecute the leaders of the Irish Land League. On the 10th of October the Queen and Princess Beatrice went to spend a few days amidst the snowdrifts of the Glassalt Sheil. The Court returned to Windsor on the 17th of December, to find the world—for a time at least—talking of something else besides Irish outrages.

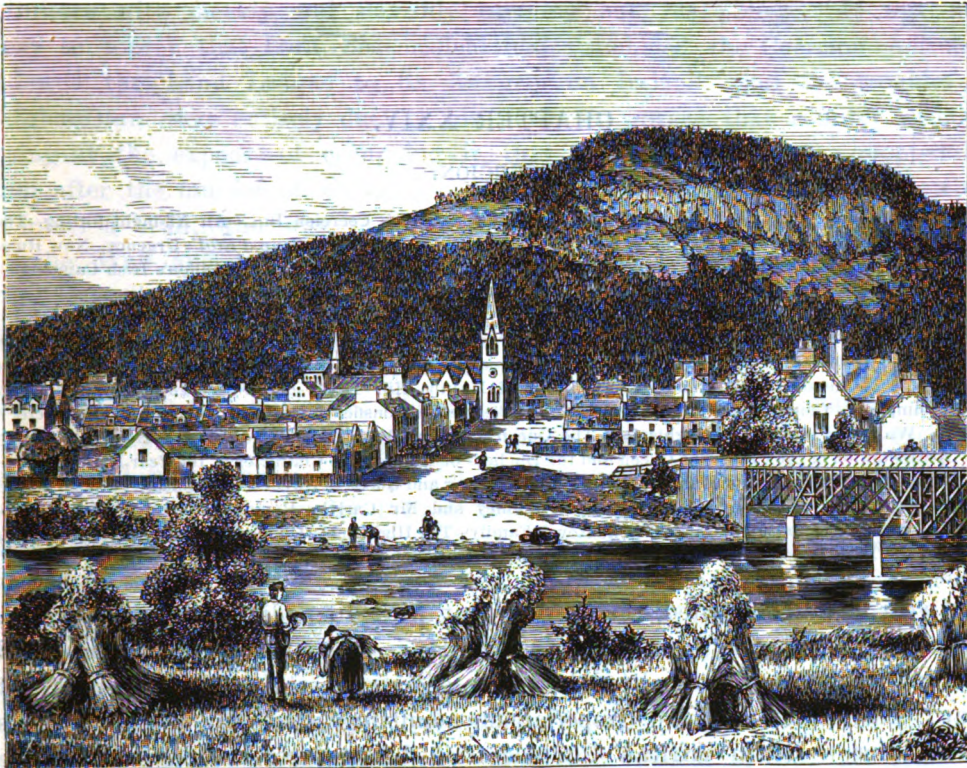
Lord Beaconsfield had just published his last brilliant and audacious political novel, "Endymion," in what one of its characters describes as "the

* The Rifle regiments were not supplied with colours, because in the old days they were supposed to fight in more extended order than the Infantry of the Line. Now there is no difference in this respect between the rifleman and the linesman. Of the cavalry, only the heavy dragoons carried colours, but they always left them at home when they went to war.

† The Rifle Brigade was originally formed out of detachments from fourteen different line regiments, and was long known as "Manningham's Sharpshooters." From 1800 to 1802 it was known as the Rifle Corps. Down to 1816 it got the name of the "Old 95th," after which year till now it has been called the Rifle Brigade. The Prince Consort was its colonel, and in his portraits he is often seen wearing its sombre green heavily-braided uniform. Hence it got the title of the Prince Consort's Own Rifle Brigade. The Prince of Wales became its Colonel-in-Chief till he was appointed Colonel of the Household Cavalry. He was succeeded by the Duke of Connaught, who began his meritorious though modest career as a lieutenant in the 1st Battalion.

‡ Mr. C. D. Boyd was shot by a gang of men with blackened faces whilst driving on the 8th of August from New Ross to Shanlough. He was the son of the agent to Mr. Tottenham, and there was reason to suppose that it was his father (who was with him) who was aimed at. Lord Mountmorres was waylaid near Clonbur and shot on the 25th of September. He had only fifteen tenants, had evicted only two of them, and his household was boycotted. He lived among the people, and was fairly popular with them, so that his murder is to this day somewhat of a mystery.

Corinthian style, in which the Mænad of Mr. Burke was habited in the last mode of Almack's." The town was in raptures over a burlesque of Society, which blended together into amusing personalities such opposite characters as Cardinal Wiseman and Cardinal Manning; Lord Palmerston and Sidney Herbert; Poole the tailor, and Hudson the railway king; which made Prince Bismarck tilt with Napoleon III. at the Eglinton Tournament; which idealised the author as Endymion, Lady Beaconsfield as Imogen, and Napoleon III. as



BALLATER.

Prince Florestan; which travestied Lady Palmerston as Zenobia, caricatured Thackeray cleverly but spitefully as Mr. St. Barbe, and George Smythe cleverly but not spitefully as Waldershare.

The year closed with a more serious event in the world of literature, the death (on the 22nd of December) of George Eliot, whose novels were ever a perennial source of pure enjoyment to the Queen. George Eliot was, at her death, the first of living novelists, and the womanhood of England in the Victorian period produced no genius that in culture, strength, tenderness, spiritual insight, and humour, could be compared with hers. The sombre fatalism of the Greek tragedians overshadows her "Mill on the Floss." The humour of Shakespeare ripples through the taproom scenes in "Silas Marner." In "Romola," were

it not overweighted with psychological analysis, she would have defeated Scott: in the glowing field of historical romance, and did defeat the author of "Esmond" in an arena in which he was supposed to be peerless among his contemporaries. In "Adam Bede," which has probably been read more widely than any other story of our time by the English-speaking race, she revealed all the grace, sweetness, delicacy of feeling, nobility of intellect, and purity of heart, that formed her fascinating and sympathetic personality.

CHAPTER XXIV.

COERCION.

Lord Beaconsfield Attacks the Government—The Irish Crisis—The Coercion Bill—An All-night Sitting—The Arrest of Mr. Davitt—The Revolt of the Irish Members—The Speaker's *Coup d'État*—Urgency—New Rules of Procedure—The Speaker's *Clôture*—End of the Struggle against Coercion—Mr. Dillon's Irish Campaign—Mr. Forster's First Batch of "Suspects"—The Peers Censure the Ministry—Mr. Gladstone's "Retort Courteous"—Abolition of the "Cat"—The Budget—Paying off the National Debt—The Irish Land Bill—The Three "F's"—Resignation of the Duke of Argyll—The Strategic Blunder of the Tories—The Fallacy of Dual Ownership—Conflict between the Lords and Commons—Surrender of the Peers—Passing the Land Bill—Revolt of the Transvaal—The Rout of Majuba Hill—Death of Sir George Colley—The Boers Triumphant—Concession of Autonomy to the Boers—Lord Beaconsfield's Death—His Career and Character—A "Walking Funeral" at Hughenden—The Queen and Lord Beaconsfield's Tomb—A Sorrowing Nation—Assassination of the Czar—The Queen and the Duchess of Edinburgh—Character of the Czar Emancipator—Precautions for the Safety of the Queen—Visit of the King and Queen of Sweden to Windsor—Prince Leopold becomes Duke of Albany—Deaths of Dean Stanley and Mr. Carlyle—Review of Scottish Volunteers—Assassination of President Garfield—The Royal Family—The Highlands—Holiday Pastimes—The Parnellites and the Irish Land Act—Arrest of Mr. Parnell—No-Rent Manifesto.

THE year 1881 confronted the Government with four difficulties. The Irish Question was growing more serious every day. With a heavy heart England not only saw herself committed to a war of reconquest in the Transvaal, but heard her most sanguine Imperialists admitting that Sir Bartle Frere's scheme for a South African Confederation had utterly broken down. The Parliament of the Cape Colony would not even seriously discuss it, and Sir Bartle Frere had been recalled at the end of 1880. Victory had crowned British arms in Afghanistan, but Lord Beaconsfield's policy of holding Candahar, and controlling the rest of the country by British Residents, was obviously impossible. Lord Lytton, who now called it an "experiment," admitted that the murder of Cavagnari had proved it to be a failure. The claims of Greece to an increase of territory and a better frontier, had been admitted to be just by the Powers, but Turkey still refused to accept any compromise which Europe suggested, and Greece pressed her demands with growing impatience. The nation was therefore relieved to find that Parliament was to meet earlier than usual, and when it assembled on the 6th of January it was soon seen that the Session would be a stormy one. Among the upper and upper middle classes the Government was denounced with a bitterness.

that had no parallel, for permitting Ireland to fall into "anarchy" under the dominion of the Land League.

In the debate on the Address in the House of Lords, Lord Beaconsfield, appealing to the prevailing sentiment of disappointment, sought to show that all these difficulties were due to Mr. Gladstone's sudden reversal of the Conservative policy when he came into office. The speech was pitched in a strange, shrewish note of anger, and it failed to produce much effect. Men could not forget that only a few months before Lord Beaconsfield had taunted the Ministry with meekly and slavishly carrying out his policy. It was not easy to forget that Lord Beaconsfield had abandoned the Coercion Act and allowed the Land League to fix its grip on Ireland, that the troubles in Afghanistan were entirely due to his desire to govern that country without being at the expense of occupying it, that the alternative policy adopted by him after the murder of Cavagnari—that of detaching Candahar and putting it under a Wali, who was to be friendly and independent—ended in the fall of the Wali and the desertion of his troops to the enemy which produced the disaster of Maiwand. As for South Africa, even the *Times*, which had supported Lord Beaconsfield's policy in that region, now wrote, "what a miserable business our whole connection with the annexation of the Transvaal has been from first to last. The original annexation of the country was a mistake, and it has been the parent of all the rest." Knowing that Englishmen would never sanction a war for the conquest of a free European people who objected to come under British rule, Lord Beaconsfield's agents supplied Parliament with no information on the subject, save that which indicated that the Boers would welcome absorption in the British Empire as the surest means of deliverance from native difficulties. The Greek difficulty obviously was an evil inheritance from the Treaty of Berlin by which Lord Beaconsfield conferred on England "Peace with Honour."

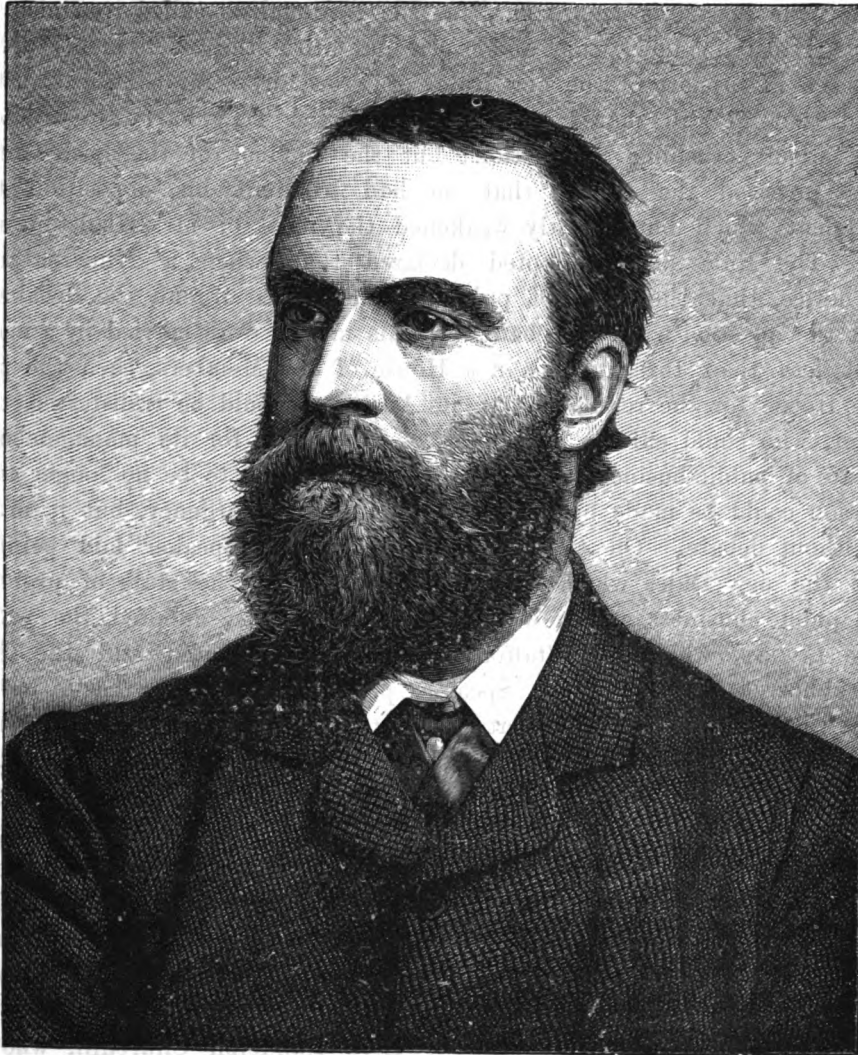
But the domestic crisis in Ireland was far too serious to permit men to indulge in party recriminations, and Lord Beaconsfield showed his sense in urging his followers not to do anything to weaken the Government. Unfortunately, neither he nor Sir Stafford Northcote had much control over the aggressive Tories who were led by the Fourth Party, and the Fourth Party, when the Session opened, cemented more strongly than ever their alliance with the Parnellites for purposes of obstructive opposition. The Tory Party were ably led on two distinct lines of attack. One wing did what it could to goad the Ministry into scourging Ireland with coercive legislation. Another wing gave the Irish members all the help it dared give them publicly in obstructing the domestic legislation, and embarrassing the Foreign Policy of the Ministry. Coercion Bills were announced on the first day of the Session, and the consequence was that it was not till after eleven days' wearisome wrangling that the debate on the Address ended on the 20th of January. On the 24th, Mr. Forster introduced his Protection of Persons and Property

(Ireland) Bill, giving the Lord-Lieutenant power to arrest by warrant persons *suspected* of treasonable intentions, intimidation, and incitement to violate the laws. If he had this power, said Mr. Förster, he could put under lock and key the "village ruffians" and outrage-mongers who attacked people that were obnoxious to the Land League, and then Ireland would be at peace.

The violence with which the Irish Members obstructed this Bill provoked Mr. Bright to attack them in a speech on the 27th of January, which rendered him and them enemies for life. Mr. Gladstone followed in the same vein, and on Monday, the 31st of January, a scene that became historic was enacted. The debate was prolonged all day and all night, and on through the dull, grey hours of the morning of the 1st of February, and still on all night without ceasing, till the enraged and exhausted House found itself at nine in the morning of the 2nd of February still in session and with no prospect of release. Then the Speaker interfered, saying that it was clear to him the Bill had been wilfully obstructed for forty-one hours. In order to vindicate the honour of the House, whose rules seemed powerless to meet the difficulty, he declared his determination to put the main question without further debate. This was done amidst loud shouts of "Privilege" from the Irish Members, who left the House in a body, and the motion for leave to bring in the Bill, a motion rarely obstructed by any debate, was carried by a vote of 164 to 19. For the first time in the history of Parliament, a debate had been closed by the personal authority of the Speaker.

Mr. Gladstone having announced that the Second Reading of the Bill would be taken that day at noon, the Irish Members returned to the charge. They attempted to challenge the action of the Speaker, and moved the adjournment of the House; but in spite of the support which they received from Lord Randolph Churchill, they were beaten on a division, though they succeeded in wasting the whole of the sitting. Next day (Thursday, the 3rd of February) the Irish Members began the attack by asking if it were true that Mr. Davitt had been arrested. "Yes, sir," was the answer of Sir William Harcourt. Then, when Mr. Gladstone rose to move the adoption of the new Rule of Procedure, Mr. Dillon rose to a point of order. The Speaker requested him to be seated, but he refused. He was then "named" for wilfully disregarding the authority of the Chair, and, in conformity with the Standing Order, Mr. Gladstone immediately moved his suspension for the rest of the sitting. The motion was carried by a vote of 395 to 33, and, as Mr. Dillon declined to withdraw, he was removed by the Serjeant-at-Arms. After a futile attempt on the part of Mr. Sullivan to dispute the legality of the Speaker's action, Mr. Gladstone again rose, whereupon The O'Donoghue moved the adjournment of the House. The Speaker ruled that Mr. Gladstone should proceed. Mr. Parnell now moved that Mr. Gladstone be not

heard.* The Speaker "named" Mr. Parnell, who was then suspended and removed like Mr. Dillon. Mr. Finigan next repeated Mr. Parnell's offence, and was removed in the same manner. On this occasion twenty-eight Irish Members were reported as refusing to leave their seats when



MR. PARNELL.

(From a Photograph by William Lawrence, Dublin.)

the Speaker ordered the House to be cleared for a division. The Speaker "named" them all, and though Mr. Balfour and Mr. Gorst, on behalf of

* This antiquated form of silencing a Member had not been heard of for two centuries, till Mr. Gladstone had himself revived it in the previous Session, for the purpose of silencing Mr. O'Donnell when he attempted to make a personal attack on M. Challemeil-Lacour, who had come to England as the Ambassador of France.

the Fourth Party, feelingly remonstrated against the vote for their suspension *en bloc* being put, the Speaker ruled that this was a question not of order but convenience, and the vote was carried by 410 to 4. Then the Speaker ordered them one by one to be removed. Five others, who were not included, procured their expulsion, and, after a struggle of three hours and a half, "the Speaker's *coup d'état*," as the Nationalists called it, ended.*

Mr. Gladstone now, pale and worn out with the excitement, delivered his speech in support of the new Rules of Procedure. Sir Stafford Northcote showed that he still shared the hostility of the Tory Party to any scheme for effectively crushing obstruction; but the conduct of the Irish Members had so incensed the House, that he had to limit his opposition to an amendment which but slightly weakened the force of Mr. Gladstone's proposal. The Rule finally adopted declared that, when a Minister moved, after notice, that the state of public business was urgent, the Speaker was to put the question without debate. If this motion were carried by a majority of not less than three to one in a House of 300 Members, then the powers of the House for the regulation of its business should be transferred to the Speaker, who could enforce such rules as he pleased for its management, till the state of public business should be declared by him to be no longer urgent. A motion could be made by a Member to terminate urgency, but it must be put without debate. On the 9th of February the Speaker laid before the House the new Rules which he had drawn up for the state of urgency in which public business was now declared to be. They adopted the principle of the *Clôture*, which Sir Stafford Northcote deprecated and the Fourth Party abhorred, and gave the Speaker power, when supported by a three-fourths' majority, to close a debate by putting the question without further discussion. No debate on a motion to go into Committee, or on postponing the preamble of a Bill under urgency, was to be allowed. Opportunities for moving adjournments were curtailed, and the Speaker was to have power to order a Member to stop talking when he became guilty of "irrelevance or tedious repetition." In Committee the *Clôture* was not to be applied, but no Members (except those in charge of Bills or those who had moved amendments) were to be allowed to speak more than once to the same question.

Even under urgency the debate on the Coercion Bill in Committee went on slowly, and at one time (owing to Lord Randolph Churchill, who supported the Bill "with reluctance and distrust," and Sir John Holker, who contended that "liberty was more precious than coercion," displaying much sympathy with the opponents of the measure) it was feared that Ministers would lose the support of a large section of the Opposition. This fear was baseless, but the debate went on till the 21st of February, when the Speaker, on a motion summarily moved by Lord Hartington, suddenly terminated it under

* See Hansard, Vol. CCLVIII., p. 68 *et seq.*

the new Rules. All amendments not disposed of after seven o'clock on the 22nd were put and divided on without debate. The measure received the Queen's assent on the 2nd of March. A Bill giving the Irish police power to search houses for arms was introduced by Sir William Harcourt on the 1st of March, read a third time on the 4th, and passed by the House of Lords on the 18th of March. The struggle against coercion thus lasted nine weeks, and the violence with which the Irish Party conducted it is defended by Mr. T. P. O'Connor on the grounds that it consolidated the Nationalist Party, and that the scenes in the House so roused the temper of the Irish people that the Peers were afraid to reject the Land Bill of 1881, as they did the Compensation for Disturbance Bill of 1880.* On the other hand, they permanently alienated from the Irish Party the sympathies of a large class of moderate Liberals in England, who were anxious to legislate for Ireland in a sympathetic spirit.

After the Coercion Bill had passed, Mr. Dillon carried on a passionate agitation against the Government in Ireland, and Mr. Forster retaliated by imprisoning him and several other Land Leaguers as "suspects" in May. Mr. Finigan was sent down to Coventry, where an election was taking place, to canvass the constituency on behalf of the Tory candidate, Mr. Eaton, a tangible expression of gratitude for the occasional sympathy that had been extended to the Parnellites by Lord Randolph Churchill, and some other Conservatives during the Coercion debates. There was a lull in the storm, however, during which the Peers censured the Government for refusing to occupy Candahar. A vote of the House of Commons on the 25th of March reversed this censure, for the House rejected by 336 to 216 a motion of Mr. Stanhope's, blaming the Government for withdrawing from Candahar "at the present time." When the Tories refused to commit themselves to the proposition that it was the duty of the Government to hold Candahar permanently, and merely demanded its occupation "at the present time," their attack assumed the complexion of a party demonstration. If England were to leave Candahar at all the sooner she left it the better, for the longer her troops stayed the more difficult it would be to establish the native government of Abdurrahman in the Province. The Army Discipline Bill, abolishing flogging, passed through the House of Commons without much opposition from the Tories, and was read a third time by the House of Lords on the 7th of April. The Budget was introduced by Mr. Gladstone on the 4th of April, and on an estimated expenditure of £84,705,000, and an estimated revenue of £85,900,000, he showed a probable surplus of £1,195,000. This was reduced by £100,000, consumed in paying off a loan for building barracks. Mr. Gladstone, therefore, reduced the Income Tax to 5d. in the pound, and converted the deficit thereby incurred of £275,000, into a surplus of £295,000, by levying

* The Parnell Movement, by T. P. O'Connor, M.P., Chapter XI.

an uniform surtax of 4d. a gallon on foreign spirits, in accordance with the test of standard strength applied to wines, and by minor changes in the Probate, Legacy, and Succession Duties. The most important part of his statement was that, during the past year, the National Debt had been reduced by £7,000,000. He also foreshadowed a great scheme for the extinction of £60,000,000 of debt, by the conversion of one-third of the short annuities terminating in 1885 into long annuities terminating in 1906. As this would make Consols scarce, it would put up their price, and enable him or his successor, in the course of ten years, to reduce the interest on the National Debt.

The long-expected Irish Land Bill was introduced by Mr. Gladstone on the



GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

7th of April. It gave tenants the right to go before a Land Court and have "fair rents" fixed for fifteen years, a fair rent being one that would let the tenant live and thrive. During these fifteen years eviction, save for non-payment of rent, was to be impossible. If a tenant wished to sell his tenant-right or goodwill, the landlord had the pre-emptive right of buying at the price fixed by the Court. The Court was to have power to advance to tenants desirous of buying their farms three-fourths of the purchase-money, or even the whole if need be, and these advances were repayable on easy terms. Advances could also be made to promote emigration. The Bill was well received on the whole by the country, but the landed gentry denounced it as an act of socialism and confiscation, and the Duke of Argyll resigned his office. On the 24th of April long and stormy debates on the Second Reading began, and it was not till the end of July that the Bill was sent up to the House of Lords. The Tory Party made a mistake in basing their opposition to the measure on the ground that it was socialistic, confiscatory, and

contrary to the laws of political economy. The principle of arranging the business relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland by Act of Parliament having been accepted by the country, the only practical method of attacking the Bill was to have shown that it would not arrange them to the mutual satisfaction of the parties interested. The theory of the measure was, that



LORD BRACONSFIELD'S LAST APPEARANCE IN THE PEERS' GALLERY OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(From a Drawing by Harry Furniss.)

every Irish farm is owned by two persons—by the farmer, who owns the improvements he has made on the soil, by the landlord who owns everything else. The Bill gave the tenant additional means for protecting his share of the land from being devoured by the landlord. Did it do this effectively, and if effectively, in such a manner as to work no injustice to the landlord? From the Tory point of view, it would have been easy to argue that no system of dual ownership, which forces persons with hostile interests into partnership in husbandry, can work smoothly. If prices rise the landlord's fixed rent will not rise with them. If prices fall the tenant will refuse to

pay the fixed rent, because it is no longer fair; and then the old weary path of agrarian warfare has again to be trod. A great scheme for establishing peasant proprietorship all over Ireland with the help of the State might have saved the Irish landlords at this juncture. But the Tories were led not by a Stein, but a Cecil, and the golden opportunity was lost. From the Irish point of view, the Bill bristled with weak points. It did nothing for leaseholders. It left tenants loaded with arrears, and therefore still exposed to eviction. Although Mr. Healy inserted a clause prohibiting the Courts from taking a tenant's improvements into the valuation on which a fair rent was fixed, the Judges, by a decision in the case of *Adams v. Dunseath*, virtually nullified the clause.

It was not till the 29th of July that Mr. Gladstone carried the Third Reading of the Bill after a desperate struggle. The House of Lords mutilated it, so that it became worse than useless, and then there came a deep cry of indignation from the country. Mr. Gladstone sent the Bill back practically unaltered, and as the tempest of anger in the country rose the Peers surrendered and let the measure pass. The Ministry, however, had to drop all their other Bills, except those abolishing flogging in the Army and Navy. The only private Members who carried Bills of public interest were Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Roberts. Mr. Hutchinson's Bill protected newspaper reports of lawful meetings from prosecution for libel, and made it necessary to obtain the Attorney-General's sanction before criminal proceedings for libel could be asked for. Mr. Roberts passed the Act closing public-houses during Sundays in Wales.

Mr. Bradlaugh's case, however, again vexed the angry sea of political strife at intervals during the Session. The law courts ruled that he could not legally make an affirmation, and so Mr. Bradlaugh resigned his seat, and again got elected for Northampton. This time he presented himself on the 26th of April to be sworn as a new Member. Sir Stafford Northcote objected, and though no precedent exists for preventing a new Member from being sworn, the Speaker referred the matter to the House, which decided against Mr. Bradlaugh. Thereupon ensued a shocking scene, and Mr. Bradlaugh had to be removed by force. Nothing strikes the reader now as more absurd than the protestations of the Tories, that to concede this claim was to sanction sacrilege. The course they objected to was precisely the one which Mr. Bradlaugh adopted when they were in office in 1886, and which they and the Speaker found it expedient to permit. A Bill was now brought in to allow all Members to affirm who could not conscientiously take the oath. This was opposed and so successfully obstructed that it had to be dropped. After that Mr. Bradlaugh, on the 3rd of August, cheered by an immense crowd of sympathisers, attempted to enter the House in defiance of an order which Sir Stafford Northcote had carried excluding him from its precincts. There were some of his Radical sympathisers—Mr.

Fawcett was among the number—who did not quite approve of this proceeding. At all events Mr. Bradlaugh gained nothing by it, for he was flung into Palace Yard by the police hatless, dishevelled, and with his coat torn in the fray.

The recall of Sir Bartle Frere did not settle the South African difficulty. Sir G. P. Colley, in trying to avenge the defeat of Bronkhurst Spruit, was early in the year beaten by the Boers at Laing's Nek and Ingogo. On the 26th of February, reinforced by Sir Evelyn Wood, he let the Boers out-mancœuvre him, and spring upon the oddly variegated and composite force with which he had rashly occupied Majuba Hill. Though the enemy's troops only consisted of raw levies of irregular sharpshooters, they soon dispersed the British host. It was a shameful rout, in which a kind fate doomed the luckless Colley to death. The unfortunate thing was that this fray should have happened at all. Negotiations were actually going on between the British and the Boers for a peaceful settlement.* Were they to be broken off? After admitting by opening up these negotiations, that the war was unjust, was a great and powerful Empire to go on with it for the sake of *prestige*? And was it, after all, British prowess that would be vindicated by victory? Was it not rather the fame of Sir George Pomeroy Colley that had alone been sullied? In other words, was England justified in slaughtering a few hundred Boer farmers, because Sir George Colley had let them beat his heroic but mis-managed troops in battle? It is impossible to say how the nation answered these difficult questions. But Mr. Gladstone's reply was an emphatic "No," although he had unfortunately declared, immediately after coming into office, that he would not grant the demands of the Boers, till they laid down their arms. The end of it was, that the Boers were allowed to set up an autonomous Republic under a British Protectorate, British interference being limited to controlling their foreign policy. It is curious to observe that this was the only act ever done by Mr. Gladstone which the European and American Press, with cordial unanimity, declared enhanced the *prestige* of England, as a State so confident of its giant's strength, that it deemed it ignoble to use it like a giant.

In the spring the shadow of mourning fell over the nation. On the morning of the 19th of April Lord Beaconsfield, who had been ailing for some days, passed away peacefully to his last rest. Mr. Gladstone at once telegraphed to his relatives offering a public funeral in Westminster Abbey, but the executors were compelled to decline the honour. Lord Beaconsfield's will directed that he should be buried beside his wife, and there were also legal obstacles that even the Queen's personal wishes could not overcome.† His life,

* Colley's friends allege that Kruger's letter of reply to him was delayed so long, that he thought he might usefully expedite matters by attacking.

† It was said that the late Mrs. Brydges-Williams, an eccentric Cornish lady of Jewish extraction, had left Mr. Disraeli a legacy on condition that she should be buried with him, and on this condition

to use a favourite phrase of his own, was "really a romance," and his career a long and brilliant adventure. His strength lay in his freedom from prejudices, in his intellectual detachment from English insularity, in his consummate knowledge of the foibles of the lower middle class whom he enfranchised. He achieved success by skilfully avoiding the mistake of Peel, who led his Party without educating it. Lord Beaconsfield did both. His fame as a writer of sparkling political burlesques, his command of invective, his wit, and his audacity won for him the ear of a Senate which loves men who can amuse it. The defection of the Peelites left the Tory Party, in 1846, intellectually poverty-stricken, and though a proud aristocracy long refused to recognise their most brilliant swordsman as their leader, they had to accept him at last.

At this period of his career the chief obstacle in Mr. Disraeli's path was believed to be the hostility of the Queen, who, however, nobly atoned for it by subsequently loading him with favours. With the exception, perhaps, of Lord Aberdeen, no Minister of the present generation has been more sincerely beloved as a friend by his Sovereign than Lord Beaconsfield. He had the subtle tact and the delicate refinement of a woman, with the stubborn courage and iron will of a man. As for his policy and his principles, the time has not yet come to judge them fairly. He was no more to blame for bringing his generous democratic impulses to the service of the Tory Party than the eldest son of a Whig Peer is to blame for limping after the Radicals on the crutch of Conservative instincts. In the one case it is the tyranny of chance and opportunity, in the other the accident of birth, that determines the choice. All through life Mr. Disraeli had to fight his battle from false positions, and this gave his efforts an air of gladiatorial insincerity. Not till 1874, when he came to power with a large majority, was he entirely a free agent; and then it was seen that, though comparatively indifferent to questions of administration and questions involving the mere forms of Government, he took an eager and practical interest in social reform. For nearly two years he was at the zenith of his power. The House of Commons he managed with bright urbanity, easy grace, conciliatory dexterity, and a light but firm touch which had never been seen before. Suddenly and without the least warning his spell seemed broken. His fine tact disappeared; his touch grew hard and was felt to be a little irresolute; faint traces of irritability ruffled the clear surface of his serene intelligence; and in a sudden emergency he seemed to grow maladroit. The change first became obvious when he attempted to deal with Mr. Plimsoll's case in 1875, and, as it grew, his personal ascendancy over the House of Commons slowly decayed. He seemed to live more and more in dreams, and to grow less and less sensitive to the pulse of popular opinion. It was in this mood that he fell into the two disastrous blunders of his life

the legacy was accepted. Perhaps the executors were afraid that claims might be made on them if the condition were violated.

He tried to solve the Eastern Question by applying to it the obsolete ideas of Palmerston. When this mistake led him from one embarrassment to another, he tried to retrieve the situation by applying his own ideas to it.



LORD BEACONSFIELD'S HOUSE, 19, CURZON STREET, MAYFAIR.

Unfortunately, when he went to find them he looked, not into the depths of his own clear intelligence, but into a romance written by one whom he had known in his youth, and who was styled "D'Israeli the Younger." "Yes," he said to a friend who put the question to him in those days, "I sometimes do read

‘Tancred’ now—for instruction.” Because the stolid English people grew sick of vainly trying to shape their destinies according to the Tancredian scheme of the universe, Lord Beaconsfield fell from power at the moment when he was most fully persuaded that monarch and multitude were alike under the spell of his picturesque personality. Had he been ten years younger when he obtained the majority of 1874, the crash of 1880 would probably have been averted. There is a strange pathos in the close of this dazzling career. According to Sir Stafford Northcote, the last words he was understood to utter were these: “Is there any *bad* news in the *Gazette*?”*

On the 26th of April a spectacle, at once affecting and beautiful, took place in the church at Hughenden, where Lord Beaconsfield’s funeral was solemnised. His body had been transferred from London to High Wycombe, and thence conveyed to Hughenden Manor, without the slightest pomp or display of any kind. He, on whose accents the world was wont to hang breathlessly at supreme moments in its fate, received what is known in Bucks as “a walking funeral.” Nothing was to be seen of the ghastly mummerly of undertakers. Only one feature in the simple obsequies gave any hint as to the place which the deceased had filled in the State. Before the bier walked his faithful servant, carrying on a cushion of crimson velvet an Earl’s coronet and the insignia of the Order of the Garter. Thus was he laid, as he wished, beside his wife. Notwithstanding his desire for privacy, nothing could prevent vast numbers of persons of wholly unofficial position, and in many cases indifferent to political partisanship, from attending to pay the illustrious dead the last homage of affection and respect. Uninvited guests in serried masses swarmed around the churchyard, and lined the road to Hughenden Manor. Royalty was present in the persons of the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Connaught, and Prince Leopold, the last-named representing the Queen.† Behind the Princes came the Ambassadors and representatives of foreign Powers, the friends of the deceased nobleman who were his colleagues in the Governments of 1868 and 1874, and the general body of invited friends. Among these Lord Beaconsfield left not a dry eye behind him. Not since the death of Fox had any Statesman been so affectionately mourned by the people to whom he had consecrated the powers of his brilliant genius.‡

On the 30th of April the Queen and Princess Beatrice visited Lord

* Speech at Kettering, *Times*, 5th May, 1881.

† Her Majesty sent two wreaths to be placed on the bier. One was composed of primroses, and carried the inscription: “His favourite flowers, from Osborne, a tribute of affection from Queen Victoria.” The other was made up of bay-leaves and everlasting flowers, and bore these words in golden letters: “A mark of true affection, friendship, and respect from the Queen.”

‡ After Lord Beaconsfield’s death the Tory Party fell under the “Dual Control” of Lord Salisbury who led it in the House of Lords, and Sir Stafford Northcote who led it in the House of Commons, when Lord Randolph Churchill let him.

Beaconsfield's tomb, every precaution having been observed to prevent the fact of the Royal movements from becoming known in the district. At four o'clock Lord Rowton and Sir Philip Rose, with the Vicar of Hughenden, completed the arrangements for her Majesty's reception. At half-past four her outriders passed through the lodge gate of Hughenden Manor, being followed rapidly by her carriage, which proceeded to the wicket gate, and stopped immediately at the entrance to the churchyard. Here the Queen and Princess Beatrice were received by Lord Rowton, with whom they walked to the south porch of the church. Her Majesty proceeded to the tomb, and, with tearful eyes, placed a votive wreath and cross of white camellias and other flowers beside the other offerings, which completely covered the lid of the coffin. She then drove through the grounds to the Manor House, and partook of tea in the saloon; after which she inspected the late Earl's study and other apartments, and left Hughenden for Windsor.

Although diplomatic controversies had created much ill-feeling between the Governments of England and Russia, the Queen and the Czar had ever maintained the friendliest personal relations. It was, therefore, with the deepest pain that her Majesty was informed, on the 14th of March, of the assassination of Alexander II. The Czar was returning from a military review near St. Petersburg on Sunday, the 13th of March, when a bomb was thrown, which exploded behind the Imperial carriage, killing several soldiers. The Czar jumped out of the carriage to see to the poor men who were hurt, and it was to this kindly act that he owed his death. Another bomb was flung at his feet, which exploded and mangled his body in the most cruel manner. The Queen did what she could to console the Duchess of Edinburgh, who was prostrated with grief by her father's death. The Court was ordered to go into mourning for a month. Both Houses of Parliament addressed messages of condolence to her Majesty and the Duchess of Edinburgh. The nation, with hardly a dissentient voice, echoed the sentiments of their representatives, and the Press was filled with generous tributes of admiration and respect for the Czar Emancipator. It was now recognised that Alexander II. would live in history as one of the most enlightened and humane of European Sovereigns. The great act of his life, the liberation of the Serfs, had converted them into communal peasant proprietors, and put them in a more secure position than any other peasantry in Europe. His devotion to the highest interests of Russia knew no limits, and no European Sovereign has, in our time, excelled him in the skill and wisdom with which he guided and moderated the aspirations of his excitable subjects. It was notorious that he was forced into the Turkish War by a current of popular feeling he could not withstand. On the other hand, when engaged in the war he quitted himself like a man. Tales of his well-known kindness of heart and sympathy for suffering spread from the camps and hospitals through Russia, and invested him in the eyes of the Slav race with the mystic halo of a Divine Figure. His firmness and

obstinacy in pressing on the war crushed the despondent party, who would have ended it at any price after the first disaster at Plevna. When his policy of forcing the Balkan passes triumphed, the same firmness and obstinacy enabled him to curb those who, flushed with success, would have abused their victory. It was by his orders that deference was paid to German and



THE PRINCE OF WALES IN HIS ROBES AS A BENCHET OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE.

(From a Photograph by W. and D. Downey.)

Austrian opinions in the settlement of peace. It was his moderation and loyal desire to live at peace with Britain that enabled Count Schouvaloff to build for Lord Salisbury the golden bridge of retreat which he crossed when he signed the Secret Agreement, that was afterwards expanded into the Treaty of Berlin. No foreign despot ever succeeded to the same extent in winning the personal respect of the most thoughtful portion of the British people. The assassination of the Czar called attention to the extraordinary destructive

forces which modern science had placed in the hands of the political assassin. That the event produced a profound and prostrating effect on the nerves of the Court was soon seen. The Queen left Windsor for Osborne on the 6th of April, and the public were somewhat alarmed to find that for the first time in her career precautions were taken to protect her life, as if she were



THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

(From a Photograph by W and D. Downey.)

a despot travelling amidst a people who thirsted for her blood. The Royal train was not only as usual preceded by a pilot engine, but orders had been given to station patrols of platelayers, each within sight of the other, along the whole line. Every watchman was provided with flags and fog signals, so that on the least suspicion the train could be stopped. The time of the Queen's departure had been announced for Tuesday. It was at the last moment altered to Wednesday. When she arrived at Portsmouth, the *Alberta*,

in which it was supposed she was to embark, was discarded for the *Enchantress*, which was suddenly ordered up; and from these and other circumstances it was inferred that the Queen was afraid she might be made the victim of a dark plot like that to which the Czar had succumbed. Fenianism, indeed, was beginning to raise its head again in Ireland under the stimulating application of repressive measures. Soon afterwards attempts which were made to blow up the Mansion House and the Liverpool Town Hall indicated that there was some justification for the Queen's alarm.

Court life was not so dull during 1881 as it had been in previous years. The Queen was ever fitting to and fro between Windsor and Osborne, and almost every month during the season she held a Drawing Room in Buckingham Palace. State Concerts were not infrequent, and on the 17th of May the King and Queen of Sweden visited Windsor, and the King was invested with the Order of the Garter. On the 20th the Queen left Windsor and proceeded to Balmoral; and on the 24th it was announced that she had determined to revive the ancient Scottish title of Duke of Albany and confer it on Prince Leopold. It was a title of evil omen. The fate of the first prince who bore it supplies a dark and tragic episode to Scott's "Fair Maid of Perth." The second Duke of Albany died on the castle hill of Stirling. When conferred on the second son of James II. of Scotland it soon became extinct. Darnley wore it before he was married to Mary Stuart. The second son of James VI. and the second son of Charles I. bore it. Charles Edward Stuart was long known as Count of Albany. It was conferred on Prince Frederick, the second son of George II. Prince Leopold had, by his thoughtful and sagacious speeches in public, attracted to himself much admiration, and his feeble health and devotion to his mother had made him the object of kindly popular sympathy. The announcement of his elevation was therefore hailed with some expression of regret that he should be doomed to wear a title that had invariably brought ill-luck or misfortune to those on whom it was conferred.

On the 22nd of June the Queen returned to Windsor, where she was visited by the Crown Prince and Princess of Germany and their family in July. A brilliant Review of 50,000 Volunteers was held before her on the 9th of July in Windsor Great Park. On the 18th her Majesty lost one of the most cherished friends of her family, the amiable Dean Stanley, who died somewhat suddenly of erysipelas. Dean Stanley, it has been well said, was the impersonation of the "sweetness and light" which the disciples of Mr. Matthew Arnold strive to impart to modern culture. His biography of the great Dr. Arnold has an assured place among the classical works of the Victorian age. His influence on the Anglican Church was that of a leader at once conciliatory and tolerant, and singularly susceptible to popular impulses and aspirations. His relations to the Royal Family were always close and intimate, and, as the husband of Lady Augusta

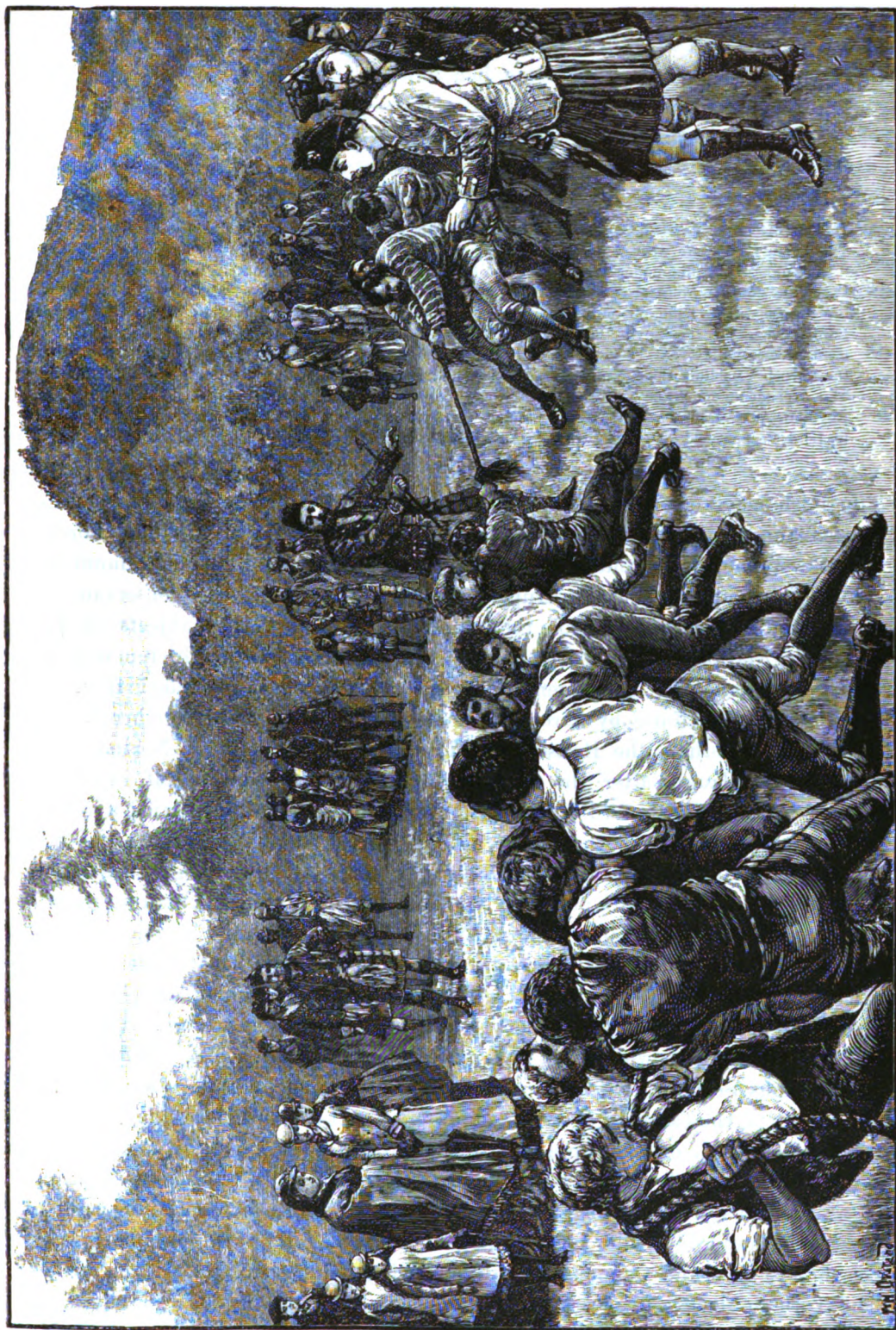
Bruce, the Queen's faithful personal friend and attendant for many years, his career was watched with great interest and sympathy by her Majesty. Churchmen and dissenters of all shades attended his funeral in Westminster Abbey, where he was buried in Henry VII.'s Chapel under a mountain of floral wreaths, one of the most superb being sent by the Queen. It was through Dean Stanley that the Queen made the personal acquaintance of Mr. Carlyle, who had died earlier in the year (the 5th of February), but without leaving behind him the sweet and sunny memories that cluster round Stanley's name.

On the 24th of August the Queen arrived at Edinburgh, and took up her quarters at Holyrood Palace. In the afternoon she visited the Royal Infirmary, and on the following day she reviewed 40,000 Scottish Volunteers (who had come from the remotest parts of the country) in the great natural amphitheatre of the Queen's Park. The spectacle was marred by the torrents of rain that fell all day, and the troops had to march past the saluting-point in a sea of slush and mud which reached nearly to their knees. The fine appearance and discipline of the men, the patience and hardihood with which they carried out their programme through all the miseries of the day, deeply touched the Queen. In spite of entreaties to the contrary, she persisted in sharing these discomforts with them, holding the review in an open carriage, in which she remained seated under a deluge of rain till the last regiment had defiled before her. From Edinburgh the Court proceeded to Balmoral. There the Queen received the melancholy news of the death of Mr. James A. Garfield, President of the United States, who had been shot by an assassin named Guiteau on the 2nd of July at the railway station at Washington. The wound was a mortal one, and, after lingering for many weeks in great pain, the President died on the 19th of September. The Queen sent a touching letter of sympathy to Mrs. Garfield, and ordered the Court to go into mourning, as if Mr. Garfield had been a member of the Royal caste. In this she had the concurrence of the people, who were profoundly moved by his tragic fate. His career, beginning in a log-hut in the backwoods of Ohio, and ending in the White House at Washington, was one of heroic achievement and independence, illustrating, in its various phases of vicissitude, the best qualities of Anglo-Saxon manhood.

At Balmoral the Royal holiday was marked by the appearance of the Queen at some of the local sports. The Prince and Princess of Wales were at Abergeldie, and the retainers of the two families were frequently in the habit of playing cricket matches with each other. One of these took place at Abergeldie in September, when the Queen and her family and a brilliant suite attended and witnessed the play, her Majesty taking a keen interest in the varying fortunes of the day, and eagerly stimulating her own people to strive for victory. After the cricket match there were "tugs of war." In this struggle the Abergeldie team, who had lost the cricket match, retrieved their

defeat by conquering the Queen's retainers. On the 23rd of November the Court returned to Windsor, and soon afterwards it was announced that the Duke of Albany was to be married to the Princess Hélène of Waldeck-Pyrmont. On the 16th of December her Majesty left Windsor for Osborne.

The political movements of the Recess had been followed with growing anxiety by the Queen. Bye-elections and municipal elections seemed to show, not only that the hold of the Government on the country was becoming feebler, but that a working alliance between the Tories and the Irish Party had been formed. Mr. Parnell's followers had been divided in opinion as to how they should treat the Land Act, some declaring that they should impede its working, others urging that every advantage should be taken of it. Mr. Parnell, after some hesitancy, united his Party on the policy of "testing" the Act. The Land League was directed to push into the Land Courts a series of "test cases," that is to say, of cases where average rents were levied, so that a clear idea might be gained of the practical working of the Act. At the same time, the Irish people were led to believe that, unless the Act reduced the rent of Ireland from £17,000,000 to £3,000,000, that is to say, unless it reduced rent to "prairie value," it would not do justice. The tenantry were warned by the Land League not to go into Court, but to stand aside till the decisions on the test cases were given. When Mr. Gladstone visited Leeds in the first week of October, he fiercely attacked Mr. Parnell for interfering between the tenants and the Law Courts. Mr. Parnell retorted in an acrid and contemptuous speech at Wexford on the 9th of October. On the 13th of October Mr. Parnell was arrested in Dublin as a "suspect" under the Coercion Act, and all his more prominent followers were in quick succession lodged in Kilmainham Jail. Mr. Healy was in England, and Mr. Biggar and Mr. Arthur O'Connor escaped the vigilance of the police and joined him. This *coup d'état* was somewhat theatrically contrived. It was so timed that Mr. Gladstone was able to announce it at a municipal banquet at the Guildhall, where he declared that the enemy had fallen, amidst rapturous shouts of applause. The Land Leaguers retaliated by issuing a manifesto to the Irish people to pay no rent whilst their leaders were in prison—a false step, for, in view of the opposition of the clergy, a strike against rent was not feasible. The Land League was then suppressed by Mr. Forster as an unlawful association, and agrarian outrages began to increase every day. According to the Nationalists, this was the natural and necessary result of locking up popular leaders, who could alone restrain the people. Mr. Forster, however, regarded the growth of the outrages as an act of vengeance on the part of the League, whose leaders secretly encouraged them. In Ulster, however, the Land Act worked well, and rents were reduced from 20 to 30 per cent. all round. Every week fresh drafts of "suspects" were lodged in jail, and as the year closed it became evident that Ireland was fast falling under the terrorism of the old secret societies.



THE ROYAL FAMILY IN THE HIGHLANDS: TUG OF WAR—BALMORAL v. ABERGELDIE.

CHAPTER XXV.

ENGLAND IN EGYPT.

The Duke of Albany's Marriage Announced—Mr. Bradlaugh Again—Procedure Reform—The Closure at Last—The Peers Co-operate with the Parnellites—Their Attacks on the Land Act—Mr. Forster's Policy of "Thorough"—A Nation under Arrest—Increase in Outrages—Sir J. D. Hay and Mr. W. H. Smith bid for the Parnellite Vote—A Political Dutch Auction—The Radicals Outbid the Tories—Release of Mr. Parnell and the Suspects—The Kilmainham Treaty—Victory of Mr. Chamberlain—Resignation of Mr. Forster and Lord Cowper—The Tragedy in the Phoenix Park—Ireland Under Lord Spencer—Firm and Resolute Government—Coercion Revived—The Arrears Bill—The Budget—England in Egypt—How Ismail Pasha "Kissed the Carpet"—Spoiling the Egyptians—Mr. Goschen's Scheme for Collecting the Debt—The Dual Control—The Ascendency of France—"Egypt for the Egyptians"—The Rule of Arabi—Riots in Alexandria—The Egyptian War—Murder of Professor Palmer—British Occupation of Egypt—The Queen's Monument to Lord Beaconsfield—Attempt to Assassinate Her Majesty—The Queen's Visit to Mentone—Marriage of the Duke of Albany.

THE Parliament of 1882 was opened on the 7th of February, and the Queen's Speech announced the approaching marriage of the Duke of Albany. Foreign affairs were hopefully touched on. Local self-government, London municipal reform, bankruptcy reform, corrupt practices at elections, the conservancy of rivers, and the codification of the Criminal Law, were the subjects of promised legislation. Very early in the Session Mr. Bradlaugh renewed his attempt to take the Parliamentary Oath, but was again excluded from the precincts of the House by a resolution moved by Sir Stafford Northcote. On the 21st of February the House refused to issue a new writ for Northampton, and Mr. Bradlaugh, after the division, proceeded to swear himself in at the Clerk's table. Sir Stafford Northcote accordingly moved and carried a resolution expelling him from the House. This caused a fresh election to be held at Northampton, the result of which was that Mr. Bradlaugh was again returned by a triumphant majority. On the 6th of March Sir Stafford Northcote proposed a resolution excluding Mr. Bradlaugh from the precincts of the House, and then, sated with its saturnalia of intolerance, the Opposition permitted Ministers to get on with the most pressing question of the hour—the reform of Procedure. The proposals of the Government were, in the main, identical with those which the Speaker had designed to defeat obstruction in the previous Session; but they were to be of permanent application, and not dependent on the carrying of a vote of urgency. It was provided that a debate might be closed, on the Speaker's initiation, by a bare majority, only there must, in that case, be at least two hundred Members voting in favour of closure if as many as forty members opposed it; but if fewer than forty opposed, at least one hundred would be required to carry it. Non-contentious business relating to Law and Commerce might be delegated to two Grand Committees. The Tories objected to closure by a bare majority, and they fortunately found a Liberal—Mr. Marriott, Q.C.—to move an amendment to this part of Mr.

Gladstone's plan, and the debate began on the 20th of February. In the meantime the Irish Home Rulers, who had not scrupled to impede the working of the Land Act, found unexpected allies in the Conservative Peers. They attacked the Act as a failure, and carried a motion appointing a hostile Committee to inquire into its working. It has always been the practice of the Peers, when they dared not cut down the plant of Reform, to insist on pulling it up to see if its roots were growing, and in this case their strategy was ingeniously adapted to suit the policy of obstruction in the Commons. It was necessary to neutralise the hostile vote of the Peers by a Resolution in the Commons condemning the proposed inquiry as mischievous; and, though this was carried, it gave the Tory and Parnellite opponents of the Government an excellent chance of wasting time by re-opening and discussing the whole Irish Land Question. The Procedure debates were thus suspended for about a month, Mr. Marriott's amendment being rejected on the 30th of March. Negotiations for a compromise between Sir Stafford Northcote and Mr. Gladstone were interrupted by a catastrophe which revolutionised the Irish policy of the Government, namely, the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Thomas Burke in the Phoenix Park, Dublin.

During the first two months of the Session the Irish Party vied with the Conservatives in assailing the Land Act. Radicals began to murmur against the development of Mr. Forster's coercive policy, every incident and detail of which was subjected by the Irish Members to bitter criticism and violent denunciation. In the meantime, Mr. Forster's scheme for pacifying Ireland was not prospering, and it was seen that he had made a fatal mistake when he pledged himself to suppress agitation, if he were only empowered to arrest the leading agitators. From the day they were imprisoned, Ireland drifted towards anarchy and terrorism. Then the experiment was tried of arresting, not only the leaders, but their lieutenants. Finally Mr. Forster crowded the prisons with the rank and file of the Home Rule host. Men began to wonder whether the gaol accommodation of Ireland was adequate for Mr. Forster's policy. But the more people he put in prison the worse the country grew, the more did evictions increase, and the less rent was paid. A bid for the Irish vote was now made by the Tories. They put up Sir John Hay to move that the detention of the "suspects" was "repugnant to the spirit of the Constitution." Through Mr. W. H. Smith, in one of the debates on the Land Act, they offered the Nationalists a scheme for buying out the landlords at the expense of the State, and establishing peasant proprietorship in Ireland, such as had been advocated by Mr. Davitt and Mr. Parnell. It was clear that the Tory-Parnellite alliance was becoming a formidable combination, and the Radicals urged the Government to make terms with the Nationalist Party whilst there was yet time. But Mr. Gladstone hesitated, and then the Radicals moved without him. An intrigue, instigated by Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke, was set on foot to get

Mr. Forster removed from his place as Irish Secretary. Through Captain O'Shea as an intermediary, Mr. Parnell was approached. He had certainly seen with alarm the increase in evictions, and knew that if the struggle were prolonged the financial resources of the Leaguers must fail them. He was, therefore, disposed to come to terms. Letters were exchanged, in one of which Mr. Parnell said that a promise to deal with the question of arrears would do much to bring peace to Ireland, for the Nationalists would then be able to exert themselves, with some hope of success, in stopping outrages. But the Land Act would have to be extended to leaseholders, and the Purchase Clauses enlarged. If this programme were carried out, wrote Mr. Parnell on the 28th of August to Captain O'Shea, it "would enable us to co-operate cordially for the future with the Liberal Party in forwarding Liberal principles; and I believe that the Government at the end of the Session would, from the state of the country, feel themselves thoroughly justified in dispensing with future coercive measures." This letter was shown to Mr. Forster, and it seems that the Cabinet was also put in possession of Mr. Parnell's views. Mr. Forster was not of opinion that they justified his release. Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke thought that they displayed a reasonable spirit which would justify a new departure of conciliation in Irish policy. Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Davitt, and the other suspects were therefore released, and Lord Cowper, the Irish Viceroy, and Mr. Forster resigned office. Mr. Forster was of opinion that Mr. Parnell should have been compelled to promise publicly not to resist the law, or failing that, that a stronger Coercion Act should have been passed before he was set at liberty. Lord Spencer was appointed to succeed Lord Cowper, and Lord Frederick Cavendish succeeded Mr. Forster as Chief Secretary. On the 6th of May, within forty-eight hours of their appointment, Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, the Under-Secretary for Ireland, were butchered by a band of assassins in broad daylight in the Phoenix Park, Dublin. Mr. Forster, in fact, had allowed a secret society of assassins, calling themselves "Invincibles," to organise itself at his own doors, whilst he was scouring the country far and wide to arrest and imprison the patriotic but respectable *bourgeoisie* of Ireland as suspects. In his speech condemning the release of the suspects, whilst he maintained that Ireland was not yet quiet, he had declared that the country was quieter than it had been, that the Land League was crushed, and boycotting checked! He had never suspected that the place of the Land League had been taken by a secret society of desperadoes called the "Invincibles," and that assassination was to be substituted for boycotting. His administration had been indeed singularly ineffective. With power in his hands, as absolute as that of a Russian Minister of Police, he seems never to have suspected the existence of the band of murderers who had organised themselves in Dublin, and who had dogged his own steps in sight of the detectives who watched over him day after day seeking for a chance of slaying him. This tragic event upset the scheme for "a new

departure," which Mr. Chamberlain had induced the Government to essay. Though Englishmen behaved with great calmness and self-restraint after the first shock of horror which the Phoenix Park murders sent through the nation had passed away, they were resolved to offer no more concessions to Ireland till the Government took fresh powers for enforcing law and



LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH.

(From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.)

suppressing outrages. Mr. Gladstone interpreted the national will accurately when he determined not to withdraw the conciliatory portion of his Irish programme. But he recast his plans, and gave his coercive precedence over his remedial measures.

The Irish Party were probably sincere in regretting and in condemning the murders. The *prestige* of their Parliamentary policy was sullied when it ended in a new Coercion Bill for Ireland, and in the demonstration of their

impotence to control the forces which they pretended to have in hand. The Tories and Ministerialists were alike discredited by the untoward mishap. The alliance between the Tory Party and the Home Rulers had influenced every Parliamentary bye-election and every division in the House of Commons. The motion of Sir John Hay condemning the imprisonment of the "suspects" and the offer of Mr. W. H. Smith's scheme for expropriating the landlords were palpable bids for the Parnellite vote. By releasing the "suspects," promising to deal with the question of arrears, and to take the Land Purchase Question in hand, the Ministry outbade their rivals. But the Opposition and the Cabinet were alike guilty of intriguing and negotiating with men whom in people they pretended to denounce as irreconcilable enemies of the Empire; and the end of it all was the tragedy in the Phoenix Park! That affair had only a coincidental relation to the antecedent Party intrigues; but the people saw connection where there was only coincidence. Hence Englishmen for a time lost faith in their public men. They felt towards them as their forefathers did towards Charles I. when the Glamorgan Treaty was revealed, and towards Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell when the "Lichfield House" compact between O'Connell and the Whigs was unmasked. For a time this feeling cowed partisans below the gangway on both sides who had been mainly responsible for the negotiations and intrigues with the Home Rulers. The Government tried to atone for its misfortune by continuing Lord Spencer as Irish Viceroy and appointing Mr. George Otto Trevelyan as Irish Secretary, Lord Spencer to be entirely responsible for Irish policy in the Cabinet. This was the best possible selection that could be made. Lord Spencer represented the type of Englishman who, from his courage, common sense, love of justice, business-like habits, administrative skill, and disinterested patriotism, was most likely to establish an enduring and endurable system in Ireland, if that were to be done by firm and resolute government tempered by strong popular sympathies. Mr. Trevelyan was patient, industrious, and courteous as an administrator, and his success as a man of letters rendered him in some degree a *persona grata* to the Irish Party, most of whose leaders were writers for the Press. The new Coercion Bill was introduced on the 11th of May, and read a second time on the 19th. It suspended trial by jury in certain cases and in proclaimed districts; gave the police fresh powers of arrest and search, and revived the Alien Act; it defined as punishable offences intimidation, incitement to crime, and participation in secret conspiracies and illegal assemblies; it rendered newspapers liable to suppression for inciting to violence, widened the summary jurisdiction of stipendiary magistrates, and levied fines of compensation on districts stained with murderous outrages. It was at once seen that the chief merit of the Bill lay in the fact that it frankly attacked and punished criminals, thereby reversing, and by implication condemning, the feeble and futile policy of Mr. Forster, who attacked and imprisoned at will persons who were merely

suspected of crime or of inciting to crime. Great doubts were expressed as to the utility of the Press clauses, Englishmen who are not political partisans being at all times sceptical as to the good that is done by suppressing newspapers and bottling up all their evil teaching in private manifestoes for secret circulation in disaffected districts. Some Radicals also thought the powers of arrest after nightfall given to the police were rather vague, and suggested too painfully a revival of Mr. Forster's fatal principle of coercion on suspicion. But, on the whole, the Bill was well received by the best men of both parties, the responsible Tory leaders giving the Government much loyal support, though some of their followers carped at the measure.* The Bill was obstructed in the usual manner by the Irish Members, who had but few Radical allies. On the 16th of June only seven clauses out of thirty had gone through Committee. On the 29th it was clear a crisis had come, and on the 30th there was a disorderly all-night sitting, which ended in the suspension of sixteen Irish Members. Later in the day nine others were suspended, and, after sitting for twenty-eight hours, the Bill passed through Committee. Urgency was voted for its next stages, and the Bill read a third time on the 7th of July. The Lords passed it promptly, and it became law on the 12th of July.

Along with the Coercion Bill the promised Arrears Bill was introduced, and read a second time before Whitsuntide. It applied to holdings under £30 of rental, and empowered the Land Courts to pay half the arrears of poor tenants out of the Irish Church Surplus—but no payment was to exceed a year's rent, and all past arrears were to be cancelled. After prolonged opposition from the Conservatives and from the House of Lords, the measure was passed on the 10th of August. These Bills exhausted the legislative energies of the Government; indeed, Mr. Fawcett's Bill establishing a Parcel Post, and Mr. Chamberlain's Bill enabling corporations to adopt Electric Lighting by obtaining provisional orders from the Board of Trade, were the only measures that had not to be abandoned. The Budget estimated expenditure at £84,630,000 and revenue at £84,935,000, a reduction of between £900,000 and £800,000 respectively on the preceding year's disbursements and receipts. The surplus was small. The revenue was stagnant, and there was no scope for fiscal changes. A Vote of Credit for the Egyptian Expedition had to be provided, which caused Mr. Gladstone to raise the Income Tax to 6½d. in the pound.

The Egyptian difficulty, in fact, during this Session, became acute. It was seized by the Fourth Party as a peg on which to hang an endless

* Mr. (afterwards Sir) Edward Clarke, Q.C. and Tory Solicitor-General, though he approved of widening summary jurisdiction, objected to the Bill because it made the Irish Viceroy a despot. Mr. Ritchie (afterwards President of the Local Government Board in Lord Salisbury's Administration) declined to support the Bill because he had no confidence in the Government. Sir J. D. Hay complained of the excessive power placed in the hands of the Irish Viceroy. But Sir Stafford Northcote interfered, and, generously exerting his authority on behalf of the Ministry, silenced the factious Tories, who were apparently desirous of embarrassing the Government by obstructing the Bill. Public opinion was not in a state to tolerate obstructive tactics at the time.

series of questions to the Government, of an embarrassing character. From questioning, Lord Randolph Churchill proceeded to wage an irregular guerilla warfare, most harassing to Ministers engaged in delicate diplomatic negotiations on which depended the issues of peace and war. In this unusual course he and his friends were supported by Mr. Chaplin and Lord Percy, and aided by many fiery assaults made by Lord Salisbury. Sir Stafford Northcote and the majority of the ex-Ministers in the House of Commons disapproved, at first, of tactics which seemed to them an unprecedented violation of the decencies of English party warfare. But Sir Stafford's reserve and prudence, though appreciated by the country, were so distasteful to his followers that ere the Session ended he found he had to submit to be their instrument in using the foreign complications of the nation for the interests of faction. Had he refused, the combatant section of his followers would have rebelled against his authority. It was part of the irony of the situation that the Egyptian difficulty was one of the evil legacies which the Foreign Policy of the Tory Party in 1879—1880 left the country to deal with. In fact, the Egyptian crisis of 1882 was the logical consequence of the system of Dual Control with which Lord Salisbury had afflicted Egypt when he went into partnership with France in managing the finances of that country for the benefit of its usurious foreign creditors. It was in 1866 that Ismail Pasha took the first step that gradually led to his downfall. To use his own phrase, he "kissed the carpet" at Constantinople—in other words, bribed the Porte to grant him the title of Khedive and confirm the succession of the Pashalik in his family. Again and again did he "kiss the carpet," till in 1872 he was practically an independent Sovereign wielding absolute personal power over Egypt—the suzerainty of Turkey being marked only by the annual tribute, the Imperial cypher on the coinage, the weekly prayer for the Sultan in the Mosque, and the preservation of the *jus legationis*. In 1875 he abolished the Consular Courts before which suits between Egyptians and foreigners were tried, substituting for them the Mixed Tribunals on which representative judges of the Great Powers sat. At this period the crop of financial wild oats which Ismail Pasha had sown had ripened. He had spent money lavishly not only on the Suez Canal, but on every conceivable scheme that wily European speculators could persuade him was an improvement. He had borrowed this money on the principles that regulate the financial transactions of a rich young spendthrift and a usurer of the lowest class. In 1864 he borrowed £5,700,000. In the succeeding years loans for £3,000,000, £1,200,000, and £2,000,000 were added. In 1873 there was another loan for £32,000,000—which, according to Mr. Cave, swallowed up every resource of Egypt.* The Khedive's private loans came to

* This loan was raised to wipe out the floating debt then amounting to £28,000,000. But the money-brokers who floated it imposed such usurious conditions, that they never really paid Ismail more than £20,740,077, of which they made him take £9,000,000 in bonds of the floating debt

£11,000,000, and the floating debt to £26,000,000 in 1876. How these last loans were to be met, seeing that the 1873 loan swallowed up all the resources of the country, was a perplexing point. The usurers would lend the



THE KARMOUS SUBURB, ALEXANDRIA, AND POMPEY'S PILLAR.

Khedive no more money, and in 1875 England helped him to meet the interest on existing loans by giving him £4,000,000 for the Suez Canal Shares.

Something might have been done for Egypt, even at this time, if England had occupied the country; but Mr. Disraeli lost the golden opportunity, which did not return till France and Russia were in a position to offer an effective

which the loan was raised to pay off. These they held themselves, having bought them at 65 per cent. They made the Khedive, however, take over the £9,000,000 worth which they thrust on him as part of the loan at 93 per cent.—See Mr. Stephen Cave's Report on the Financial Condition of Egypt, and McCoan's Egypt as It Is (Cassell and Co.), Appendix 9, p. 396.

resistance which could not be bought off. The Khedive appealed for money to England, and Mr. Disraeli sent Mr. Cave to report upon his affairs. Mr. Cave said in effect that it was impossible to help the Khedive with money unless Englishmen were prepared to lose it. That report, however, did not touch the position of those who held with Mr. Edward Dicey that if England could establish a Protectorate in Egypt, and administer her affairs like an Indian Native State, it would be quite possible to extricate her from her financial difficulties without inflicting injustice on her creditors. In the meantime, the foreign bondholders sued the Khedive in his own Mixed Tribunals. They got judgment against him, but were unable to execute it. In May, 1876, his Highness met this judgment by a decree of repudiation, whereupon Germany indignantly protested, and France and England followed suit on behalf of the bondholders of their respective nationalities. It was here that Lord Salisbury first left the traditional lines of sound Foreign Policy. He interfered in Egypt, not on the ground that national interests had to be safeguarded, but—like Lord Palmerston in the case of Greece—to protect the interests of a few speculative individuals who had a bad debt to collect from Ismail Pasha. British national interests in Egypt, when really imperilled, can only be protected effectively in one way—by the occupation of the country, or its administration under a British Protectorate. They cannot be protected by entering into an ambiguous partnership for regulating the Khedive's finances with Powers whose interests in Egypt are not national, but are represented by those of their subjects who have lent Egypt money on bad security. The Imperial interests of England demand that the government of Egypt shall be good and effective all round, so that the highway to India shall be through an orderly and contented people. The interests of the other Powers demand that the government of Egypt, whether good or bad, must be such as will enable her to give the Shylocks, whom they represent, their pound of flesh. It was for the interest of England to aim at a Protectorate, just as it was for the interests of the other Powers to aim merely at obtaining financial control over Egypt; and the fatal blunder which Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury made was in identifying England, not with British, but with foreign interests in Egypt. The French and English bondholders could not agree on the steps which should be taken to extort their money from the overtaxed Egyptian peasantry; and Mr. Goschen and M. Joubert were sent out to devise a scheme for consolidating the Egyptian debt in the common interests of all bondholders. By estimating the annual average revenue which could be extracted from the wretched fellaheen at £12,000,000 instead of £8,000,000, which would have been high enough, the Goschen-Joubert scheme showed in 1876 that the Khedive could pay, as interest and sinking fund, seven per cent. interest on a consolidated debt of £100,000,000. Ismail agreed to pay this at first, but soon resisted, on the ground that the estimate of revenue was erroneous. The French Government then determined to appoint a Commission to investigate the resources of Egypt, which

England was induced to join. This Commission reported that as the Khedive had appropriated to himself one-fifth of the land of Egypt,* the first thing he should do was to hand a million acres of it over to the creditors of the State.

The Khedive now formed a Ministry under Nubar Pasha, in which Mr. Rivers Wilson, the English Commissioner, was given the Ministry of Finance. The French Government displayed so much jealousy of this step, that Lord Salisbury, yielding to their demands, permitted the Khedive to appoint M. de Blignières as Mr. Wilson's colleague. This was the beginning of the Dual Control of Egypt by two Governments with opposite interests, from which all subsequent mischief arose. The Khedive soon dismissed Nubar's Ministry, and then France and England, on the threat of Germany to interfere, arranged with the Sultan to depose Ismail Pasha. He was succeeded by his son Tewfik, in whose Ministry the care of finance was entrusted to M. de Blignières and Mr. Baring, who was afterwards succeeded by Mr. Colvin. The effect of the Dual Control was very simple. It increased the bureaucracy but diminished its efficiency, for wherever an English official was appointed M. de Blignières insisted on planting a French colleague by his side to watch and hamper him. A similar vigilance was exhibited by the English Controller. But above the Dual Ministry of Finance there was established the International Commission of the Public Debt, representing England, France, Italy, Austria, and Germany. This Commission watched over the administration of the Dual Ministry of Finance. It was entitled, if it could agree on a course of action, to demand from the Ministry of Finance more efficient management, and of course it distributed the sum handed over by that Ministry for payment of the public creditors. The French and English Ministers or Controllers of Finance were not removable save by consent of their Governments. They had the right to seats in the Ministerial Council, and to advise on all measures of general importance. As nothing can be done in Egypt without money, nothing could be done without them. At first, Major Baring was the most active of the controllers. But he was removed, and Mr. Colvin, who took his place, played a subordinate part to M. de Blignières, who had more experience and force of character. Virtually De Blignières governed the country. History does not record the occasion on which England as a Great Power occupied a position more ignominious than the one she now held in Egypt, where her influence had been paramount till Lord Salisbury consented to share it with France. The government of the Dual Control was conducted on simple principles. Egypt was managed not for the Egyptians, but for the bondholders. Everything and everybody were sacrificed for the Budget, and the Budget was constructed primarily with a view to securing the Debt and the payment of the European officials, who swarmed over the land like locusts. At the time when Cyprus was occupied it must now be stated that Lord Salisbury conciliated France, ever

* This land belonging to the Khedive's personal estate is referred to in the report as Daira land.

jealous of her Syrian interests, by supporting an extension of her influence in Tunis. Tunis, however, in 1881 had, in spite of protests from England and



AHMED ARABI PASHA

(From the Portrait by Frederick Villiers in A. M. Broadley's "How we Defended Arabi and his Friends.")

Italy, become simply a French dependency, and the growing power of De Blignières at Cairo forced acute observers to say of Egypt—

"Mutato nomine, de te
Fabula narratur."

The natives now grew restless under the Dual Control, and this restlessness ended in a military revolt, headed by Colonel Arabi Bey, whose watchword was

"Egypt for the Egyptians." This rising the Khedive pacified by dismissing the Ministry of Kiaz Pasha, who was succeeded by Cherif Pasha. But though Cherif reigned Arabi ruled, and it soon became evident that the partners in the Dual Control could not agree on the course that should be adopted towards him. The Egyptian Assembly of Notables, on the 18th of January, 1882, asserted



LORD WOLSELEY.

(From a Photograph by Fradelle and Young.)

their right to control the Budget. The French and English Controllers disputed this right, and then a new Ministry was formed, of which Mahmoud Samy was the nominal, but Arabi Bey, now Minister of War, the real head. M. Gambetta, who had vainly endeavoured to induce England to join France in coercing Arabi and the national party, fell from power; M. de Freycinet succeeded him, and his policy was one of non-intervention. The Chamber of Notables refused to withdraw from their position. M. de Blignières,

finding he could get no support from M. de Freycinet; resigned, and thus ended Lord Salisbury's experiment of the Dual Control. Arabi was loaded with decorations. The rank and title of Pasha were given him, and he was virtually Dictator of the country, with no policy save that of "Egypt for the Egyptians." Alarmed by menaced massacres of foreigners, France and England now sent their fleets to Alexandria. The English and French Consuls, in a Joint Note to the Khedive, advised the expulsion of Arabi, who had been intriguing with the Bedouins. Arabi resigned, but no new Ministry could be formed, and the army threatened to repudiate any authority save that of the Sultan, who sent Dervish Pasha to quiet the country. On the 11th of June there was a riot in Alexandria; the British Consul was injured, and many French and English subjects were slain. This was the signal for a stampede of the terrified foreign population of Alexandria, where the Khedive held his Court, and of Cairo. A Cabinet, patronised by Germany and Austria, under Ragheb Pasha, was formed; but Arabi was again Minister of War. In July Arabi ostentatiously strengthened the forts of Alexandria, but on the 10th Sir Beauchamp Seymour warned him that if the forts were not surrendered for disarmament, they would be bombarded by the British fleet. The French Government refused to join in this coercive measure, and sent their ships to Port Said. On the 11th the fortifications were shattered by the British cannonade; but as the town was not occupied, it was seized by a fanatical mob, who wrought havoc in it for two days. A force was then tardily landed by Admiral Seymour, who restored order, and brought back the Khedive from Ramleh, where he had fled, to Ras-el-tin. Arabi and the Egyptian army had taken up an entrenched position at Tel-el-Kebir, but were still professedly acting in the Khedive's name. An English military expedition, under Sir Garnet Wolseley, was sent to disperse them, and secure the protection of the Canal.

A diplomatic mission under Professor Palmer of Cambridge, an accomplished Oriental scholar, who had acquired a great personal influence over the tribes of the Sinai, was sent to detach the Bedouins from Arabi, and engage them to assist in defending the Canal. The other members of the mission were Lieutenant Charrington, R.N., and Captain Gill, R.E., officers with a record of distinguished service which fitted them for their hazardous employment. They had no military escort, because the presence of one would have rendered their mission hopeless. A reconnaissance conducted with great skill by Professor Palmer, who travelled from Joppa through the Sinai desert disguised as a Syrian Mahometan of rank, had given every promise of success. But the members of the expedition were led by a treacherous guide into an ambushade soon after starting from the Wells of Moses, and murdered and robbed by a band of brigands* (10th of August). But despite

* A search expedition under Colonel (afterwards Sir Charles) Warren, R.E., brought back their remains, which were buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, close by the tomb of Nelson. See *Life of Edward Henry Palmer*, by Walter Besant. London: John Murray, 1883, pp. 296—329.

this melancholy occurrence the safety of the Canal was secured. By a movement conducted in swift secrecy Sir Garnet Wolseley sailed with his force from Alexandria to Ismailia on the 19th of August, his plan being to advance on Cairo by the Freshwater Canal. On the 28th Arabi, after a repulse at Kassassin, retired to his entrenchments at Tel-el-Kebir, which were carried by the British, on the 13th of September, after a long march by night over the desert sands. General Drury Lowe and a small force of cavalry pushed on to Cairo, which surrendered to them at the first summons, Arabi Pasha and Toulba Pasha, his lieutenant, giving themselves up as prisoners. The Khedive was reinstated in Cairo by the British troops, who were paraded before him on the 30th of September.

By a unique stroke of fortune, Mr. Gladstone's Government had thus been enabled to secure for England the position of ascendancy in Egypt which had been sacrificed by the Dual Control. France and the other Powers, having cast on England the burden of supporting the Khedive's authority, had to accept a *fait accompli*, and submit to see a British army of occupation of 10,000 men quartered in Egypt. But the occupation was emphatically declared by Mr. Gladstone to be temporary, and he pledged England to terminate it whenever the Khedive could maintain himself without foreign aid. The war cost England £4,600,000, and it did much to restore for the time the waning popularity of the Ministry. Rewards and decorations were showered upon the victors. Peerages were bestowed on Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour and Sir Garnet Wolseley. As for Egypt, her Government was really under the control of the British Consul-General. England forbade the restoration of the Dual Control, and set limits to the organisation of the native Army. The native Police was put under the command of Baker Pasha, and the English Government rescued Arabi and the leaders of the insurgents from the native court-martial, which would have doomed them to death. When tried, they pleaded guilty to a charge of treason, and were exiled to Ceylon.

On the 27th of February a monument, which the Queen had commissioned Mr. Belt to prepare for the perpetuation of the memory of Lord Beaconsfield, was erected in Hughenden Church. It was a touching record of rare friendship between Sovereign and subject. The centre of the memorial is occupied by a profile portrait carved in low relief. Beneath, is a tablet bearing the following dedication penned by the Queen herself:—

To
the dear and honoured Memory
of
BENJAMIN, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD,
This memorial is placed by
his grateful and affectionate
Sovereign and Friend,
VICTORIA R.I.

"Kings love him that speaketh right."—Proverbs xvi. 13.

February 27, 1882.

The year was marked by an attempt to assassinate the Queen, which created much public alarm. On the 2nd of March her Majesty was driving from Windsor Station to the Castle, when a poorly-dressed man shot at her carriage with a revolver. Before he could fire again a bystander struck down his arm and he was arrested. He was a grocer's assistant from Portsmouth,



THE DUCHESS OF ALBANY.

named Roderick Maclean; his excuse was that he was starving, and he probably desired to draw attention to his case. He was tried next month at Reading Assizes, where it was shown that he had been under treatment as a lunatic for two years in an asylum in Weston-super-Mare, but had been dismissed cured. He was acquitted on the ground of insanity, and ordered to be placed in custody during her Majesty's pleasure. The sympathy which

was expressed by all classes with the Queen, when tidings of the outrage were published, was universal. On the night of Maclean's arrest the National Anthem was sung in all the theatres, and from every quarter messages came pouring in congratulating her Majesty on her escape. These demonstrations caused her to address a touching letter of heartfelt thanks to the nation.



THE DUKE OF ALBANY.

Another outrage on the Queen has to be set down in the record of 1882. On the 26th of May a young telegraph clerk, named Albert Young, was tried before Mr. Justice Lopes, and found guilty of threatening to murder the Queen and Prince Leopold. He sent a letter, purporting to come from an Irish Roman Catholic priest and fifty of his parishioners who had been evicted by their landlords, warning the Queen of her peril, and saying that if paid

£40 a head these men would all emigrate. The money was to be sent to "A. Y.," at the "M., S., & L." Office, Doncaster. Young was sentenced to ten years' penal servitude.

On the 14th of March her Majesty left Windsor for Portsmouth, accompanied by the Princess Beatrice. From thence she sailed to Cherbourg, and proceeded to Mentone, where she arrived on the 17th. The *Chalêt des Rosiers*, where the Queen lived, was a newly-built villa, standing on a small artificial plateau, fifty yards from the railway, and a hundred from the shore, about half-a-mile from the old town, and three-quarters of a mile from the ravine and bridge of St. Louis which divide Italy from France. Precipices, rugged steepes, abysmal ravines, and rocky beds of old torrents rise from behind the villa in wild confusion. Five miles away, mountains whose bases are traversed by terraces covered with orange groves, soar grandly into the sky. Her Majesty was soon joined by Prince Leopold, the King and Queen of Saxony, and Lord Lyons, and she made daily excursions in the neighbourhood. On the 21st of March there was a great *fête*, with splendid illuminations held in her honour, and she witnessed the scene from the balcony of her villa. Before leaving, on the 14th of April, the Queen thanked the authorities and the residents for contributing so cordially to the pleasure of her visit. As a memento of it, she presented the chief of the municipal band, who had composed a cantata in her honour, with a diamond breast-pin.

The marriage of the Duke of Albany was now approaching, and it was with deep regret that the Queen found it necessary to leave him at Mentone, as he had not recovered from the effects of an accident he had met with. The grant of £25,000 a year for his Royal Highness had been moved by Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons on the 23rd of March, and carried by a vote of 387 to 42. Mr. Labouchere, however, opposed the vote, because he said the savings from the Civil List ought to be returned to the State by the Queen before any Royal grants were voted by Parliament. Mr. Broadhurst also thought that £25,000* a year was too much to vote for such a purpose in a country where the majority lived on weekly wages. Mr. Storey opposed voting public money save for public services, and described the House of Commons as "a large syndicate interested in expenditure." But there was no new point raised in the debate, save Mr. Labouchere's argument, based on the fact that George III., who had £1,000,000 a year of Civil List, maintained his own children. Mr. Gladstone, of course, challenged the precedent, by pointing out that Parliament had not entered into an implied contract with George III. to provide for his children. But for the first time he admitted that savings were hoarded up out of the Civil List. Only, he said, they were not large enough to provide for the maintenance of the Queen's

* The vote was for an addition of £10,000 a year to the Prince's income, which was already £15,000, and a separate income of £8,000 a year to the Princess during her widowhood.

children, and he assured the House that after he had come to know the amount of them, his conclusion was that they were not more than were called for by the contingencies which might occur in such a family. As has been stated before, the Royal savings represent an insurance fund against family emergencies, which it would not be agreeable for the Queen to ask Parliament to meet for her.

On the 27th of April the marriage of the Duke of Albany with the Princess Hélène of Waldeck-Pyrmont was solemnised in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, with a sustained pomp and splendour rarely seen even in Royal pageants. Most extensive and elaborate arrangements had been made for the reception and processions of the Royal and illustrious guests, the Queen, the bridegroom, and the bride. On the morning of the 27th the earliest aspect of animation was lent to the peaceful tranquillity of the chapel by the arrival of a strong detachment of the Yeomen of the Guard, arrayed in their quaint Tudor costume, consisting of plaited ruff, low-crowned black velvet hat encircled by red and white roses, scarlet doublet embroidered with the Royal cognisance and initials in gold, purple sleeves, bullion quarterings, ruddy hose, and rosetted shoes. The Yeomen of the Guard were ranged at intervals throughout the length of the nave, and were speedily joined by a contingent of the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms, resplendent in scarlet uniforms profusely laced with gold. After the opening of the doors the edifice soon filled with ladies of rank, nobles, statesmen, warriors, and diplomatists. The day was recognised by the decorated as "a collar day"—i.e., the Knights did not wear the robes of their Order, but only the ribbons of the Garter, the Bath, the Thistle, and St. Patrick, with the collars and badges of gold. Constellations of stars, crosses, and ribbons marked the uniforms of the English generals, foreign ambassadors, and Ministers present in the choir, and flashed light on the grey and time-worn walls associated with the memories of Anne Boleyn, Catherine of Arragon, and Jane Seymour. At noon the drapery veiling the door was thrown aside, and the first procession—that of the Queen's family and their Royal guests from the Continent—entered. After this glittering group had passed into the choir, the Queen's procession appeared at the west door, when the brilliant array in the nave stood up, and the organ burst into the strains of Handel's *Occasional Overture*. Her Majesty, who was in excellent health and spirits, bowed her acknowledgments to the salutations of the assembled guests. She was clad in widow's sables with long gauze streamers, and wore the broad riband of the Garter and a magnificent parure of diamonds. The Koh-i-noor sparkled on her bosom, while her head-dress was surmounted with a glittering tiara girt by a small crown Imperial in brilliants. On entering the choir the Queen was conducted to her seat close to the south of the altar. The bridegroom's procession next made its appearance. The Duke of Albany wore the scarlet and gold uniform of a colonel of

Infantry. The Prince walked with some slight difficulty with the assistance of a stick. The bridegroom was supported by the Prince of Wales in the uniform of a Field Marshal, and by his brother-in-law, the Grand Duke of Hesse, also clad in scarlet. Last came the procession of the bride, heralded by the sound of cheering outside and the blare of trumpets. She was supported by her father, the Prince of Waldeck and Pyrmont, and by her brother-in-law, the King of the Netherlands, her train being borne by eight unmarried daughters of dukes, marquises, and earls, decked in white drapery trimmed with flowers. The celebration of the marriage ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by an array of Church dignitaries ranged behind the altar rails. The service was brief, with no enlarged choral accompaniments, but the spectacle was unusually impressive. There was not a vacant spot in the chapel; it was gorgeous with diverse colours and flashing with jewels and with the insignia of many grand Orders of chivalry. The scene, too, was at intervals suddenly wrapped in gloom and as suddenly bathed in light as the fitful sunshine streamed through the painted windows. As the ceremony was being completed a cloud must have passed from the sun, for its beams darted through the stained windows, and revealed the bride and bridegroom in a tinted halo of radiance. After the ceremony the Queen affectionately embraced her son and daughter-in-law, whose united processions were formed and left the chapel whilst Mendelssohn's *Wedding March* pealed forth from the organ and the cannon thundered in the Long Walk. Her Majesty interchanged salutations with her relatives, after which her own procession departed, and the regal pageant was suddenly dissolved. After the signing of the register, which took place in the Green drawing-room, the bride and bridegroom were conducted to the State drawing-room, where the Royal guests had assembled, and where the usual congratulations were exchanged. In the evening a grand State banquet was given in St. George's Hall, at which the health of the bride and bridegroom and other toasts were honoured, Mr. John Brown, her Majesty's Scottish gillie, standing behind the Queen and giving, as her toastmaster, the toast of the newly-wedded pair. Immediately after the toast of the Queen—the last of the list—had been honoured, two of the Royal pipers entered and marched twice round the tables playing Scottish airs, to the astonishment of some of the guests, who had never heard such music before. Then the Queen rose and left the hall, and the other guests quitted the scene. The Duke and Duchess of Albany drove from the Castle, amidst a shower of slippers and rice, to Claremont.

Unusual interest was taken in this wedding, partly on account of the splendour of the ceremony, and partly because it was understood that the Duke of Albany had won a bride admirably suited to be the companion of his refined and studious life. As he seemed destined to form a link between the Court and Culture, so it was hoped that the Duchess might become



.. THE MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF ALBANY.

(From the Picture by Sir J. D. Linton, P.R.I., by Permission of the Glasgow Art Union.)

the social head of a growing school ambitious of showing the world that the lives of women of rank, need not necessarily be absorbed by frivolity and philanthropy.

After the marriage of Prince Leopold the Queen visited the East End to open Epping Forest, which had been saved from further enclosure by the efforts of the Corporation of London. On the 4th of December her Majesty also visited in State the Royal Courts of Justice.

The death-roll of the year was a heavy one. On the 19th of April the



MENTONE.

(From a Photograph by Frith and Co., Reigate.)

death of Charles Darwin robbed not only England but Europe of a singularly original, painstaking, and conscientious scientific investigator. No man of his stamp has so profoundly affected the thought of the Victorian age or surveyed so wide a field of nature, in such a fair, patient, and humble spirit. His keenness of observation was only equalled by his wonderful fertility of resource. The caution with which he felt his way to just inductions, the unerring instinct with which his eye detected, amidst the maze of bewildering phenomena, the true path that led him to the secrets he sought to discover, and the masculine sagacity with which he reconciled, under broad generalisations, facts seemingly irreconcilable, confer immortality on the great work of his life. That work was his demonstration of the extraordinary effect produced on every living thing by the pressure of the conditions under which it lives—conditions which help or

hinder its existence or its reproduction. The organisms which are so formed that they most easily meet the strain of these conditions survive, and their offspring bend to the same destiny. In other words, those organisms that inherit peculiarities of form and structure and stamina that best fit them to survive in the struggle for life, live. Those that do not inherit these advantages die. Such was the Darwinian hypothesis of Evolution, or the doctrine of Survival of the Fittest, and it gave to Science an impetus not less revolutionary and far-reaching than that which it received from the Baconian system.

A trusted and valued friend and servant of the Queen passed away on the 3rd of December, when Dr. Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, died after a long and painful illness. Though he was not a man of brilliant parts, or commanding intellect, he was the only Primate who, since the House of Brunswick ruled England, had left a distinct mark on the Anglican Church. He was in truth the only Primate, since the days of Tillotson, who had a definite policy, and a will strong enough to carry it out. Tait's policy was to make the Church of England popular with the governing class of his day—that is to say, with the intelligent and respectable *bourgeoisie*. So long as they supported the Church it could, in his opinion, defy disestablishment; and it is but fair to say that he secured for it their support. He never alarmed the average Englishman by intellectuality, or irritated the middle classes by any obtrusive display of culture. He was careful not to offend them by indecorous versatility. They were never frightened by flashing wit, or bewildered by scholastic sophistry. He was faithful and zealous in the discharge of his pastoral duties, generous and tolerant to opponents, eager for what he called "comprehension," slow in the pursuit of heresy. In every relation of life he was the incarnation of common sense and propriety. The Queen placed such unbounded confidence in his judgment that it was generally supposed Dr. Tait virtually nominated his successor. At all events, it was well known that Dr. Benson, Bishop of Truro, who succeeded to the Primacy, was the candidate specially favoured by the Sovereign, and that he was, of all the younger prelates, the one whom Dr. Tait most desired to see reigning in his stead.

The death of Garibaldi on June 2, and of M. Gambetta on December 31, profoundly moved the English people. Garibaldi's life of heroic adventure, unselfish patriotism, and disinterested devotion to the cause of liberty, had endeared him to the masses. M. Gambetta's amazing energy in endeavouring to lift France out of the mire of defeat in 1870 had won for him the admiration of the world. His tempestuous eloquence gave him an almost magical power over the French democracy, a power which he wielded for no sordid personal aims. If latterly his policy seemed to revive the restless aggressive spirit of his countrymen, it was admitted that he sought nothing save the glory of France. And yet for Europe it may be conceded that the death of Gambetta was not a mishap. Had he lived it would have been hard to have avoided a collision between France and England in Egypt. He encouraged those who, in Paris and St.

Petersburg, had for many years been intriguing for a Russo-French alliance against Germany.* His death and that of Garibaldi were followed by Signor Mancini's disclosure to the Italian Senate, of the adhesion of Italy to the Austro-German Alliance, and the formation of the Triple League of Peace.†

* These intrigues grew so dangerous that in 1879 Prince Bismarck concluded a Secret Treaty with Austria, which bound each Power to defend the other if attacked by Russia, or if Russia gave aid to any other Power which was attacking them. Though Prince Bismarck, as he said in his speech in the Reichstag (6th of February, 1887) really acted at the Berlin Congress as the fourth plenipotentiary of Russia, the Russian War Party were of opinion that he ought to have done more for them. Their attacks on Germany in the Press were incessant. Russians of rank like Gortschakoff and Skobelev, notoriously carried on intrigues with France for an alliance against Germany. Indeed, Russian troops began to mass themselves on the German frontier in 1882. Curiously enough, of the four men who could have done most to thwart Prince Bismarck's League of Peace with Austria—only one (Garibaldi) died in circumstances free from suspicion of foul play. Garibaldi's death rendered it easier to bring Italy into Prince Bismarck's anti-French combination. These four men it is curious to note passed away most opportunely for Prince Bismarck. Garibaldi died in June, Skobelev on the 7th of July, Gambetta in December, 1882, and Gortschakoff on the 11th of March, 1883. Germany breathed freely after the death of Gambetta, who, said Prince Bismarck once, worked on the nerves of Europe "like a man who beats a drum in a sick room."

† The history of this compact is as follows:—After the Treaty of Berlin was signed Lord Salisbury bought off the opposition of France to the occupation of Cyprus, first by promising not to oppose an extension of her influence in Tunis, and secondly, by paving the way for her sharing with England the control of Egypt. Prince Bismarck also left on M. Waddington's mind the impression that Germany was indifferent to the fate of Tunis, knowing well that French interference there must brew bad blood between France and Italy. In the spring of 1881 the French discovered that the mysterious "Kroumirs" were menacing their Algerian frontier. To punish them they invaded Tunis, and though they never discovered any "Kroumirs," they compensated themselves for their disappointment by forcing the Bey to sign the Bardo Treaty. It converted Tunis into a French dependency. Italy remonstrated in vain against this violation of the guaranteed integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and finally sought for safety against further French encroachments on her interests, in an alliance with the German Powers. M. Gambetta's aggressive policy caused King Humbert, on the advice of Prince Bismarck, to visit the Emperor of Austria at Vienna, in the autumn of 1881. Prince Bismarck was ostentatious in expressing his friendliness to Italy, and exchanged effusive compliments with Signor Mancini. (*See Mancini's Speech in the Italian Senate of December, 1881.*) In October, 1882, Count Kalnoky declared that King Humbert's pilgrimage of conciliation to the Hofburg had identified Italian and Austro-German interests, and Signor Mancini announced the existence of the Triple League on the 11th of April, 1883. On the 17th of March, 1885, Mancini, when questioned as to his Red Sea policy, told the Senate that in all his negotiations with England he had made it "clear that Italy could enter into no engagement which was contrary to the agreements concluded with the two Empires." Through negotiations carried on by the German Crown Prince, Spain was next drawn into the net of the Triple League, and France utterly isolated.



LAMBETH PALACE.

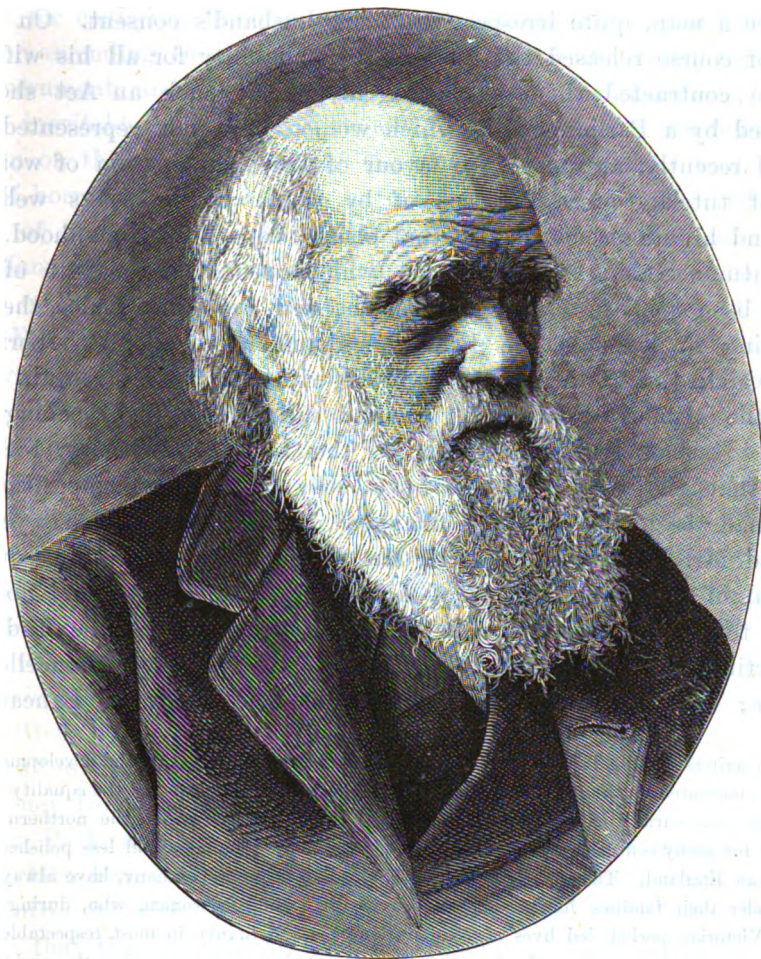
CHAPTER XXVI.

THE INVINCIBLES.

The Married Women's Property Act—The Opening of Parliament—Changes in the Cabinet—Arrest of Suspects in Dublin—Invincibles on their Trial—Evidence of the Informer Carey—Carey's Fate—The Forster-Parnell Incident—National Gift to Mr. Parnell—The Affirmation Bill—The Bankruptcy and other Bills—Mr. Childers' Budget—The Corrupt Practices Bill—The "Farmers' Friends"—Sir Stafford Northcote's Leadership—The Bright Celebration—Dynamite Outrages in London—The Explosives Act—M. de Lesseps and Mr. Gladstone—Blunders in South Africa—The Ilbert Bill—The Attack on Lady Florence Dixie's House—Death of John Brown—His Career and Character—The Queen and the Consumption of Lamb—A Dull Holiday at Balmoral—Capsizing of the *Daphne*—Prince Albert Victor made K.G.—France and Madagascar—Arrest of Rev. Mr. Shaw—Settlement of the Dispute—Progress of the National League—Orange and Green Rivalry—The Leeds Conference—"Franchise First"—Lord Salisbury and the Housing of the Poor—Mr. Besant and East London—"Slumming"—Hicks Pasha's Disastrous Expedition in the Soudan—Mr. Gladstone on Jam.

AN unnoticed Act of Parliament came into force on New Year's Day, 1883, which marked the progress of what may be termed the social revolution in England. This was the Married Women's Property Act, which had been passed with very little debate in the previous Session. If it be true that the position which women hold in a State is an unerring test of its standard of civilisation, the reign of the Queen will be notable in history, as one in which the social progress of England has been most rapid. In England, said J. S. Mill, Woman has not been the favourite of the law, but its favourite victim. During the last quarter of a century, however, this reproach has been wiped

away. Year by year new avenues of employment have been opened up to women. One of the first acts of Mr. Fawcett when he became Postmaster-General was to admit them to the service of the State. Parliament, under the wise guidance of Mr. Forster, decided to give them a fair share of the public endowments set aside for secondary education. They were afterwards



CHARLES DARWIN.

(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

admitted to the benefits of University education; one of the learned professions—that of medicine—was thrown open to them; and political enfranchisement is even within their reach. But in 1883 the law for the first time recognised the fact that married women could hold property, and abandoned the barbaric doctrine that for women matrimony implied confiscation. The Married Women's Property Act, which was passed by Mr. Osborne Morgan, did for the women of the people by law, what was done for women of the

upper classes by marriage settlements. It gave a married woman an absolute right to her earnings, so that her husband could no longer seize them under his *jus mariti*. It gave her, in the absence of settlements, an indefeasible right to any property she might have before or that might come to her after marriage, so that she could use it as she pleased without her husband's interference. It made her contract as regards her own estate, as binding as if she were a man, quite irrespective of her husband's consent. On the other hand, it of course released the husband from liability for all his wife's debts, unless she contracted them as his agent. That such an Act should have been passed by a Parliament in which women were not represented, and in which, till recently, arguments in favour of the emancipation of women from a state of tutelage were disposed of by coarse jokes, speaks well for the chivalry and high sense of justice that characterise British manhood.*

The autumn Session of Parliament (which opened on the 24th of October, 1882) had been spent in a struggle over the new Procedure Rules, the Ministry endeavouring to persuade the House of Commons to adopt the principle of Closure, which the Conservatives opposed with all their strength. In this struggle the Ministry won. They carried their Rules for checking obstruction, and so when Parliament met, on the 15th of February, 1883, it was expected that the Session would be a busy one. The composition of the Cabinet had been considerably changed during the previous year. Mr. Bright and Mr. Forster had left it, Mr. Bright's secession being due to his disapproval of the bombardment of Alexandria; Lord Derby had now become Secretary to the Colonies; Lord Kimberley had gone to the India Office; Lord Hartington was Secretary for War; Mr. Childers, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Mr. Dodson, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Sir

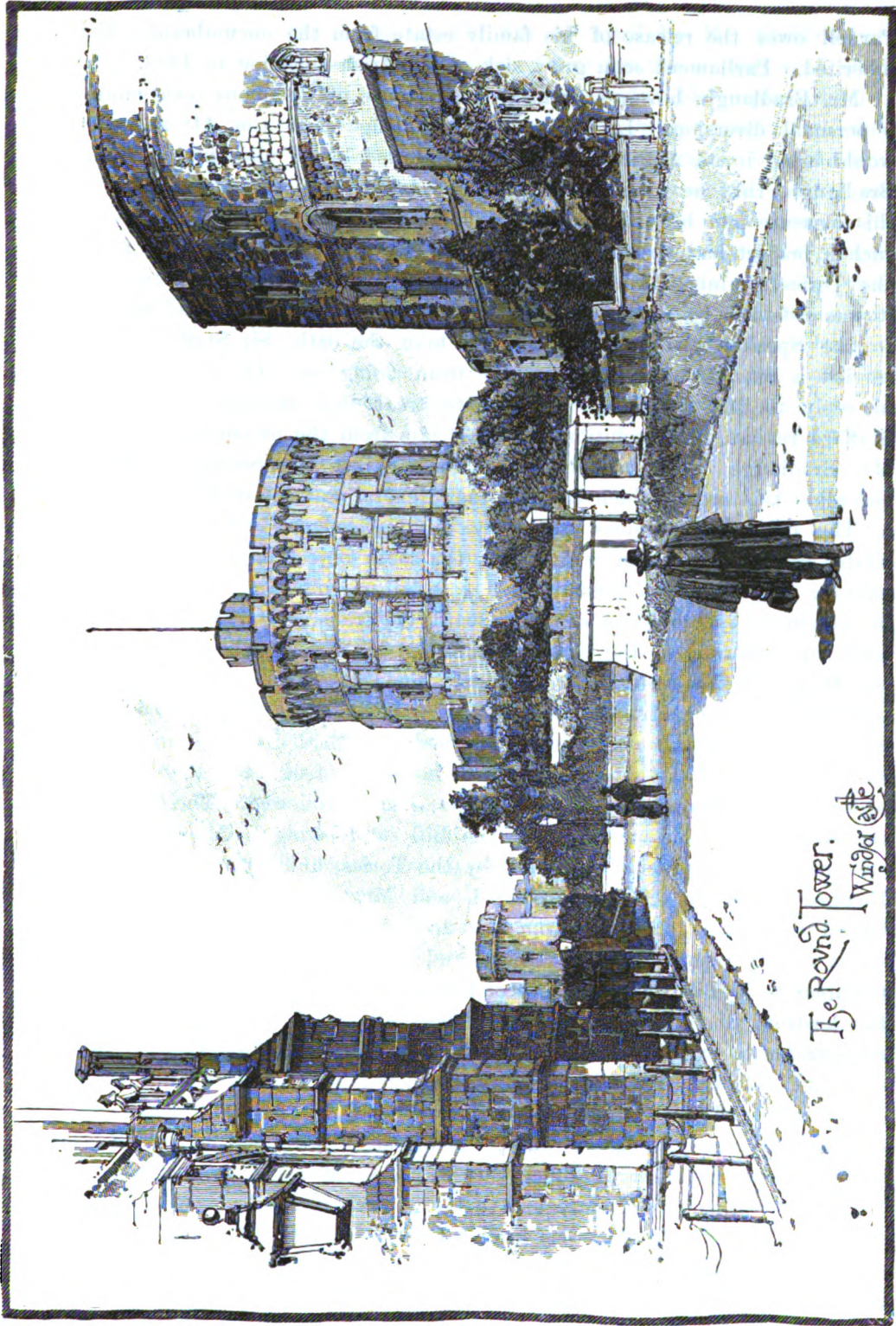
* Though writers like De Tocqueville have laid it down that the civilisation and development of a State can be always measured by the social status and independence of its women and the equality of the sexes before the law, one curious exception may be noted. From various reasons, the northern kingdom of Scotland has for many centuries remained appreciably rougher in manners and less polished and refined in culture than England. The women of Scotland, too, like those of Germany, have always been compelled to render their families harder domestic service than English women, who, during the greater part of the Victorian period, led lives of comparative ease and luxury in most respectable households. Yet it is strange that in Scotland the law has always been jealous in guarding the rights of women. For example, it secured to a woman a third of her husband's property after his death, so that he could not disinherit her by will. It enabled her, through a simple and cheap legal process, to protect her earnings from seizure by her husband. It was at pains to preserve to women in the direct line of succession their right to baronies and peerages after the males in that line were exhausted. The divorce law, too, did not, like that of England, recognise any inequality in the position of the sexes. The effect of the improved legal status of women in Scotland was curious. Though living in a ruder society, and under the pressure of harder conditions of life than their more luxurious and polished English sisters, they seem in all ages to have enjoyed by custom a position of authority in the family, scarcely even yet conceded to their sex in England. Arduous household service was, however, the price they had to pay for their privileges. It may also be added that whilst in England, till very recently, parents were more particular about the education of their sons than their daughters, such a distinction between the sexes was rarely made in Scotland at any time in its history.

Charles Dilke entered the Cabinet as President of the Local Government Board. As Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs he was succeeded by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, a painstaking but unsteady Whig. The din of the extra-Parliamentary strife of the recess was stilled, and the House of Commons, like the country, was in a mood to welcome Liberal measures carried out in a conservative spirit. Among those announced in the Queen's Speech were Bills for codifying the criminal law, for establishing a Court of Criminal Appeal, for amending the Bankruptcy, Patent, and Ballot Acts, for reforming Local Government, and for improving the government of London.

It was inevitable that Ireland should form the most prominent topic in the Debate on the Address, because the country had scarcely recovered from the tale of horror which had been unfolded by those who were tracking the murderers of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke to their lairs. On the 13th of January seventeen men were arrested in Dublin, and on the 20th they were, with three others, charged with conspiring to murder Government officials. For the most part they were artisans of the inferior order, but one, James Carey, was a builder and contractor, and a member of the Dublin Town Council. Under the pressure of examination two of these men, Farrell and Kavanagh, turned informers. Carey, finding that other members of the gang were going to save their necks, offered to betray the conspiracy of which he had been the guiding organiser. From his evidence, it appeared that after Mr. Forster had put all the popular leaders of the Irish people in gaol, a band of desperadoes, called "the Invincibles," was formed for the purpose of "making history," by "removing obnoxious Irish officials." Though an attempt was made to show that the "Invincibles" were agents of the Land League, the only evidence in favour of this supposition rested on a statement which Carey admitted he had made. Two emissaries from America furnished the "Invincibles" with their funds, and Carey said that he thought they "perhaps" got the money from the Land League. He also said that the knives used for the Phoenix Park murders were delivered in Ireland by a woman, whom he took to be Mrs. Frank Byrne, wife of a Land League official. When, however, he was confronted with Mrs. Byrne he could not identify her. It is only just to add that the diary of Mullett, one of the accused, was full of expressions of scorn for the constitutional Home Rule agitators. We may therefore safely infer that after Mr. Forster had suppressed the Land League and put its chiefs in prison, what happened in Ireland is what has happened in every country. For open agitation were substituted secret societies, and midnight assassins took the place of constitutional leaders. The conspirators appear to have long dogged Mr. Forster's steps, but failed to get a chance of killing him. They had no desire to attack Lord Frederick Cavendish; indeed, till he was pointed out to them, they did not know him by sight. He perished on the 6th of May because he defended his companion, Mr. Burke, who had been marked for "removal." Carey was the man who had given the

signal for the advance of the murderers, and he was also base enough afterwards, at a meeting of the Home Manufacturers' Association, to propose that a vote of condolence should be sent to Lady Frederick Cavendish. The end of it all was that five of the conspirators, Brady, Curley, Fagan, Caffrey, and Kelly, were hanged. Delaney, Fitzharris, and Mullett were sent to penal servitude for life, and the others to penal servitude for various terms. True bills were found against three individuals, Walsh, Sheridan, and Tynan, the last said to be the envoy who supplied the "Invincibles" with money, and who was only known to Carey as "Number One." Carey was shot dead at the Cape of Good Hope by a man called O'Donnell, when on his way to a refuge in a British Colony, an offence for which O'Donnell was tried at the Old Bailey and hanged.

It was whilst the country was thrilled by Carey's revelations that Mr. Gorst raised the Irish Question in an amendment to the Address, urging that no more concessions be made by the Government to Irish agitation. The House resounded with attacks on Mr. Parnell, who was reminded that Sheridan, against whom a true bill of murder had been found as the result of Carey's evidence, was the same individual, whose aid in suppressing outrages he had promised to the Government. Mr. Parnell was accordingly charged with conniving at murder, the loudest of his accusers being Mr. Forster, who raked up the old story of the Kilmainham Treaty, when he delivered his indictment of Mr. Parnell on the 22nd of February. Mr. Parnell did not reply till next day. Then he contemptuously told the House that he could hold no commerce with Mr. Forster, whom he considered as an informer in relation to the secrets of his late colleagues, nay, as an informer who had not even the pretext of Carey, "namely, the miserable one of saving his own life." The *hauteur* and bitterness of the speech, despite its closely-knit argument, disproving the allegation that the Home Rule leaders were consciously associated with the "Invincibles," or could be held responsible for what was going on in Ireland after Mr. Forster had locked them up, greatly inflamed public opinion. Mr. Parnell stood charged with being the head of a constitutional agitation, some of the agents of which were now shown to be chiefs of secret societies of assassins. Without assuming that he had anything to do with the hidden lives or proceedings of these men, the public condemned Mr. Parnell because he did not, at a moment when their deeds had horrified the country, denounce their wickedness. In Ireland, however, his conduct excited the warmest admiration. Mr. Forster's taunts he had met with supercilious disdain, and he had told Parliament that he did not care to justify himself to any one but the Irish people, who did not require him to prove that he was not an accomplice of Carey's. A movement to present Mr. Parnell with a national testimonial was accordingly started, and the subscriptions to it ultimately reached £40,000. Mr. Forster's attack on Mr. Parnell, at a moment when the House was excited by Carey's evidence, may have been ungenerous. But it is to it that Mr.



THE ROUND TOWER, WINDSOR CASTLE.

Parnell owes the release of his family estate from the encumbrances that he inherited. Parliament soon grew sick of the Irish Question in 1883.

Mr. Bradlaugh, however, furnished the House of Commons once more with a personal diversion. Lord Hartington's pledge that the Attorney-General would bring in an Affirmation Bill was followed by an undertaking from Mr. Bradlaugh, that he would not press his claim to be sworn till the fate of this measure had been determined. Though the arguments for and against such a project had already been thrashed out, it was debated for a fortnight, the Tories straining every effort to waste time over its discussion. Finally it was defeated by a vote of 292 to 289; and when Mr. Bradlaugh wrote to the Speaker claiming his right to take the oath, Sir Stafford Northcote carried a resolution prohibiting him from doing so. On the 9th of July, in reply to Mr. Bradlaugh's threat to treat this decision as invalid, Sir Stafford revived the resolution excluding him from the precincts of the House. Mr. Bradlaugh then brought an action against the Serjeant-at-Arms for enforcing this order, which the Attorney-General was instructed to defend.

The only real progress made by the Government with business before Easter was with the Bankruptcy Bill, the main object of which was to provide for an independent examination into all circumstances of insolvency, to be conducted by officials of the Board of Trade. It was read a second time and referred to the Grand Committee on Trade, who sent it back to the House of Commons on the 25th of June. The House of Lords passed it without cavil, and Mr. Chamberlain, who had charge of the measure, was congratulated on the ability and tact which he had displayed in conducting it. The Patents Bill, which reduced inventors' fees, had the same happy history as the Bankruptcy Bill, in whose wake it followed. The Law Bills of the Ministry were less fortunate. The Bill establishing a Court of Appeal in criminal cases was fiercely opposed by the Tories, under the leadership of Sir Richard Cross, Sir Hardinge Giffard, and Mr. Gibson. It was before the Grand Committee on Law from the 2nd of April till the 26th of June, when it was reported to the House and dropped by the Government. The Criminal Code Bill was read a second time on the 12th of April, in spite of the hostility of the Irish Party, who resisted one of the provisions enabling magistrates to examine suspected persons. In the Standing Committee, however, the Bill was so pertinaciously obstructed by Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Gorst, and Sir H. D. Wolff, that Sir Henry James abandoned it in despair. When Sir Henry James mentioned this fact in the House of Commons on the 21st of June, Sir H. D. Wolff asked Mr. Gladstone derisively "whether, having regard to the signal success of the principle of delegation and devolution," he intended to refer any other Bills to Grand Committees. This question was accentuated by loud outbursts of mocking laughter from Lord Randolph Churchill, which, Mr. Gladstone declared, rendered it impossible for him even to hear the terms of the interpellation.

The Budget was introduced on the 5th of April by Mr. Childers, who stated that his estimated revenue and expenditure for the coming year would be £88,480,000 and £85,789,000. This showed a comfortable surplus which he exhausted by taking 1½d. off the Income Tax, by making provisions to meet an expected loss on the introduction of sixpenny telegrams, by reductions on railway passenger duty, and by slight changes in the gun licence and in tax-collection. He also carried, in spite of strenuous opposition, a Bill to reduce the National Debt. By this Bill Mr. Childers created £40,000,000 of Chancery Stock into terminable annuities for twenty years, to follow those expiring in 1885. Then he created £30,000,000 of Savings Bank Stock into shorter annuities. As each fell in, it was to be followed by a longer one, so as to absorb the margin between the actual interest on the Debt and the sum set aside for its permanent service, thus hypothecating the taxes of the future. Mr. Childers promised, by his system, to wipe out £172,000,000 of debt in twenty years.

The Corrupt Practices Bill was read a second time on the 4th of June, and it not only restricted expenditure on elections, but inflicted stringent penalties for bribery and intimidation in every form, making candidates responsible for the acts of their agents, prohibiting the use of public-houses as committee-rooms, and the payment of conveyances to bring voters to the poll. The Tories, the Parnellites, and one or two Radicals like Mr. Peter Rylands, fought hard to relax the stringency of the measure. It was obstructed in Committee, but ultimately passed both Houses with no important alterations. The Agricultural Holdings Bill was also strongly opposed. It gave tenants a right to compensation for improvements, which was to be inalienable by contract. The most important amendment, which was moved and carried by Mr. A. J. Balfour, limiting compensation to the actual outlay, represented the spirit in which the Opposition sought to destroy the utility of the Bill. As Mr. Clare Sewell Read (one of the Conservatives who represented the agricultural interests) observed, this amendment enabled the landlord to say to the tenant, "Heads I win; tails you lose. If your improvement succeeds, I get the profit out of it, and you only the outlay; if it does not succeed, you get the loss." The amendment was struck out on Report, and, though the House of Lords tried to mutilate the Bill, their worst amendments were rejected by the Commons, and the measure passed. The controversy in the House of Lords was remarkable for Lord Salisbury's failure to hold his Party at the end firm to the policy of resistance. A useful Bill prohibiting payment of wages in public-houses was also passed. Nor was Ireland neglected. The Tramways Act enabled Irish Local Authorities to construct, with the support of Government guarantees, tramways and light railways, and the Government further assented to provisions to promote by State aid a scheme for transferring labourers from "congested" to thinly-peopled districts. In August a Bill was passed setting apart a portion of the Irish

Church surplus to promote the building of fishing harbours. A useful Irish Registration Bill was rejected by the Peers, but Mr. T. P. O'Connor contrived to pass a Bill enabling Rural Sanitary Authorities to borrow money from the Government for the construction of labourers' cottages. It cannot, however, be said that the Irish Members were grateful for these measures. They still pursued their favourite policy of exasperation, and their alliance with the Tories led to a more systematic and daring use of obstruction than had ever been seen in the House of Commons. At first Sir Stafford Northcote seemed unwilling to countenance obstructive tactics; but Lord Randolph Churchill's bitter attacks on his leadership in the *Times* (April 2), and the impatience of the Tory Party, forced the hesitating hand of their leader in the Commons. The evil assumed such serious dimensions that Mr. Bright denounced at Birmingham, in terms of indignant eloquence,* "the men who now afflict the House, and who from night to night insult the majesty of the British people." Thus it came to pass, as the *Times* said in its review of the Session, that "the main part of the legislation of the year, with the exception of one or two Bills, was huddled together, and hustled through in both Houses during the month of August, amidst an ever-dwindling attendance of Members." There was only one Bill which was not obstructed—the Explosives Act; in fact, it was passed in a panic. The events that led to its production were somewhat startling. On the night of the 15th of March an attempt was made to blow up the Local Government Board Offices in Whitehall by dynamite, and about the same time a similar outrage was perpetrated on the offices of the *Times* in Printing House Square. Guards of soldiers and police were immediately posted at all places likely to be attacked, and the connection of these crimes with the seizures of dynamite which were from time to time made by the police in provincial towns, and the arrest of eight conspirators engaged in the "dynamite war" at Liverpool in March, could scarcely be doubted. On the 9th of April Sir William Harcourt's Explosives Act was therefore carried through both Houses after

* The occasion was a banquet given to him in the Town Hall in celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his connection with Birmingham. Mr. Bright said:—"And, what is worse, at this moment, as you see—you do not so much see it here as it is seen in the House—they [the Conservatives] are found in alliance with an Irish rebel party (loud and long-continued cheers), the main portion of whose funds, for the purposes of agitation, comes directly from the avowed enemies of England, and whose oath of allegiance is broken by association with its enemies. Now, these are the men of whom I spoke, who are disregarding the wishes of the majority of the constituencies, and who, as far as possible, make it impossible to do any work for the country by debates and divisions in the House of Commons. I hope the constituencies will mark some of the men of this party, and that they will not permit Parliament to be dishonoured and Government enfeebled by Members who claim to be, but are not, Conservative and Constitutional. Our freedom is no longer subverted or threatened by the Crown or by a privileged aristocracy. Is the time come—I quote the words from history—is the time come to which the ancestor of Lord Salisbury referred three hundred years ago, when he said that 'England could only be ruined by Parliament'?"

an unavailing protest from Lord Salisbury, who complained that the Peers were taken by surprise.* After the Bill had become law packages of dynamite were seized at Leicester and Cupar-Fife; four men were condemned at Liverpool as dynamitards; several arrests were made at Glasgow; and on the 30th of October there were two explosions in the tunnel of the Metropolitan



THE ROYAL ALBERT HALL, KENSINGTON.

Railway—between Westminster and Charing Cross, and between Praed Street and Edgware Road.

Egypt furnished the Opposition with many opportunities for embarrassing the Ministry. Lord Hartington had seriously damaged the *prestige* of the Government by his pusillanimous declaration at the opening of the Session that the English troops would be recalled from Egypt in six months. Though Mr. Gladstone, on his return from Cannes, was compelled to throw his colleague over and explain that this statement was purely conjectural, the distrust which Lord Hartington had inspired could not be completely eradicated. A more

* It enacted that to cause an explosion not leading to loss of life was a felony punishable by penal servitude for life. The attempt was punishable with twenty years' imprisonment. To be found in the possession of dynamite, failing proof that it was held for a lawful purpose, entailed fourteen years' imprisonment.

serious difficulty, however, arose out of the exorbitant tolls which the Suez Canal Company levied on the shipping trade. Yielding to the pressure of shipping and commercial interests, Mr. Gladstone sanctioned an agreement by which M. de Lesseps was to provide additional accommodation by digging a second canal. He was also to reduce the tolls gradually, and admit a few Englishmen to his Board of Management. In return the British Government were to procure him the concession of the land for the second canal, and enable him to raise a loan of £8,000,000 at 3½ per cent. A storm of opposition was raised to this project, on the ground that it recognised M. de Lesseps's monopoly to the canalisation of the Isthmus of Suez. The agreement, which was announced on the 28th of April, was abandoned on the 23rd of July.

In South Africa the policy of the Government was attacked during the Session on the ground that it connived at the oppression of the native chiefs by the Boers, who were not carrying out the Transvaal Convention. The restoration and overthrow of Cetewayo also provoked criticism, but the verdict of the country was that the debates all ended in demonstrating one point, which was this: the existing tangle of affairs in South Africa was entirely due to the policy of the late Government, and the existing Government had not been able to discover any way of satisfactorily neutralising the blunders of their predecessors. But no question arising in British dependencies created so much strife as the Indian Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill, popularly called the Ilbert Bill. Lord Lytton had laid down a rule whereby every year one-sixth of the vacancies in the Indian Civil Service must be filled up by natives. As they advanced in the Magistracy and became eligible for service as District Magistrates and Sessions Judges, a difficulty arose. Either they must, like European officials of the same grades, be allowed to try Europeans as well as native offenders against the Criminal Law, or they must be virtually wasted. Moreover, an offensive slight must be put on the Indian servants of the Empress, by prohibiting them from exercising all the functions pertaining to their grade and rank. In Presidency towns no difficulty arose. There native magistrates of this grade were allowed to have jurisdiction over Europeans, the theory being that they acted under the moral censorship of a European press. But in country districts it was alleged that they could not be trusted. In fact, European magistrates must, according to the opponents of the Bill, be found for every district in which even a handful of Europeans were living. Yet, as Lord Lytton had diminished the number of Europeans in the Service and put natives in their places, a serious administrative difficulty might be created if the native judges were not entrusted with the duties of the Europeans whom they had displaced. An explosion of race-hatred was the result of the Ilbert Bill, and the same class of Anglo-Indians who denounced "Clemency" Canning during the "White Terror" of 1857, now denounced Lord Ripon in the same violent language. They even attempted to induce the Volunteers to resign, and Sir Donald Stewart, the Commander-in-

Chief, who, like Sir Frederick Roberts, supported the measure, condemned the "wicked and criminal attempts" which the opponents of the Bill had made to stir up animosity against the Government in the Army. Ultimately a compromise was arrived at, by which a European when tried before a native judge could claim a jury, of which not less than one-half must consist of Europeans or Americans. Curiously enough, at the time this controversy was being developed into a fierce antagonism of races in India, tidings came to England to the effect that a tribe in Orissa had begun to worship the Queen as a goddess.* When the natives on the frontier elevated General John Nicholson to the dignity of a god, the stout soldier used to order his worshippers to be flogged for their idolatry. Whether any official steps were taken to discourage a cult that might have rendered the Queen-Empress ridiculous, was never known. The sect who took her for their deity seems to have vanished from Indian history.

The Queen played but a slight part in public life in the early part of 1883. Whilst at Osborne in January she awarded the Albert Medal to the survivors of the gallant exploring party who distinguished themselves by saving life at the Baddesley Colliery Explosion in May, 1882, and she sent to the Mayor of Bradford an expression of sympathy with the sufferers from the fall of a great chimney stack in that town at the end of the year—a disaster involving the sacrifice of fifty-three lives. On the 14th of February her Majesty held a Council at Windsor, and revised the Royal Speech for the opening of the Session. On the 19th of February she attended the funeral of Pay-Sergeant Mayo, of the Coldstream Guards, at Windsor, who had died suddenly whilst on duty at the Castle, and on the same day, owing to the Prince of Wales holding the opening levee of the season on her behalf, her Majesty was able to be present as one of the sponsors at the baptism of the infant son of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught at Windsor. On the 6th and 13th of March, however, her Majesty held Drawing Rooms at Buckingham Palace. On the 17th of March Lady Florence Dixie alleged that a murderous attack had been made on her in the shrubbery of her house at Windsor, by two men disguised as women. As her ladyship had been writing a good deal on the Irish Question, and as the town was in a panic over the dynamite war waged by the Fenians against public buildings, it was suggested that this outrage might have been planned by one of the Irish Secret Societies. Investigation, however, indicated that Lady Florence must have been labouring under a mistake, and the incident would have passed out of sight but for its effect on the Queen's peace of mind. Lady Florence Dixie's story had alarmed the Queen, showing her, as it did, that there was peril almost at the doors of Windsor Castle. Her Majesty sent Lord Methuen, Lady Ely, and Sir Henry Ponsonby with messages of sympathy to Lady

* For an account of this sect, see a curious article in *The Spectator*, 17th March, 1883.

Florence Dixie, and finally the Queen's personal attendant, Mr. John Brown, was despatched to examine the ground and report on the circumstances of the outrage. He caught a chill in the shrubbery of Lady Florence Dixie's villa, and when he returned to Windsor Castle complained of being ill. He died of erysipelas on the 27th of March, the day after the daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Albany was christened. Brown was the son of a tenant of Colonel Farquharson's and began life as gillie to the Prince Consort. For nineteen years he was the personal attendant of the Queen, and no servant was ever so completely trusted by a royal master or mistress. "John Brown," writes the Queen in a note to her "*Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*," "in 1858 became my regular attendant out of doors everywhere in the Highlands. He commenced as gillie in 1859, and was selected by Albert and me to go with my carriage. In 1857 he entered our service permanently, and began in that year leading my pony, and advanced step by step by his good conduct and intelligence. His attentive care and faithfulness cannot be exceeded, and the state of my health, which of late years has been sorely tried and weakened, renders such qualifications most valuable, and, indeed, most needful upon all occasions. He has since most deservedly been promoted to be an upper servant and my permanent personal attendant (December, 1865). He has all the independence and elevated feelings peculiar to the Highland race, and is singularly straightforward, simple-minded, kind-hearted, and disinterested, always ready to oblige, and of a discretion rarely to be met with." By all accounts Brown seems to have been an honest brusque sort of man, whose fidelity to his master and mistress won their entire confidence. Extraordinary stories were told in Society of his influence over the Queen, and of the almost despotic authority which he wielded over the Royal Family. Even the highest officers of the Royal Household had to speak him fairly, otherwise trouble came to them. He attended the Queen in all her walks and drives, and had the privilege of speaking to her with the rough candour in which he habitually indulged, on any subject he chose to talk about. He had often been engaged in services of a delicate nature for the Royal Family, and it was said that nothing could be said or done, no matter how secretly, at or about the Court, without his immediately knowing of it. Löhlein, the Prince Consort's old valet, was the only person in the Household whom Brown never dared to meddle with. Through the *Court Circular* the Queen bewailed the "grievous shock" she felt at the "irreparable loss" of "an honest, faithful, and devoted follower, a trustworthy, discreet, and straightforward man," whose fidelity "had secured for himself the real friendship of the Queen." This grief was not only natural but eminently creditable to her. Brown had for years been the guardian of her life, and in the case of Connor's attack he had defended her with the grim courage of his race. But for him her Majesty could not have enjoyed that freedom of movement out of doors which had been of

vital consequence to her health and strength. Old servants, when possessed of Brown's sterling qualities of manhood, in process of time gradually pass into the category of old friends. Their lives become intertwined in many ways with the life of the family to which they are attached. Their death



JOHN BROWN.

(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co., Aberdeen.)

leaves behind it in the hearts of their masters and mistresses the sting of a personal bereavement. This was, in a special sense, the case with the Queen, whose fate it has been to see the circle of old familiar faces round her contracting every year. Her expressions of sorrow over Brown's grave, though they provoked rude criticism, merely gave expression to a sentiment of melancholy which was the natural outgrowth of her life of "lonely splendour."*

* Brown, it was said in 1883, had left a diary for publication. This was not quite true, for immediately after his death all his papers were impounded by Sir Henry Ponsonby on behalf of the Queen.

From the 18th of April to the 8th of May the Court was at Osborne, and the state of the Queen's health was such as to cause her medical advisers some concern. The dynamite scare, a slight accident that had happened to her through slipping on the stairs at Windsor Castle, the deaths of her friend Mrs. Stonor* and her attendant, Brown—all contributed to produce an attack of nervous debility that could only be remedied by repose.

In the third week of April the Queen created quite a panic among the sheep farmers and the fashionable purveyors of the large towns. She had read many gloomy articles in the papers, lamenting the decrease in the number of English sheep. Instead of anticipating, by a few days, the appearance of Easter lamb at the Royal table, as did Napoleon I. on one occasion, her Majesty notified that no lamb would be consumed in her Household. The effect of the notice was magical. The price of lamb went down in a few hours to 4d. a pound, and farmers, who had at enormous expense bred and fed large stocks of lamb for the Easter market, saw bankruptcy staring them in the face. The economic fallacy was obvious. The Queen forgot that the slaughter of lambs which were bred for the butcher, and which but for the Easter market would not be bred at all, was not the cause of the scarcity of sheep. In a few weeks the notice was withdrawn.

Though the Queen was still unable to walk, yet on the 8th of May she was so much benefited by her holiday at Osborne, that she was able, under the care of the Princess Beatrice, to return to Windsor. On the 26th of May, though still in feeble health, she went to Balmoral. Extraordinary precautions were taken to prevent the time-table of the Royal train on this occasion from being published, and her Majesty sent orders from Windsor that spectators must be excluded from the stations at which she stopped. Railway directors were not even allowed to be present when her Majesty arrived at Ferryhill station, Aberdeen, from whence she drove to Balmoral by the road on the south side of the Dee—a road she had never taken before. Life at Balmoral was gloomy, for all the old festivities had been stopped, and everybody was in deep mourning for John Brown. The Queen hardly ever left her own grounds, and the Court gladly returned to Windsor on the 23rd of June. On the 3rd of July a shocking accident occurred near Glasgow, which deeply impressed the mind of the Queen. As a new steamer, the *Daphne*, was being launched from Messrs. Stephen's Yard she heeled over and sank. A hundred and fifty lives were lost, and the Queen not only sent a message of sympathy to the survivors, but a subscription of £200 to a fund raised for their relief. The Court removed to Osborne on the 24th of July, where a few days later the

* The Hon. Mrs. Stonor died on the 14th of April in London, from the effects of a carriage accident. She was a daughter of Sir Robert Peel, and was married to the third son of Lord Camoys. Few ladies of the Court stood higher in the favour of the Queen, and she had been lady-in-waiting to the Princess of Wales since the formation of her household in 1863.

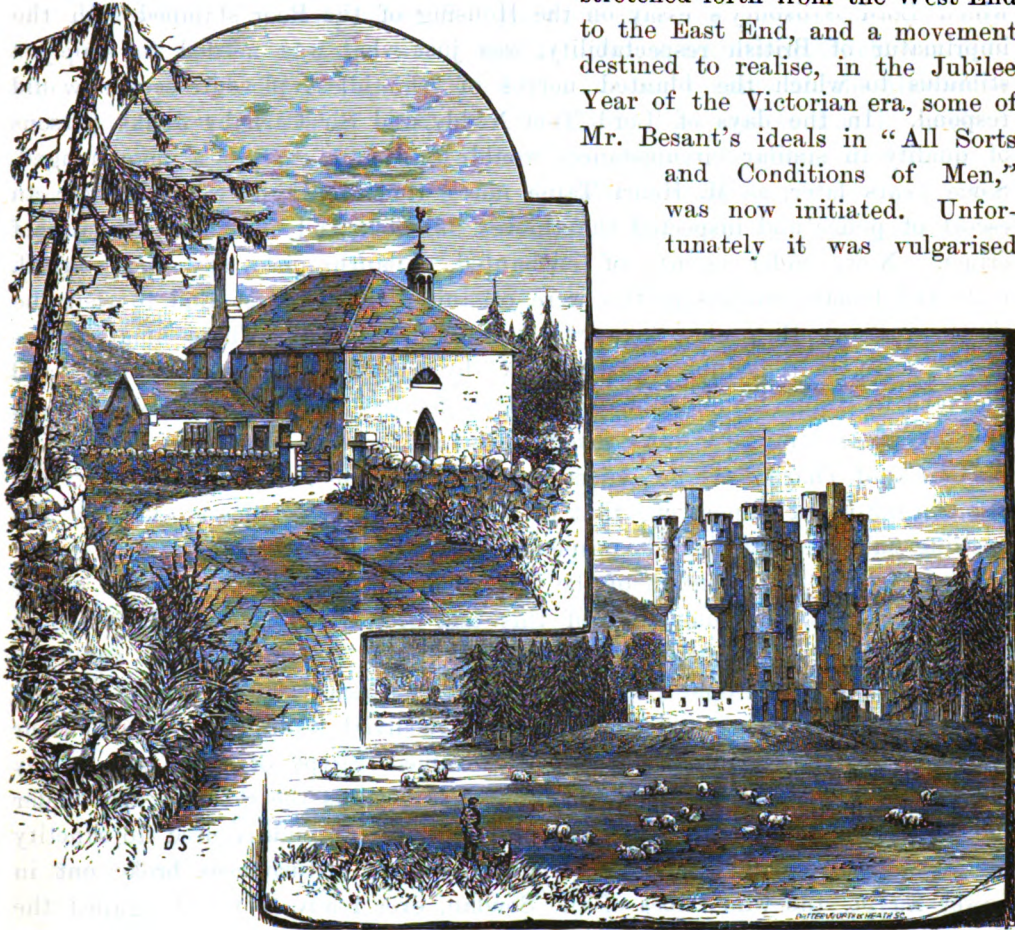
Queen received M. Waddington, the new French Ambassador. On the 24th of August her Majesty left Osborne for Balmoral, which she reached on the following day. She conferred the Order of the Garter on her grandson, Prince Albert Victor of Wales, on the 4th of September. It was thought strange that this distinction should be granted to the Prince whilst he was still a minor: George IV., for example, was not admitted to the Order till long after he had come of age. What was stranger still was that the investiture should have been a private function, conducted in the drawing-room at Balmoral, and not a public ceremonial in St. George's Chapel. The exceptional character of the distinction was a proof of the high favour in which her Majesty held her grandson. Excursions to Braemar, Glassalt Shiel, Glen Cluny, and the neighbourhood were made during September. The Duke and Duchess of Connaught visited her Majesty in October on the eve of their departure for India, and the ex-Empress Eugénie, who was at Abergeldie, came to her almost every day, and long excursions in the bleak scenery of the Aberdeenshire mountains were organised for the Royal party. It was not till the 21st of November that the Court came back to Windsor—the same day on which the Duke and Duchess of Connaught landed at Bombay. After her return the Queen seems to have been engrossed with business to an unusual extent—much of it relating to troublesome private matters, and it was stated that her Majesty and Sir Henry Ponsonby during the first week had to work together for five and six hours at a stretch, ere they could overtake their task. Every day, however, the Queen drove in the Park, and every evening she gave a dinner-party, to which not more than fifteen guests were invited. On the 12th of December her Majesty received the Siamese Envoys, and it was intimated that she intended to raise the poet Laureate to the Peerage. On the 18th of December the Court removed to Osborne, where Christmas-tide was spent.

Politically and socially the Recess of 1883 was full of interest. Just as Parliament was prorogued Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville brought an irritating controversy with France to a close. In the spring, Admiral Pierre had been sent with a squadron to enforce French claims of sovereignty over a portion of the north-west of Madagascar. In the course of operations at Tamatave the Admiral had behaved rudely to the British Consul. He had insulted the commander of H.M.S. *Dryad*, and he had illegally arrested and imprisoned Mr. Shaw, an English missionary. Mr. Gladstone had alluded gravely, but in terms of studied moderation and courtesy, to these events in the House of Commons. The Opposition, however, harried him with attacks; and all over the land Conservative writers and speakers denounced the Government for its cowardly subservience to France. The only effect which these indiscreet criticisms could have was obviously to convince France that she ran no risk in refusing reparation to the Englishmen whom her agents had injured. Fortunately the Government of the French Republic had a keen sense of

justice. It did not misunderstand the firm but temperate tone of the English Foreign Office; and the French Government accordingly offered an apology and compensation to Mr. Shaw. It turned out that Admiral Pierre, who died in France soon after his recall, had been suffering from an exhausting disease at the time he had offended Captain Johnstone of the *Dryad*. There was no disposition on either side, therefore, to exaggerate the personal aspect of the question, and the dispute ended in a manner highly creditable to the diplomacy of both nations.

In Ireland the National League, which had been founded in 1882 as a continuation of the old Land League, was extending its organisation. Mr. Healy's electoral victory in Monaghan suggested that an attack should be made on the last stronghold of the Unionist Party in Ireland. League meetings were therefore held in Ulster; but the Orangemen, terrified by this invasion of Home Rulers into their loyal territory, attempted to repel it by force. They organised rival meetings, and planned armed attacks on the Leaguers. Occasionally Mr. Trevelyan had to suppress the demonstrations of both "Orange" and "Green" by proclamation. In England the Recess was one of stormy political agitation. The Liberal Party felt that it was necessary to submit some measure to Parliament in 1884, on which, if need be, they might risk an appeal to the constituencies. Hence, at Leeds, their provincial leaders and delegates resolved to press a measure of Parliamentary Reform on the country. A small minority, who urged that the reform of the Municipality of London and of County and Local Government should have the first place, were overruled by those who raised the famous cry of "Franchise first." The Tory leaders, when they spoke on the subject, merely suggested that the problem of Parliamentary Reform was encumbered with difficulties. For some time the Liberal leaders rarely spoke save to contradict each other either as to the order of legislation in the coming Session, or as to whether, if Household Suffrage were extended to the counties, the Redistribution of Seats would be dealt with by a separate Bill. During the Recess, Sir Stafford Northcote roused the Conservatism of North Wales and Ulster. Lord Salisbury attempted to thrill his party with terror by an article in the *Quarterly Review*, bewailing the "disintegration" of English society under Mr. Gladstone's malefic influence; and in another periodical—the *National Review*—he appealed strongly for popular support by a strong semi-Socialistic paper advocating the better housing of the poor. In fact, the end of 1883 and the beginning of 1884 will be long remembered for an outbreak of *dilettante* Socialism among the upper classes. The powerful pen of a gifted novelist had revealed, as by flashes of lightning, the unexplored regions of the East End of London. In fact, Mr. Walter Besant's vivid pictures of its dull grey life of toil, varied only by hunger, and ending only in death, had seared the conscience, if they had not touched the heart, of a brilliant society of pleasure. Beneath the bright wit and mocking humour of the satirist,

there glowed the fire and fervour of the prophet; and when a voice which, like Mr. Besant's, had the ear of a hundred millions of English-speaking people, preached in the most fascinating of parables the doctrine that Wealth owes, and ever will owe, an undischarged duty to Poverty—a mighty impetus was given to the cause of social reform. Hands swift to do good were stretched forth from the West End to the East End, and a movement destined to realise, in the Jubilee Year of the Victorian era, some of Mr. Besant's ideals in "All Sorts and Conditions of Men," was now initiated. Unfortunately it was vulgarised



THE PARISH CHURCH, CRATHIE.

BRAEMAR CASTLE.

by much imposture at the outset. The pace of three London seasons had been unusually rapid, and Society at this juncture had exhausted its resources of amusement and its capacities for pleasure. The town was fuller than usual, for Cabinet Councils had been unwontedly early; and the great families who flock to London when they get the first hint that the autumnal period of political intrigue has set in, had abandoned their country houses sooner in the year than was customary. The theatres were unattractive. The Fisheries Exhibition had closed; and the world of fashion was hungry for some fresh object of interest. Like Matthew Arnold's patrician, though

Society made its feast and crowned its brows with roses in the winter of 1883-4, it was still left lamenting that

"No easier and no quicker passed
The impracticable hours."

The movement in philanthropy which Mr. Besant's writings originated, and which Lord Salisbury's essay on the Housing of the Poor stamped with the imprimatur of British respectability, was just what was needed to supply a stimulus to which the blunted nerves of the idlest pleasure-seeker would respond. In the days of Lord Tom Noddy and Sir Carnaby Jenks persons of quality in similar circumstances would have gone to see a man hanged. Some years later, as M. Henri Taine notes, they would have applied for an escort of police and inspected the thieves' kitchens and other hideous lairs of crime. Now, under escorts of enchanted philanthropists, lay and clerical, male and female, curious parties were organised in the West End to visit the slums, just as they were arranged to visit the opera. These amateur explorers were, indeed, dubbed "slummers" by cynical writers in the Press; and the verb to "slum" almost made good its footing in the English vocabulary. Few of these strange visitors remained behind in the East End to help in the work of charity whose objects excited their morbid curiosity. It was also an untoward coincidence that of these few some of the most fussy and bustling subsequently figured conspicuously in the Divorce Court.

It had been the intention of the Government to reduce the number of the troops in Egypt, and some hint of this had been given by Mr. Gladstone at the Lord Mayor's banquet in the Guildhall. But before the plan could be carried out a catastrophe happened in Egypt which interfered with it. It had always been the ambition of the Khedivial family to extend their dominion to the Equator. They had drained Egypt of men and money to conquer that vast and difficult region known as the Soudan, and under the pretext of suppressing the slave trade, they had endeavoured to sanctify their policy of costly conquest. When, however, disturbances broke out in Lower Egypt, the wild tribes of the Soudan, ever ready to revolt against the Egyptians or "Turks," whom they regarded as brutal extortioners, joined the standards of a pretended prophet, called the Mahdi, and Colonel Hicks, a retired Indian officer, was sent with an Egyptian army to suppress the rising. The British Government sanctioned, but gave no aid to the expedition. By their foolish policy they made themselves morally responsible for its fate without taking steps to make its success a certainty. In November Hicks Pasha and his army were cut to pieces at El Obeid, and Egyptian authority in the Soudan was represented by a few beleaguered garrisons at such places as Khartoum, Suakim, and Sinkat. The British Government dissuaded Tewfik Pasha from trying to re-conquer the Soudan, but advised him merely to relieve the garrisons and hold the Red Sea coast and the Nile Valley as far

as Wady Halfa. By thus blocking the only outlets for its produce the insurrection in the province might be strangled. Here the Ministry delivered themselves into the hands of their enemies. If they tried to re-conquer the Soudan the Tories could denounce a blood-guilty policy that wasted the substance of Egypt to gratify Khedivial ambition. If they induced Tewfik Pasha to let the Soudan alone, they could be denounced for abandoning one of the conquests of civilisation to barbarism and the slave trade. But in the first weeks of 1884 there was a lull in political agitation, which was only partially broken by Mr. Gladstone's address to his tenants at the Hawarden Rent Dinner on the 9th of January. It was in this speech that he advised farmers groaning under prolonged agricultural distress, aggravated by an outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease, to seek consolation in pensive reflection on the Hares and Rabbits Act, and in an energetic application of their industry to the production of jam.

CHAPTER XXVII.

GENERAL GORDON'S MISSION.

Success of the Mahdi—Difficult Position of the Ministers—Their Egyptian Policy—General Gordon sent out to the Soudan—Baker Pasha's Forces Defeated—Sir S. Northcote's Vote of Censure—The Errors on Both Sides—Why not a Protectorate?—Gordon in Khartoum—Zebehr, "King of the Slave-traders"—Attacks on Gordon—Osman Digna Twice Defeated—Treason in Khartoum—Gordon's Vain Appeals—Financial Position of Egypt—Abortive Conference of the Powers—Vote of Credit—The New Speaker—Mr. Bradlaugh *Redivivus*—Mr. Childers' Budget—The Coinage Bill—The Reform Bill—Household Franchise for the Counties—Carried in the Commons—Thrown Out in the Lords—Agitation in the Country—The Autumn Session—"No Surrender"—Compromise—The Franchise Bill Passed—The Nile Expedition—Murder of Colonel Stewart and Mr. Frank Power—Lord Northbrook's Mission—Ismail Pasha's Claims The "Scramble for Africa"—Coolness with Germany—The Angra Pequena Dispute—Bismarck's Irritation—Queensland and New Guinea—Death of Lord Hertford—The Queen's New Book—Death of the Duke of Albany—Character and Career of the Prince—The Claremont Estate—The Queen at Darmstadt—Marriage of the Princess Victoria of Hesse—A Gloomy Season—The Health Exhibition—The Queen and the Parliamentary Deadlock—The Abyssinian Envoys at Osborne—Prince George of Wales made K.G.—The Court at Balmoral—Mr. Gladstone's Visit to the Queen.

PARLIAMENT met on the 5th of February, 1884. The Queen's Speech admitted that the unexpected success of the Mahdi in the Soudan had delayed the evacuation of Cairo and the reduction of the British army of occupation. It also referred to the steps that had been taken to relieve Khartoum by the despatch of General Gordon—accompanied by Colonel Stewart—to that doomed city. An imposing programme of domestic legislation was put forward. There was to be a Reform Bill, a Bill to improve the government of London, and legislation was promised dealing with shipping, railways, the government of Scotland, education, Sunday Closing in Ireland, and intermediate education in Wales. The Egyptian Policy of the Government was naturally taken as the point for attack by the Opposition in the House of Lords and

in the House of Commons. The position of England in Egypt was now so peculiar and embarrassing that any policy open to the Government was open to objection. So far as the interests of the English and Egyptian people were concerned, the best thing that could have been done for them would have been to render the frontier at Wady Halfa impregnable, to forbid any further interference with the Soudan, and to leave the Egyptian garrisons and colonies there to make the best terms they could with the Mahdi. This would not have been a noble or heroic, but it would have been a sensible course, and it would have prevented the perfectly useless expenditure of precious blood and treasure. On the other hand, only a Minister unselfish enough to brave the obloquy which would be cast on him by his rivals for adopting a sordid policy in the interests of his country, could venture on such a policy. It would have been possible to a Bismarck, who can boast that he will never break the bones of a Pomeranian grenadier for the sake of the Eastern Question. It was not possible to Mr. Gladstone, some of whose colleagues were already in a bellicose mood. Assuredly, too, it would in 1884 have been unpopular with the electors. In foreign complications, involving the issues of peace or war, their

“ Affections are
A sick man's appetite, who desires most that
Which would increase his evil.”

Ministers therefore chose the course which, on the whole, divided the country least. They decided to cut the connection between Egypt and the Soudan, but at the same time to arrange for the safe return of the Egyptian garrisons and colonists to Lower Egypt. They selected General Gordon—better known as “Chinese” Gordon—who, as Gordon Pasha, had been Viceroy of the Soudan, to make the best arrangements he could for the future of the country, and bring back the garrisons and colonists in safety. Gordon's great name and unbounded popularity caused this plan to be hailed with unalloyed delight by the people. He arrived at Cairo on the 23rd of January, and was permitted to receive from the Khedive a firman appointing him Governor-General of the Soudan, and vesting him, as the Khedive's Viceroy, with absolute power. Gordon thus held two commissions—one from the English Government as the Agent of the Foreign Office, another from the Khedive as Viceroy of the Soudan. He crossed the desert without an escort, and was making his way to Khartoum when Parliament met. It was a dramatic coincidence that when the debate on Egypt was going on, news of a serious disaster from the Soudan came to hand. Baker Pasha had advanced from Trinkitat on the 4th of February, and near Tokar his force was attacked by the Mahdi's followers and driven back to Suakim. By an accident the discussion collapsed without any Ministerial reply being given to the Tory attack. Then Sir Stafford Northcote, on the 7th of February, moved his vote

of censure, on the ground that the disasters in the Soudan were due to "the vacillating and inconsistent policy" pursued by the Government. Possibly the disaster of the division in the Commons when this motion was rejected may have in turn been traceable to the "vacillating and inconsistent"



GENERAL GORDON.

(From a Photograph by Adams and Scanlan, Southampton.)

tactics of the Opposition. They toiled with wearisome iteration to prove that England, having incurred responsibility for the government of Egypt after Tel-el-Kebir, was responsible for the massacre of Hicks Pasha and his army. So she was; but instead of drawing the logical inference from the facts, namely, that the English authorities in Egypt were to blame for not vetoing

Hicks's expedition, Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Salisbury blamed the English Government for not helping him with "advice," and for not forcing the Khedive to make his army strong enough for its task. Here it became manifest to the House of Commons that the Opposition had only got up a sham faction fight. For when Sir Stafford Northcote hotly repudiated the notion that he would have sent a British army to reinforce Hicks or avenge his death, he gave up his whole case. It was then seen that the alternative policy of the Opposition was to have goaded the Egyptian Government to a war of re-conquest in the Soudan, and in the event of failure to leave it in the lurch. Alike in the Commons and in the Lords the responsible leaders of the Opposition admitted that Mr. Gladstone was right in advising Egypt to abandon the Soudan, and in refusing to send British troops there to conduct the evacuation. What they argued was that he was wrong in not telling the Khedive's Cabinet how to get out of the Soudan, though he would in that event, according to them, have been quite right to refuse the Khedive aid, if, in acting on Mr. Gladstone's suggestions, his Highness met with disaster in the rebellious province. It was a sad surprise to Lord Salisbury to find his censure carried in the Upper House only by a vote of 181 to 81—for the majority did not represent half of a Chamber two-thirds of which were his followers. It was, however, no surprise to Sir Stafford Northcote to find his motion rejected in the House of Commons, though he had the advantage of the Irish vote. As for the country, its verdict was that there was no difference between the two parties except on one point. The Tories would have pestered the Khedive with instructions, but would have repudiated responsibility for them if when acted on they had ended in failure. The Government had, through fear of incurring this responsibility, left the Khedive too much to his own devices, and when these brought trouble they found they could not get rid of all responsibility for it.

What ought to have been said was what neither Lord Salisbury nor Sir Stafford Northcote dared say. It was that England, after Tel-el-Kebir, should have boldly proclaimed a Protectorate over Egypt, the moral authority of which would have sufficed to hold her fretful and mutinous provinces in awe, till steps for their reconstruction could be taken.* Failure seemingly rendered

* When England advised Egypt to abandon the Soudan, the Khedive's Ministry under Cherif Pasha refused to take the advice. The defeat of Hicks Pasha caused England to substitute insistence for advice, and when the Egyptian Government was told it must abandon the Soudan, Cherif Pasha resigned. Here was an excellent opportunity for establishing a Protectorate; and it is not generally known that Sir Evelyn Baring strongly recommended the appointment of English Ministers for a period of five years. He was overruled, and Nubar Pasha was made Cherif's successor. See Mr. Edward Dicey's convincing plea for a Protectorate, in the *Nineteenth Century* for March, 1884. In passing it may be well to warn the reader that he cannot form any correct conception of Anglo-Egyptian relations till he has mastered Mr. Dicey's numerous papers on the subject, notably his "England and Egypt" (Chapman and Hall, 1881). The central idea of Mr. Dicey's policy is that the true interest of England in the Eastern Question lies in the Valley of the Nile, not in the Bosphorus; and that the Isthmus of Suez forms the key-stone of her position as an Imperial Power.

the Opposition reckless. Even the heroic and high-hearted envoy of the Government at Khartoum did not escape the shafts of their malice. He had proclaimed the Mahdi as Sultan of Kordofan in order to induce him to negotiate for the peaceful withdrawal of the garrisons. He had burned in public the archives of the Egyptian Government, in which the arrears of taxes were recorded, as a pledge that the oppressed people of Khartoum should be no longer the prey of corrupt extortioners. He had set free the prisoners who were unjustly pining in the gaols. He had proclaimed that the right of property in domestic slaves would be recognised—thereby neutralising the intrigues of the Mahdists, who were persuading the wavering people that if they remained true to Egypt, the Government would rob them of their household servants. Finding it impossible to discover a less objectionable native chief fit to undertake the task of keeping order at Khartoum, Gordon recommended for that purpose his old enemy, Zebehr Pasha, once known as “King of the Slave-Traders.”

The Tories now attacked Gordon and his policy with much bitterness. They jeered at him as a madman. They denounced him for sanctioning slavery—he who had given the best days of his life to the suppression of the trade. They tried to rouse public opinion against the Government for tolerating his proceedings. In fact, no effort was wanting to embarrass him and the Ministry in solving the difficult problem of extricating the military and civil population of Khartoum from their dangerous position. The factiousness of the Opposition had one bad result. It frightened the Government into refusing their sanction to Gordon's proposal for handing over Khartoum to Zebehr Pasha. For at this time the Tories delighted to describe Zebehr as the kind of monster of savagery, with whom a statesman of Mr. Gladstone's character naturally sought a close alliance.

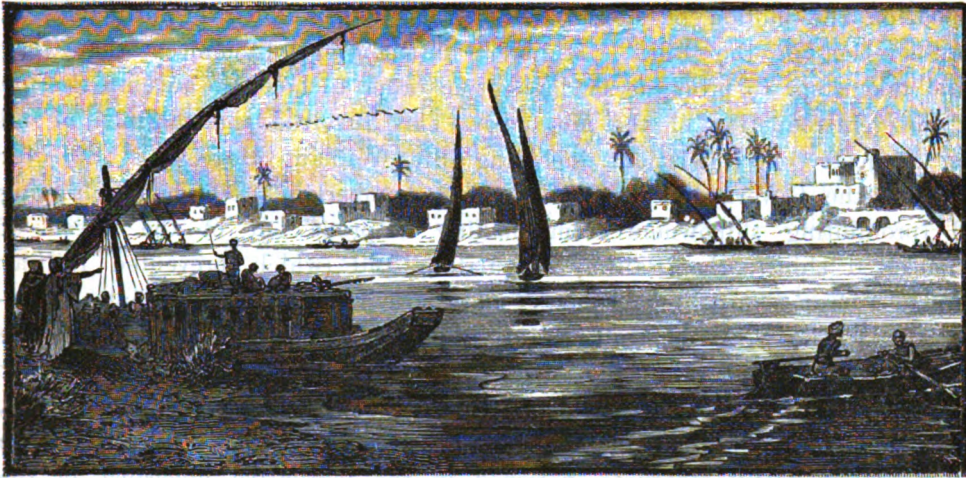
When the tidings of General Baker's defeat at Teb were followed by news of the massacre of the garrison of Sinkat, Ministers, in obedience to public opinion, decided to abandon their policy of inaction in the Soudan. On the 10th of February, Admiral Hewett took supreme command at Suakim. On the 18th a small British force under General Graham landed at that place. By this time Tokar had fallen, but Graham, advancing from Trinkitat, fought and beat the Arabs under Osman Digna at El Teb. Osman retired to Tamanieb, and was attacked there by Graham on the 13th of March. At first the British force wavered and broke under the impetuous shock of the Arab charge, but in the end the Arabs were defeated, and Osman Digna's camp was destroyed. Gordon had made an unsuccessful sortie from Khartoum on the 16th of March, and he had found not only his army but the civil population of the city honeycombed with treason. In vain he implored the Government to send two squadrons of cavalry to Berber to aid the escape of two thousand fugitives whom he proposed to send down the Nile. The Government, on the contrary, recalled General Graham and his troops from

Suakim, thereby leading the Arabs to believe that Gordon was abandoned by his countrymen. His negotiations with the Mahdi proved to be a failure. In May his protests against the desertion of Khartoum were published in official form, and the Opposition then gave expression to popular opinion when they moved, though they did not carry, another vote of censure on the Ministry. The defence of the Government was that Gordon was in no danger, and that when he was, Ministers would quickly send him aid. The financial position of Egypt was now so bad that Mr. Gladstone resolved to ease the pressure of her debt at the expense of the bondholders. For this purpose it was necessary to summon a Conference of the Powers. France opposed the English project, and the diplomatic negotiations between England and France were seriously embarrassed by incessant interpellations from the Opposition in Parliament, and by their abortive votes of censure. In spite of these difficulties, however, Ministers were able, on the 23rd of June, to announce that they had come to an arrangement with France. She formally abandoned the Dual Control, which had really been destroyed by the Khedive's decree in 1882, and bound herself not to send troops to Egypt unless on the invitation of England. England, on the other hand, agreed to evacuate Egypt on the 1st of January, 1888, unless the Powers considered that order could not be kept after the British troops were recalled. The question of the debt was virtually left to the Conference, but it was agreed that after the 1st of January, 1888, Egypt was to be neutralised and the Suez Canal put under international management. Even these arrangements were, however, to depend on the decisions of the Conference, which, Mr. Gladstone said, would in turn need Parliamentary sanction before they could be considered binding on the British Government. The Conference broke up owing to the impossibility of reconciling English and French interests, and Mr. Gladstone on the 2nd of August told the House of Commons that England had regained entire freedom of action. With this freedom the Government acquired fresh energy. They sent Lord Northbrook to Egypt to report upon its condition, and obtained from Parliament a Vote of Credit of £300,000 with which to send succour to Gordon if he required it. At this time, though Khartoum was isolated and surrounded by the Mahdi's troops, Lord Hartington refused to admit that Egypt was in danger from an Arab invasion, or to give any definite promise to send Gordon aid.

The Egyptian Question sadly exhausted the energies of the House of Commons. Mr. Arthur Peel had been chosen as Speaker on the 26th of February, in succession to Sir Henry Brand, who was elevated to the Peerage as Viscount Hampden. Sir Stafford Northcote again succeeded in preventing Mr. Bradlaugh from taking his seat, and when Mr. Bradlaugh resigned it, and was again re-elected for Northampton, the resolution excluding him from the House was once more revived on the 21st of February.

The Budget was not presented till the last week of April, and Mr. Childers

then confessed that for the coming year he could not expect a surplus of more than £260,000,* which admitted only of a small reduction in the Carriage Duties. The unexpected costliness of the Parcel Post caused Mr. Childers to abandon in the meantime the scheme for introducing sixpenny telegrams; but he made proposals for the reduction of the National Debt and the withdrawal of light gold coin from circulation, that led to some controversy. Mr. Childers' method of dealing with the Debt was to give holders of Three per Cent. Stock the option of taking Two and Three-quarters per Cent. or Two and a Half per Cent. Stock at the rate of £102 and £108



KHARTOUM.

respectively for every £100 of Stock so exchanged. Mr. Childers argued that he would thus reduce the annual burden of the charge for the Debt (after providing for a Sinking Fund to cover the nominal increase in the capital of the converted Stock) by £1,310,000. His Coinage Bill was lost because the Tories roused popular prejudice against it. Mr. Childers proposed to demonetise the half-sovereign by putting in it a certain amount of alloy and giving it a mere token-value. The charge that he was "debasing the currency" wrecked his project. A Bill strengthening the hands of the Privy Council in excluding diseased cattle was passed. But the great measure of the Session was the Reform Bill, which was introduced on the 28th of February. By it Mr. Gladstone extended household franchise to the counties, and a vigorous effort was made to compel him to introduce along with the Franchise Bill, a Bill for the Redistribution of Seats. The Second Reading of the Reform Bill was carried on the 7th of April, a majority of 340 to 210 having rejected the hostile amendment of the Conservatives, which was moved by Lord John Manners. The Tories then made many futile efforts to coerce

* His expenditure he estimated at £85,292,000, and his revenue at £85,555,000.

Mr. Gladstone into disclosing his Redistribution Scheme, which he had, however, sketched in outline in his speech introducing the Franchise Bill. Ultimately the Third Reading was carried on the 26th of June—*nemine contradicente*. The Bill was read a first time in the House of Lords on the 27th of June, where Lord Cairns and the Tory Peers opposed it by an amendment, in which they refused to assent to any extension of the Franchise, without any provision for a redistribution of seats. The country began to murmur against this attitude of the Tory Peers, many of whom even deprecated the policy of supporting Lord Cairns's amendment. It was, however, carried by a majority of 205 against 146. After that the Peers, by way of conciliating public opinion, agreed, on the motion of Lord Dunraven, to assent "to the principles of representation in the Bill." Ministers immediately announced that they would take steps to prorogue Parliament in order to hold an autumn Session for the reintroduction of the Measure. This involved the sacrifice of all their projects of legislation, including Sir William Harcourt's Bill for reforming the Government of London, Mr. Chamberlain's Merchant Shipping Bill (prohibiting shipowners from making a profit out of the wreck of over-insured ships), the Railway Regulation Bill (which prevented railway companies from burdening traders and farmers with extortionate transport rates), the Scottish Universities Bill, the Welsh Education Bill, the Police Superannuation Bill, the Medical Acts Amendment Bill, the Corrupt Practices at Municipal Elections Bill, the Law of Evidence Amendment Bill, the Irish Sunday Closing Bill, and the Irish Land Purchase Bill. These, as well as many useful measures, perished in the legislative holocaust of the 10th of July, which the opposition of the Peers had brought about.

The Recess was spent in violent agitation. Party leaders on both sides strove to rouse public opinion against or on behalf of the action of the House of Lords. The country, on the whole, seemed day by day to gravitate towards the Liberals, and the general opinion soon came to be that the time had come for settling the question of Parliamentary Reform, and that, the Peers having accepted the principle of Mr. Gladstone's Bill, a compromise as to details ought to be effected. The monster procession which passed through London on the 21st of July, together with Mr. Gladstone's political campaign in Midlothian, did much to strengthen the hands of the Reformers. As might be expected, the Radicals took advantage of the occasion to direct a fierce and violent attack against the House of Lords as an institution. When the Session opened on the 23rd of October party spirit ran high, and both sides took "No Surrender!" as their watchword. Lord Randolph Churchill attempted to fix on Mr. Chamberlain a charge of inciting a Radical mob to break up a great Conservative demonstration which had been held in Aston Park, Birmingham, on the 13th of October. Mr. Chamberlain proved his innocence by quoting affidavits made by certain men, who swore that "Tory roughs" had provoked the riot. The genuineness of those affidavits was

questioned, but to no purpose. When, however, they were made the basis of legal proceedings, it was noted as a curious coincidence that, with one exception, all the witnesses who had supplied Mr. Chamberlain with his exculpating affidavits, somehow vanished from the scene. The Franchise Bill was rapidly passed through the House of Commons, and the enormous majority of 140 in favour of the Second Reading brought the Tory Peers to a more reasonable state of mind. Moderate Conservatives began to build a golden bridge of retreat for their lordships. Nor was the task hard. It was soon discovered, as the result of private communications, that there was now no substantial difference of opinion between Conservatives like Sir Richard Cross and Liberals like Mr. Gladstone on the general principles of Redistribution. Nobody, in fact, had the courage to defend the continued enfranchisement of petty boroughs while large towns were not represented in Parliament save by the county vote. It was finally arranged by plenipotentiaries representing both parties that Mr. Gladstone's draft Redistribution Bill should be submitted confidentially to Sir Stafford Northcote and his friends—that they should suggest, and in turn submit to Mr. Gladstone their amendments to it—that when both Parties agreed, Mr. Gladstone should receive from the Tories “an adequate assurance” that they meant to carry the Franchise Bill through the House of Lords, that upon the strength of this assurance Mr. Gladstone should introduce the Redistribution Bill in the House of Commons, and carry it to a Second Reading while the Peers were passing the Third Reading of the Franchise Bill. The whole understanding rested simply on an exchange of “words of honour” between the leaders on both sides, and it was loyally adhered to. Lord Salisbury, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Hartington, and Sir Charles Dilke, met and settled all serious disputes over the question of redistribution, and the Bill was introduced on the 1st of December. On the 4th of the month the measure was read a second time, the House of Lords having passed the Franchise Bill. On the 6th of December Parliament adjourned till the 19th of February, 1885, when the Redistribution Bill was to be finally dealt with in Committee, *de die in diem*.

The autumn Session did not close till the Government obtained a vote of credit of £1,000,000 for military operations in Egypt. The decision to send an expedition to Khartoum by way of the Nile was arrived at with manifest reluctance by the Ministry, and of all the courses open to them, including those which had been suggested by Gordon and rejected by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville, it was the most objectionable and hazardous.* Lord

* The alternative courses were (1), calling in the aid of Turkish troops; (2), the employment of Zebehr Pasha; (3), the opening up of communications between Suakim and Berber after Graham's victories on the Red Sea littoral; (4), the evacuation of Khartoum in accordance with a scheme whereby Gordon's colleague, Colonel Stewart, was to take the fugitives down to Berber, while Gordon and a picked body of troops were to retreat up the White Nile in steamers to the Equator.

Wolseley arrived at Cairo early in September, and the Mudir of Dongola not only held back the Mahdi, but furnished a base of operations to the English force. Down to the end of 1884 Lord Wolseley contrived to shroud his proceedings in a veil of mystery. Beyond the facts that he had railway transport to Sarras, that after that point, the expedition and its



SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE (AFTERWARDS LORD IDDESLEIGH).

(From a Photograph by Barraud, Oxford Street.)

transport were conveyed up the falling river in whaleboats guided by Canadian boatmen,* that Lord Wolseley's sanguine anticipation of a rapid advance had been falsified, that dangers and difficulties, which he ought to have foreseen, had been encountered, that it had been necessary to stimulate the

* These persons were in most cases rather incompetent. They were not boatmen or *voyageurs* at all, but clerks, shopmen, and land-lubbers from the Canadian towns, who had palmed themselves off on Lord Wolseley and his subordinates as experienced Canadian *voyageurs*.

energies of the Army by offering a money reward to the first detachment which reached Debbah, and that by the first week of January, 1885, Lord Wolseley would have about 7,000 men at Ambukol, of whom, perhaps, 2,000 might be ready to dash across the desert to Shendy, from whence the decisive blow at the Mahdi must be struck—beyond these facts and conjectures nothing



THE CITADEL, CAIRO.

was known. Dim rumours of Gordon's futile sorties, of his feeling of disgust at being abandoned, and tidings that could not be doubted of the wreck of the steamer in which he had sent his gallant lieutenant, Colonel Stewart, and the British Consul at Khartoum, Mr. Frank Power, down to Berber, filled the minds of the people with the deepest anxiety. Gordon had sent Stewart to Berber with instructions to appeal to private munificence in the United States and British Colonies for funds with which to organise the relief expedition which he had ceased to beg from England. Stewart and his companions were murdered by natives after their steamer was wrecked. Hence the journals and diaries which Stewart carried were conveyed to the

Mahdi, who, finding from them that Gordon was in dire straits, pressed the siege with redoubled energy.

After the failure of the Conference to adjust the financial difficulties of Egypt, England "regained her freedom of action." Lord Northbrook, as we have seen, was sent to Cairo to report on the situation, which in reality was a very simple one. Egypt could not pay the annual interest on her debt, and the Foreign Powers would not, in the interests of the bondholders, submit to have it reduced unless better security were given for the principal. The only course open, therefore, was either repudiation, or the acknowledgment of British responsibility for the financial administration of Egypt, which would have enabled Mr. Gladstone to have cut down, not only the bondholders' interest, but also the taxes extorted from the Egyptian people. Lord Northbrook's appointment was caustically criticised by the Tory Opposition, who connected his family name of Baring with a mission undertaken in financial interests. His mission thus did much to destroy the confidence of the populace in the Government, and when he returned, his recommendations, so far as they could be discussed, still further discredited Mr. Gladstone's Government. For Lord Northbrook had discovered a third course open to him in Egypt. It was to leave the interest of Shylock untouched, but to meet the deficit in the Egyptian Budget, caused by the payment of Shylock's bond, by transferring from Egypt to England the burden of supporting the Army of Occupation.* As for the existing emergency, Lord Northbrook suggested temporary repudiation, and his suggestion was adopted. The Law of Liquidation was suspended, and the creditors of Egypt were asked to be satisfied with less than their due, till matters could be set right. The Queen's Government early in December attempted to meet the financial difficulty, by proposing to advance a 3½ per cent. loan to Egypt on the security of the Domain lands,† or personal estate of the Khedive. The Powers did not receive this proposal cordially. Necessity, which knows no law, having compelled the Egyptian Government, with the sanction of England, to suspend for the moment the Sinking Fund of the Unified Debt, a distinct violation of the Liquidation Law, the Debt Commission prosecuted the Egyptian Government before the International Tribunals. They of course gave judgment in favour of the

* This was not the only case in which Lord Northbrook had discredited the Administration. It was notorious that Mr. W. H. Smith had shockingly neglected naval ship-building when, in 1880, he handed the Navy over to Lord Northbrook. Lord Northbrook had worked hard to make up arrears, and he had built new ships as fast as he could to enable the British Navy to rank with that of France. But his best efforts to correct Mr. Smith's negligence failed, and yet in July, 1885, he expressed himself quite satisfied with the Navy. When he was absent in Egypt a violent agitation, demonstrating the feebleness and insufficiency of the Navy, was raised in the Press. Ere the autumn Session ended he admitted that £5,000,000 above the ordinary estimates would be needed to strengthen the Fleet in swift cruisers and torpedo boats.

† Loans already secured on these were to merge in the Preference Debt along with bonds for Alexandria indemnities. The interest on it was not to change, but that on the Unified Debt into which Daira Loans were to merge, was to be reduced to 3½ per cent.

Commission. Germany and Russia at this juncture insisted on their representatives sharing all the rights and powers of the Debt Commission, indeed, Germany, irritated by the Foreign and Colonial policy of England, showed signs of supporting certain inconvenient claims to the Domain lands which the ex-Khedive, Ismail Pasha, put forward.*

The coolness between Germany and England which marked the last half of 1884 arose out of what was at the time termed the "scramble for Africa." The regions opened up by Mr. H. M. Stanley on the Congo had been practically occupied by an International Association, the head of which was the King of the Belgians. In fact, General Gordon was under an engagement to take up the government of this vast tract of land when he went to Khartoum. England, however, in order to exclude dangerous rivals, recognised the obsolete claims of Portugal to hold the outlet of the Congo; but, as Portuguese officials were alleged by commercial men to be obstructive and corrupt, this policy was not very popular. Germany, indeed, united the Powers in quashing it, and finally it was agreed that an International Conference should meet at Berlin to determine the conditions under which the outlet of the Congo should be controlled. But at this point Germany was sorely irritated by the provokingly vacillating policy of Lord Derby. There was a strip of territory, extending from Cape Colony to the Portuguese frontier on the Congo, in which a Bremen firm had established a trading settlement at Angra Pequena. They applied to Prince Bismarck for protection. He, in turn, asked Lord Granville if England claimed any sovereignty over this region (in which there was only a small British settlement at Walwich Bay), and whether the British Government could give the German traders the protection which they sought. Lord Kimberley, in his despatch to Sir Hercules Robinson of the 30th of December, had warned him that the Government refused to extend British jurisdiction north of the Orange River. But Lord Granville now told Prince Bismarck that, though English sovereignty had only been proclaimed formally at certain points along this coast, any encroachment on it by a foreign Power would be regarded by England as an encroachment on its rights. Again (31st of December, 1884) Prince Bismarck repeated his question—Did England propose to give the German traders protection, and, if so, what means had she at her disposal for that purpose? This despatch was referred to Lord Derby. He left it unanswered

* When Ismail abdicated under the pressure of France and England it was not made clear that he abandoned all his rights as a private landowner in Egypt. Theoretically the Khedive could not, according to Oriental usage, own any land in his dominions save as head of the State, in which capacity he owned all land. Hence, when he ceased to be Khedive, his private domains reverted to his successor. Hence Lord Granville always rejected Ismail's claim. But in 1888 Lord Salisbury, through the agency of Mr. Marriott, Judge Advocate-General, commuted all Ismail Pasha's claims for a lump sum, calculated on the allowances he was bound to make his family, and which he himself might fairly demand to support his position as ex-Khedive. Lord Salisbury's object was to prevent these claims from being ever made the basis of operations for diplomacy hostile to England.

for six months, whereupon Prince Bismarck, stung by the affront, answered it in his own way by annexing Angra Pequena to Germany. Englishmen were indignant; but what was there to be said? The British Government refused at first to recognise the annexation. Then they said they would recognise it if Germany would pledge herself not to establish a penal colony on the coast, a demand which Prince Bismarck bluntly refused. Finally, when Lord Derby induced the Cape Colony to retaliate by annexing the coast round Angra Pequena between the Orange River and the Portuguese frontier, Prince Bismarck declined to recognise such an act of annexation. After this event Germany, concealing her designs, despatched an expedition to seize the Cameroons, over which the British Government, in response to the desire of the native chiefs, had already decided to extend a British Protectorate. Disputed land-claims, which German subjects in Fiji preferred in 1874, were also revived. In 1874 England had refused even to investigate them. Now, however, Lord Granville agreed to submit them to a mixed Commission. The British Government surrendered to Germany on these questions, by a curious coincidence, at the very time they issued their invitations to the London Conference on Egypt, in which they were expecting the support of Germany for their Egyptian policy.* As a matter of fact, this support was not obtained. In the Conference Count Münster, on behalf of Germany, stood neutral between France and England, who were unable to reconcile their interests. But he persisted in thrusting before the meeting the question of the imperfect administration of quarantine in Egypt by English officials, and on the 5th of August Lord Granville abruptly dissolved the Conference, because this matter was beyond the scope of its discussion. Nor was Prince Bismarck wrathful against England merely because he imagined that Lord Derby had some deep design of thwarting the sudden desire of Germany for colonial expansion.

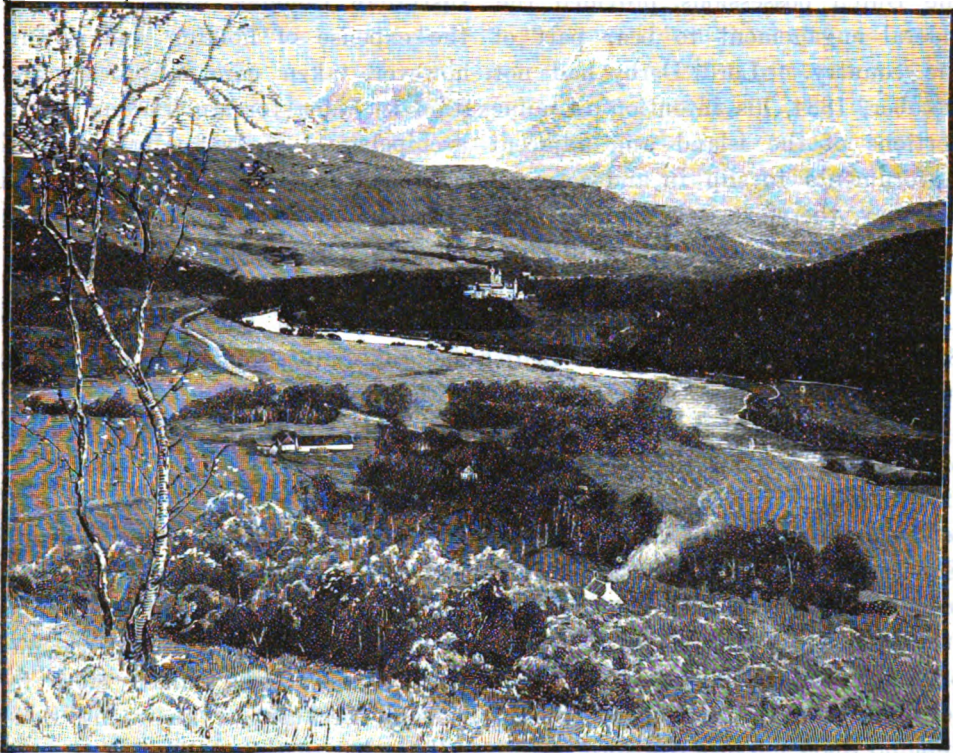
In a moment of weakness, and when the laurels of victory had not quite faded from the brows of the heroes of Tel-el-Kebir, the British Government had applied to Prince Bismarck for hints and suggestions as to what they should do in Egypt. According to Lord Granville, Prince Bismarck's advice was "Take it."† According to Prince Bismarck, whilst he assured Lord Ampthill that Germany would not oppose the British annexation of

* The dates are curious:—

- 17 June, 1884.—Invitations to Egyptian Conference issued.
- " " Lord Derby promises to stop the action of the Cape Government in reference to Angra Pequena.
- 19 " Lord Granville assures Count Münster that he accedes to Bismarck's wishes on the Fiji dispute.
- 22 " Lord Granville tells Count Herbert Bismarck that the Cabinet, on the 21st inst., resolved to recognise the German Protectorate over Angra Pequena.
- 28 " Meeting of the Conference in London.

† Speech in House of Lords, February 26th, 1885.

Egypt, his advice was that England should "establish a certain security of position in this connecting link between her European and Asiatic possessions" by administering Egypt as a leaseholder from the Sultan. In this way England, he thought, would attain her purpose, and yet escape a conflict with existing treaties, and "avoid putting France and other Powers out of temper."* His counsel was not followed, which was the first affront. The



BALMORAL CASTLE, FROM CRAIG NORDIE.

(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co.)

feeble course actually adopted—that of attempting to govern Egypt by advice—had ended in a financial crisis that alarmed all the German bondholders, and they in turn put pressure on Prince Bismarck, that still further increased his irritation against England. Hence, when towards the end of 1884 he meditated a stroke of Colonial policy at the Antipodes, he showed little respect for British susceptibilities. In this new departure he was materially assisted by the incredible folly of Lord Derby. At the end of 1883 the Government of Queensland had sent a police magistrate to annex New Guinea, or rather that portion of it not claimed by the Dutch. It had already been annexed by wandering British navigators, but rumours of

* Speech in the Reichstag, March 2nd, 1885.

foreign designs on the island had quickened the apprehensions and action of the Australians. Lord Derby repudiated this act of annexation. As Lord Derby had been sedulous in warning the Colonists that in war they must defend themselves, it was not easy to understand why he objected to their occupying a territory which, if held by a foreign enemy, would give him a good base of operations against Australia. Ultimately, he nerved himself to the hazard of annexing the southern portion of New Guinea, east of the Dutch possessions, provided the Australian Colonies would enter into a federal engagement to bear part of the expense of holding and governing the country. Lord Derby had not, however, taken care in proclaiming in October, 1884, his intention of annexation to warn foreign Powers off other portions of the island and adjacent archipelago. He virtually invited rival Governments to slip in and seize what he had left untouched. The end of the year, therefore, saw the German flag flying over the unoccupied portion of New Guinea, and the archipelago of New Ireland and New Britain, and all Australia was in an uproar. These events stirred the sluggish heart of Lord Derby. He promptly forestalled a project of German annexation in South Africa by hoisting the British flag at Saint Lucia Bay and over the region between Cape Colony and Natal, known as Pondoland.

On the 25th of January the Marquis of Hertford, one of the ornaments of the Queen's Court in her happier days, passed away from the scene. Lord Hertford had distinguished himself as an ideal Lord Chamberlain from 1874 to 1879, and he had won the confidence of her Majesty whilst serving as Equerry to the Prince Consort. This, he used to say, was the most interesting part of his career, and among his friends he occasionally told many curious stories, brightly illustrative of Court life in the Victorian period. He had a profound and warm regard for the Prince Consort, who talked more freely to him than to most men, chiefly, he said, because he knew his Equerry kept no diary. Lord Hertford's stories all tended to throw light on the singularly unselfish nature of his Royal master. One of them, for example, was to the effect that when the Queen and the Prince were crossing the Solent, Lord Hertford, on appearing on deck, found the Prince pacing about and enjoying the fresh breeze, whereas the Queen had been compelled to retire to her cabin. He said to the Prince he was surprised to find him on deck in such a breeze, as he had always heard that his Royal Highness was a bad sailor. The Prince replied, "I know people say that about me, and imagine that the Queen never suffers from sea-sickness. It is better it should be so. The English laugh so much at sea-sickness, that I prefer the laugh should be against me rather than against the Queen."

In the second week in February the Queen published a continuation of her "Leaves from the Journal of a Life in the Highlands," the dedication of which was in these words:—"To my loyal Highlanders, and especially to the memory of my devoted personal attendant and faithful friend, John Brown,

these records of my widowed life in Scotland are gratefully dedicated.”* In this volume she displayed much of the latent Jacobitism which one is apt to develop in the atmosphere of the northern mountains, and again and again, when she records her visits to the scenes, rich in the storied memories of “the ’15 and the ’45,” she expresses her feeling of pride and gratitude that she has inherited, not only the throne of the Stuarts, but the fervent loyalty that bound so many gallant hearts to the cause of “bonnie Prince Charlie.” Her reminiscences are somewhat tinged with melancholy, but the great and motherly loving-heartedness of the book is its chief charm, and secured for it an amazing popularity. It was said that the circulating libraries ordered copies by the ton, and the Press teemed with favourable reviews, in which her Majesty took great interest. As usual, however, she only read those that were marked for her perusal by her ladies. The cover was designed by the Princess Beatrice, and was in every way tasteful and artistic. But the portraits which embellished the work were badly reproduced. That of Brown, however, it may be noted, was an exception, for he was “flattered” by the artist out of all recognition.

The year 1884 was one that brought much sorrow to the Royal Family. During the months of January and February, whilst the Court was at Osborne, though her Majesty’s health had visibly improved, yet she was still suffering from the effects of her accident, and was quite unable to remain long in a standing position. On the 19th of February the Court removed to Windsor, and it was rumoured that the Queen would spend Easter in Germany. She was, in truth, desirous of being present at the marriage of her granddaughter, the Princess Victoria of Hesse, to Prince Louis of Battenberg. On the 26th of March she received Lieutenant W. Lloyd, R.H.A., at Windsor, when he presented to her one of the Mahdi’s flags which had been taken at Tokar, and just as preparations for the German tour were being made, the Royal Household was plunged into grief by sudden tidings of the death of the Duke of Albany, on the 28th of March. He had been living at Cannes for a few weeks. He had taken part with great glee in the festivities of the gayest season that had ever been witnessed in Nice. He returned to Cannes on the 27th, and it seems he had, in mounting the stairs of the Naval Club in the afternoon, fallen and hurt his right knee. He was attended to by Dr. Royle, and, though he went to bed, conversed quite gaily with those round him. At half-past two on the morning of the 28th Dr. Royle was roused by the sound of his stertorous breathing, and, on going to his bedside, found him dying in a fit. The news of his death reached Windsor at noon, and Sir H. Ponsonby broke it gently to the Queen, who was at first so prostrated with grief that her condition alarmed her attendants. As soon as she rallied her Majesty sent the Princess Beatrice to Claremont House to

* More Leaves from the Journal of a Life in the Highlands. From 1862 to 1882. Smith, Elder & Co., 1884.

comfort the Duchess of Albany, then in a delicate state of health. In the afternoon the ex-Empress Eugénie, clad in the deepest mourning, visited the Queen, and stayed till about seven in the evening. She informed those to whom she spoke when she left that her Majesty had apparently obtained some relief by giving expression to her anguish in the sympathetic presence of a friend who



FUNERAL OF THE DUKE OF ALBANY: THE PROCESSION ENTERING WINDSOR CASTLE.

had herself suffered many sorrowful bereavements. To none did the sad news convey so severe a shock as to the Prince of Wales. The telegram was handed to him whilst he was chatting with some friends in Lord Sefton's box on the Grand Stand at the Aintree Race-course, and at first the Prince seemed dazed with the message. He was only able to mutter to Lord Sefton in broken accents, "Albany is dead." Having retired to his private room to compose his nerves, he drove off immediately to Croxteth. The rumour of the Duke's death flew round the race-course, but at first was disbelieved. Then the sports were

stopped, and the stampede of the pleasure-seekers to Liverpool, where it was hoped that the news would be contradicted, will long be remembered. In London the event was the theme of sympathetic discussion in every train and omnibus and tramcar in the afternoon, as men were returning home from business. The workmen's clubs at night adjourned their political debates as a mark of sympathy for the Queen. On the following day her Majesty and the Princess Beatrice visited the Duchess of Albany, and the meeting was most



VIEW IN CLAREMONT PARK.

touching and mournful. All the details of the funeral arrangements were superintended by the Queen, but the body of the Prince was brought back to England under the personal direction and care of the Prince of Wales, and buried on the 5th of April with solemn pomp in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. Six of the pall-bearers—Lord Castlereagh, Lord Brook, Lord Harris, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Mr. Walter Campbell, and Mr. Mills—were undergraduates with the dead Prince at Christ Church.

The Duke of Albany once said, "I do not understand why people should always be so kind to me." The reason was not far to seek. He was a young man with an interesting and amiable personality. He had a pensive turn that

recalled his father, but with a dash of gaiety of heart which rendered him more acceptable to society than the Prince Consort ever managed to become. His long life of suffering and pain secured for him the sympathies of the people. Despite his ill-health he was even in childhood a bright and promising boy. Professor Tyndall has spoken highly of his capacity at this period, and Dean Stanley, one of his early mentors, so deeply influenced him that at one time the Prince indicated a desire to take Orders in the Anglican Church. At Oxford he was prohibited by the physicians from reading for honours, and after he became a member of the House of Lords, the Queen, noticing his eager interest in politics, had some trouble in dissuading him from plunging into the debates, as a free lance who loved to "drink delight of battle with his peers."

When he was thwarted in this design, the Prince suggested that his services might be utilised in another direction. At the time Lord Normanby resigned the Governorship of Victoria Prince Leopold applied to Mr. Gladstone for the post, and the Tory newspapers and orators of the period heaped the most extravagant abuse on Mr. Gladstone for refusing the offer. Mr. Gladstone was even challenged in the House of Commons on the subject, but his lips being sealed by the Queen, he was unable to defend himself, or do more than make an evasive and ambiguous statement. The truth, however, was that Mr. Gladstone did not refuse the Prince's offer. He referred it to Mr. Murray Smith, Agent-General for Victoria in London, with a request for his opinion. Mr. Smith replied that the appointment would give great satisfaction in Australia, but when the matter was laid before the Queen she peremptorily vetoed the project, assigning as a reason her fear that the Prince's ill-health unfitted him for the duties of the position to which he aspired. Obvious reasons of State have, however, always made the Sovereigns of the Hanoverian dynasty reluctant to permit Princes of the Blood-Royal to serve as satraps in distant colonies where aspirations to independence are not always dormant.

Prince Leopold was a pleasing and polished orator, and being the only member of his family who spoke the English tongue without any trace of a German accent, his platform performances were always successful. His addresses reflected the thoughtful, cultivated mind of a young man who had lived much in the companionship of books, and who had read discursively without studying deeply. He was never commonplace, and his merely formal utterances were usually marked by a distinction of style, that well became a princely scholar. In the singularly beautiful preface which the Princess Christian wrote for the "Biographical Sketch and Letters" of her sister, the Grand Duchess of Hesse (Princess Alice), she says that as the Duke of Albany was the last to see her gifted sister in life, so he was the first of the Queen's children "to follow her into the silent land." It is a curious fact that, as with her, the shadow of early death seems to have cast itself in the form of presentiment over his young life. Mr. Frederick

Myers, in his eulogistic reminiscences of the Duke of Albany, alludes to this circumstance in the following passage :—"The last time I saw him [the Duke of Albany] to speak to," writes a friend from Cannes, March 30th, "being two days before he died, he *would* talk to me about death, and said he would like a military funeral, and, in fact, I had great difficulty in getting him off this melancholy subject. Finally, I asked, 'Why, sir, do you talk in this morose manner?' As he was about to answer he was called away, and said, 'I'll tell you later.' I never saw him to speak to again, but he finished his answer to another lady, and said, 'For two nights now the Princess Alice has appeared to me in my dreams, and says she is quite happy, and that she wants me to come and join her. That's what makes me so thoughtful.' " *

The death of the Duke of Albany hushed the gaiety of a highly promising season, and West End tradesmen were full of lamentation when it was rumoured that the Court would shroud itself in gloom during the whole summer, though the official period of Court mourning was to end in May. But it was not alone in London that the Prince was mourned. His neighbours at Esher, rich and poor alike, felt his loss severely. They all spoke well of him and of his young wife, and recalled pleasant memories of his kindness—how he joined the local chess club, sang at local concerts, and interested himself in the Duchess's schemes for boarding out pauper children. After the death of the Duke the Queen announced her intention of maintaining Claremont as a residence for the widowed Duchess, a generous act, because Prince Leopold used to say that even with £20,000 a year to live on, Claremont kept him a poor man. But for the £20,000 which the Queen spent on the property during 1883 and 1884, this residence would in truth have seriously embarrassed him. † As a matter of fact, the favourite dwelling of the Duke of Albany was not Claremont but Boyton Manor, near Warminster in Wiltshire, of which place he was tenant when he died, and in the neighbourhood of which his memory is still lovingly cherished. ‡

* *Fortnightly Review*, May, 1884.

† The Claremont Estate was bought by the Crown in 1816. It was granted to the lamented Princess Charlotte and her husband, Prince Leopold—the Queen's uncle—with benefit of survivorship. It was a place full of gloomy associations, but Prince Leopold kept it up pretty well till 1848, on the £60,000 a year which he had from the nation. In 1848 the exiled Orleans family occupied it, and were prodigal in spending money in improving the grounds and gardens, which were almost as productive as those of Frogmore. On the death of King Leopold of Belgium, Claremont reverted to the Crown, and Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone passed an Act granting it to the Queen for life. In 1881 Sir Henry Ponsonby, as trustee for the Queen, bought the reversionary interest of it for her from the State for £70,000, and since then it has been her private property, like Osborne and Balmoral. That Claremont is the property of the nation is a strange delusion fondly cherished by many critics of Royalty.

‡ Prince Leopold lived chiefly at Boyton Manor from the summer of 1875 till the autumn of 1879, when the Queen insisted on his going to Claremont. It was at Boyton that he was so dangerously ill in 1877 that Sir William Jenner telegraphed for the Queen to come to what was supposed to be his deathbed. After that her Majesty always objected to his staying in Wiltshire.

Soon after the funeral of the Duke of Albany the Queen was recommended by Sir William Jenner to go to Germany, and she thus resolved to visit her son-in-law and grandchildren at Darmstadt, where the marriage of the Princess Victoria of Hesse with Prince Louis of Battenberg was to be celebrated at the end of the month (April). Sir William believed that the change of scene and surroundings would do the Queen more good than a mournful sojourn at Osborne, where everything must recall reminiscences of her dead son. Her Majesty accordingly left Windsor on the 15th of April for Port Victoria, whence she embarked on the *Osborne* and arrived at Flushing next morning. Therefrom she went by rail to Darmstadt, arriving early on the morning of the 17th. The voyage was unpleasant, and the weather between the Nore and the Scheldt so heavy that the Queen had to remain in her cabin during the greater part of her journey. Only the Grand Duke of Hesse and his daughters were on the platform to meet her Majesty, who had desired her reception to be as private as possible. Ere she left England she forwarded to the newspapers through the Home Secretary a letter expressing her gratitude to the people for their loving sympathy with her and the Duchess of Albany in their bereavement.

On the 30th of April the marriage of the Queen's granddaughter, the Princess Victoria of Hesse, with Prince Louis of Battenberg, was solemnised in the small whitewashed Puritanical-looking chapel at Darmstadt, which was thronged with a brilliant crowd of specially invited guests, among whom the Queen, in her sombre mourning, was one of the most striking figures. With the Queen there were present, besides the family of the bride and bridegroom, the young Princesses of Wales. The German Crown Prince led in the Princess of Wales, and the German Crown Princess was escorted by her brother, the Prince of Wales; Prince William of Prussia led in the Princess Beatrice, and the dark, Jewish-looking Prince of Bulgaria (brother of the bridegroom) escorted with obsequious gallantry the Princess Victoria of Prussia. The ceremony was short, simple, and touching; but the sermon on the duties of marriage which the Court preacher delivered was long and prosy. The Queen, after the ceremony was over, retired to the Palace, and did not attend the wedding banquet in the Schloss. The weather, which had been cold and bleak when the Queen arrived, suddenly became fine and mild, and she was, therefore, able to amuse herself in the public gardens. She had gone to Darmstadt rather reluctantly, but was now glad that she had taken Sir William Jenner's advice. By her own wish she was lodged in the Neue Schloss, which she had built, at a cost of nearly £25,000, as a palace for the Princess Alice and her husband, and in the beautiful grounds of this place she drove about every morning in a pony-carriage with the Princess Beatrice. She took long drives every afternoon, and visited Auerbach (the chief country seat of the Grand Duke) and his shooting-lodge at Kranichstein. The ex-Empress Eugénie had offered to lend Arenenberg (a

charming villa near Constance) to the Queen, but she did not desire to extend her tour beyond Darmstadt, and so the offer was not accepted. Accompanied by the Princess Beatrice, the Grand Duke, and the Princess Elizabeth of Hesse, her Majesty returned to Windsor on the 7th of May.



THE LINN OF DEE. (From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co.)

London was still dull and gloomy. Court mourning and the absence of the Prince of Wales (who was visiting his sister in Berlin) made the season of 1884 melancholy. On the 10th of May the Queen, the Grand Duke of Hesse, and the Princess Elizabeth paid a visit of condolence to the Duchess of Albany at Claremont, and on the 22nd her Majesty left Windsor for Balmoral. That she was much improved in health was evident, because not only were the public admitted to the railway-station at Perth, and Ferryhill, Aberdeen, but at the former she was able to walk from her carriage to

the reception-room with a firm step and without assistance. It was a lovely warm day when her Majesty and suite drove along the north side of the Dee from Ballater to Balmoral. The sixty-fifth anniversary of her Majesty's birthday was observed in London officially on the 24th of May, but Ministerial State dinners were not given owing to the Royal Family being in mourning. The anniversary was not to be kept at Balmoral, but at last the Queen directed that her servants, with those from Abergeldie and Birkhall, should dine in the Ball Room of the Castle, under the presidency of her Commissioner, Dr. Profeit. In the morning Mr. Boehm's life-size statue of John Brown arrived, and it was placed on a pedestal in the grounds of Balmoral at a spot about two hundred yards north-west of the Castle, the site being selected by the Queen. The great sculptor superintended the ceremony of unveiling his work. On the 15th of June the Queen attended Crathie Church, for the first time since October, 1882, greatly to the relief of her God-fearing neighbours, who had begun to entertain a shocking suspicion that she had given up attendance at "public worship." On the 25th the Court returned to Windsor, after a delightful holiday spent in the brightest and sunniest of weather. Every afternoon the Queen had been able to drive about Deeside, and she had even visited, though she had not stayed at, her cottage at the Glassalt Shiel. Though the return of the Prince of Wales to town from Wiesbaden early in June had given a fillip to a chilling season, Society was dull in the summer of 1884. Lord Sydney and Lord Kenmare had gently suggested to the Queen that her refusal to permit Drawing Rooms and State Concerts to be held was causing much disappointment at the West End, but without avail. Her Majesty, however, showed much tenacity in forbidding these functions, the proposal of which by the great officers of the Household she deemed disrespectful to the memory of her dead son. Nor was she conciliated by being reminded that during the season of 1861, after the death of the Duchess of Kent, she had held Drawing Rooms herself, whereas now she had the Princess of Wales ready to relieve her of the burden of attending them. Londoners, however, had their compensations. They discovered, in the gay and glittering gardens of the Health Exhibition at South Kensington, with their English and German bands and their brilliant combinations of Chinese lanterns and electric lamps, a delightful *al fresco* lounge. Here in the summer evenings the pursuit of pleasure was combined with a chastened homage to the cause of scientific enlightenment and social improvement. This was one of a series of specialised exhibitions, the organisation of which had been the work of the Prince of Wales, who also earned the gratitude of the town at this time by persuading the Queen to let him hold two Levees on her behalf. On the 20th of July the Queen and Princess Beatrice were at Claremont, where the Duchess of Albany gave birth to a son; after which her Majesty proceeded to Osborne on the 30th of the month, where she was visited by the German Crown Prince and Princess. An interesting event

in the life of the Court in the season of 1884 was the reception given by the venerable Duchess of Cambridge at St. James's Palace on the 25th of July to celebrate the completion of her eighty-seventh year. The season of 1884 virtually ended with the Garden Party which the Prince of Wales gave at Marlborough House on the same day. It ended, as it began, gloomily, and the social chroniclers lamented the poorness of the entertainments, the badness of the dinners, the mournfulness of the balls. They only brightened up when they recorded, with a transient gleam of joy, that, though all the "great houses" attended by Royalty had been closed, three had opened their doors since Easter, namely, Devonshire House, where Lord Hartington entertained guests twice; Norfolk House, where Lord and Lady Edmond Talbot gave a ball that was endurable; and Stafford House, where, at a small party in the middle of July, the Prince and Princess of Wales made their first appearance in Society since their mourning.

During August the Queen was much troubled as to the issue of the political crisis arising out of the Reform Bill debates, and the threatened conflict between the democracy and the House of Lords. She earnestly deprecated an attack on the Peers during the Recess, and Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues paid due deference to her opinions. She sent twice for Lord Rowton—better known, when Mr. Disraeli's private secretary, as Mr. Montagu Corry—whom she regarded as the inheritor of Lord Beaconsfield's ideas, to consult him on the situation. She made it clear to him that she was unwilling to use her Prerogative for the purpose of creating new Peers to force the Reform Bill through the Upper House. From this it was inferred that if the House of Lords resisted to the bitter end, the Queen would prefer to coerce them by a dissolution rather than by Prerogative. Lord Wolseley and Lord Northbrook were also summoned about this time to consult with her on the prospects of a campaign in Egypt. These anxious conferences were held after she had received the Abyssinian Envoys on the 20th of August. They had come to England bearing copies of a Treaty which had been concluded at Adowah with King John of Abyssinia. They were received by the Queen at Osborne, and at their audience they presented her Majesty with letters from King John and with various gifts, among which were a young elephant and a large monkey. Ere the Court left Osborne the Queen surprised the country by announcing her decision to confer the Order of the Garter on Prince George of Wales, for there was no precedent for giving the Garter to a junior member of the Royal Family in his minority. When the Queen came to the Throne there were only four Royal Knights of this Order, and pedants of heraldry now complained that there were twenty-eight, and that the Royal Knights outnumbered the ordinary ones.

On the 1st of September the Court proceeded to Balmoral, the Queen being accompanied by the Crown Princess and Princess Beatrice. The arrival of the Court at Balmoral, and the visit of Mr. Gladstone to Invercauld, had filled Braemar to overflowing. On the 18th of September the Queen held a Council at

Balmoral, at which Mr. Gladstone, Lord Fife, and Sir H. Ponsonby were present, Mr. Gladstone afterwards dining with her Majesty. Lord Ripon having resigned office as Viceroy of India, his successor, Lord Dufferin, visited the Queen at Balmoral in October. One by one the Royal guests fled southwards, and finally the Queen and Princess Beatrice left the Highlands for Windsor on the 20th of November—her Majesty's return being hastened by grave political anxieties caused by the threatened collision between the two Houses of Parliament. Mr. Gladstone had at Balmoral so earnestly deprecated the obstinacy of



THE QUEEN RECEIVING THE ABYSSINIAN ENVOYS AT OSBORNE.

the Peers, and so clearly pointed out to the Queen the difficulty of avoiding this collision whilst they persisted in their anti-Reform policy, that her Majesty subsequently used all her influence to bring about a compromise. It was with a view to renew her efforts in this direction that she returned to Windsor at the time when Lord Granville was offering to submit a draft Redistribution Bill for friendly but private inspection by the Tory leaders, provided the Peers would give a pledge to pass the Franchise Bill during the autumn Session. The appearance of Mrs. Gladstone's name among the list of those who were at Lady Salisbury's reception in Arlington Street on the 19th of November, was taken as an auspicious omen, and as indicating that the Conservative chiefs had not been insensible to the advice which the Queen had given to the Duke of Richmond in the Highlands. The supreme difficulty of bringing about the Reform compromise lay in breaking down the resistance of Lord

Salisbury and the Tory Peers, who were resolved to force a dissolution on the basis of the old franchise. This resistance gradually weakened after Mr. Gladstone's visit to Balmoral. That it finally disappeared was mainly due to the firm but gentle pressure which the Queen put on the Duke of Richmond in order to induce him and his colleagues to accept a compromise. The actual details of the Treaty between Mr. Gladstone and the Peers were settled in London. But the preliminaries of Peace were really negotiated by the Queen and the Duke of Richmond in Aberdeenshire, after the memorable "gathering of the clans" at Braemar in the autumn of 1884. After the return of the Court from Scotland many guests were received at Windsor, among whom Lord Sydney—who audits her Majesty's private accounts, and, since the death of the Prince Consort, has been her confidential adviser—was one of the most favoured. On the 17th of December the Court removed to Osborne.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE NEW DEPARTURE.

An *Annus Mirabilis*—Breaking up of the Old Parties—The Tory-Parnellite Alliance—Mr. Chamberlain's Socialism—The Doctrine of "Ransom"—Effect of the Reform Bill and Seats Bill—Enthroning the "Sovereign People"—Three Reform Struggles: 1832, 1867, 1885—"One Man One Vote"—Another Vote of Censure—A Barren Victory—Retreat from the Soudan—The Dispute with Russia—Komaroff at Penjdeh—The Vote of Credit—On the Verge of War—Mr. Gladstone's Compromise with Russia—Threatened Renewal of the Crimes Act—The Tory Intrigue with the Parnellites—The Tory Chiefs Decide to Oppose Coercion—Wrangling in the Cabinet—Mr. Childers' Budget—A Yawning Deficit—Increasing the Spirit Duties—Re-adjusting the Succession Duties—Combined Attack by Tories and Parnellites on the Budget—Defeat of the Government and Fall of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry—The Scene in the Commons—The Tories in Power—Lord Salisbury's Government—Places for the Fourth Party—Mr. Parnell Demands his Price—Abandoning Lord Spencer—Re-opening the Question of the Maamtrasna Murders—Concessions to the Parnellites—The New Budget—Sir H. D. Wolff sent to Cairo—The Criminal Law Amendment Act—Court Life in 1885—Affairs at Home and Abroad—The Fall of Khartoum—Death of General Gordon—Beginning of the Burmese Question—Rebellion in Canada—Marriage of the Princess Beatrice—The Battenbergs.

AFTER the compromise had been arranged between the rival political leaders on the Franchise Bill and the Bill for the Redistribution of Seats, it has been said that Parliament adjourned to the 19th of February, 1885—an *annus mirabilis* in the Queen's reign. It witnessed the final settlement of the Reform Question which the Whigs left unsettled in 1832. It witnessed the amazing development of the Home Rule movement in Ireland under two influences. The first was extended Franchise. The second was the alliance between the Parnellites and the Tory Party, which had grown out of the intrigues of Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, and Mr. Rowland Winn, the Tory whip, with Mr. Justin McCarthy, and other Irish Nationalist leaders. Every day brought forth a new outward and visible sign of this alliance, and in Ireland, when it was bruited about that the

Tories were ready not only to attack and overthrow Lord Spencer, who was still upholding English authority at Dublin Castle almost in the same sense that General Gordon was upholding it at Khartoum, the result was inevitable. The large class of Irishmen who from motives of self-interest, business connection, or personal feeling were willing to stand by the English Government in Dublin so long as they felt sure that England would stand by them, began to waver in their allegiance. Like the same sort of people in the Soudan, and even in Khartoum when they saw Gordon abandoned by those who were supposed to be truest to him, they began to make terms with their Mahdi. If the Tories were buying the Parnellite vote to-day, the Liberals would soon be found bidding higher for it to-morrow, and Irishmen, whose interests and timidity alone served to keep them loyal to Dublin Castle so long as they felt absolutely certain of the support of both political parties in England, began in 1885 to stream over to Mr. Parnell's camp. The stream was obviously swollen when a coalition of the Parnellites and Tories expelled Mr. Gladstone's Government from office, and when it was known that the Parnellite vote had been obtained on the faith of a promise from the Tory leaders that they would not only abandon the Crimes Act if they came into office, but join Mr. Parnell in opposing Mr. Gladstone's Government if it sought to renew it. The year also witnessed the end of the Egyptian tragedy, the conquest of Burmah, the semi-Socialistic propaganda of Mr. Chamberlain, the General Election which made Mr. Parnell master of Ireland, and shattered the English Party system that had been built up after 1846, and the rumoured adoption of Home Rule as a part of Mr. Gladstone's programme.

During the first weeks of 1885—the winter recess, as it might be called—Mr. Chamberlain spread terror through the land by making a strong Socialistic appeal to the new Electors. He was evidently bent on breaking up the old Liberal Party—perhaps he saw his way to the formation of a new democratic faction into which many of the “Tory democracy,” created by Lord Randolph Churchill, might drift. Signs were not wanting that a coalition between these successful politicians was in certain circumstances quite a possible contingency. In the meantime, Mr. Chamberlain and his followers preached what he called the “doctrine of ransom.” This meant that when a man became rich he was to purchase the privilege of keeping his wealth by paying taxes now borne by the poor, and if need be by providing new taxes in order to give the poor a larger share of the comforts and enjoyments of life than fell to their lot. Mr. Chamberlain in fact offered to “ransom” the thrifty classes from confiscation provided they taxed themselves to give the poor free libraries, pleasure-gardens, education, improved dwellings at “fair rents,” allotments of land, and work and employment in time of distress. It was part of his scheme to abolish indirect taxation. His lieutenant, Mr. Jesse Collings, formulated the portion of

it which dealt with the land by popularising the idea that it was the duty of the ratepayers to set up agricultural labourers in the business of farming with "three acres and a cow" to start with. Government, in fact, was, according to Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Collings, to act as a kind of glorified Cooperative Store, or "Universal Provider" for the proletariat.

When the House of Commons met on the 19th of February there was a general desire to make rapid progress with the Reform Bills. Efforts to secure the representation of minorities, to oppose an increase in the members of the House, to cut down the representation of Ireland, to disfranchise the Universities, were resisted, and the alliance of the two Front Benches crushed all opposition. One member only was successful in carrying an amendment. This was Mr. Raikes, who had been Chairman of Committees in Lord Beaconsfield's Government, and who now succeeded in reducing the perpetual penalties inflicted on voters in corrupt boroughs. On the 11th of May the Seats Bill was read a third time, and when it went to the House of Lords it was speedily passed. The Tories, who objected to the compromise, found spokesmen in Mr. James Lowther, Mr. Chaplin, and Mr. Raikes. The opposition of the last-named was the most active, but it merely resulted in effecting a few changes in the nomenclature of the Bill, and in what the *Times* termed "his more than paternal solicitude for the leisurely progress of the measure."

No measure of reform proposed in the Queen's reign by a responsible politician was ever designed to produce such a mighty change in the British Constitution as the Reform Bill of 1885. Lord Grey and Lord John Russell, by their Bill in 1832, added not quite half a million voters to the Electorate of the United Kingdom. The Reform Bill of 1867 increased the Electorate from 1,136,000 to 2,448,000. In 1885 it had grown to be 3,000,000, and to this number Mr. Gladstone's Bill added 2,000,000 new voters.* The Seats Bill, which distributed the 5,000,000 electors into electoral groups, was a much more complex measure. The chief difficulties were two in number. First, there was that of determining the standard by which the claim of a borough to separate representation could be conceded; secondly, there was the difficulty of discovering how votes should be cast in towns possessing more than one member. Here curious contrasts can be drawn between the old order and the new.

* The borough franchises of England and Wales were the old £20 clear annual value qualification of 1832, and the householder and lodger franchises established in 1867. To these the new Reform Act of 1885 added the "service franchise," giving a vote to any man who inhabits any dwelling-house by virtue of any office, service, or employment. Caretakers, bailiffs, gamekeepers, officers of public establishments, shepherds, &c., were admitted under this qualification. It was further provided that every citizen of full age, and not subject to legal incapacity, who has occupied a house for a year and paid his rates, can have his name registered as a voter for the district, whether it be called county or borough, in which he resides. The property franchises in the counties were in the main left untouched, but provision was made to check multiplication of fagot votes—i.e., votes of non-resident occupiers on sham qualifications. But four-fifths of the 5,000,000 electors enfranchised by the Bill were really qualified as simple householders in town and county.

Redistribution of seats in 1832 meant the transfer of a vast body of power from the aristocracy to the middle-class, and the liberation of the Commons from the despotism of the Peers, who ruled it through the nominees who represented their pocket boroughs. Little wonder that the sweeping disfranchisement of these constituencies brought the country to the verge of revolution. In 1867 it was



PRINCE HENRY OF BATTENBERG.

(From a Photograph by Theodor Primm, Berlin.)

not the aristocracy but the middle-class which dreaded the kind of disfranchisement that proceeds from destroying the separate representation or reducing the redundant representation of a constituency. Hence, though the contest in 1867 was warm, it was not fierce. But in 1885, on the other hand, no popular excitement could be raised over the question of Redistribution, and the nation grew sick of the controversy as to whether a Seats Bill should be taken before, with, or after a Franchise Bill. And yet the redistribution of power proposed

by Mr. Gladstone's Bill in 1885, and which sprang from the compromise with the Opposition in December, 1884, effected changes vaster by far than those that shook Society to its foundation in 1832. In 1832, what nearly came to civil war was waged over 143 seats, liberated by disfranchisement for redistribution.* In 1885 Mr. Gladstone had 178 seats representing 26·5 per cent. of the



PRINCESS BEATRICE.

(From a Photograph by Hughes and Mullins, Ryde.)

representation of the country to redistribute. Of this number more than half—about 96—were given to the counties, whose Electorate had been enormously increased by the absorption of small boroughs, as well as by the extension of

* There were 56 two-member constituencies wholly disfranchised, and 31 which lost a member apiece. But by Mr. Gladstone's Bill in 1885, there were 160 seats set free for redistribution, 6 that were in abeyance were revived, and to meet the claim of Scotland for increased representation, 12 new seats, despite the opposition of the extreme Tories like Sir J. D. Hay, were added to the House.

household franchise, whereas in 1832, the counties only pulled 56 of the liberated seats out of the scramble. Of the boroughs which Mr. Gladstone disfranchised, 20 had their representation cut down to one member in 1832, and two, Kendal and Whitby—which Lord John Russell created as new boroughs—lost their separate representation in 1885. The great merit of the Bill was that, as far as possible, it created single-member constituencies on the basis of population, which was as close an approach to equal electoral districts as Mr. Gladstone could make. Large towns, instead of being treated as single electoral units with cumulative voting, were cut up into single-member constituencies as nearly as possible equal in point of population. The Bills for Scotland and Ireland were drawn on the same lines, but adapted to local circumstances.

Up to Whitsuntide Government business was sadly in arrear—foreign questions diverting attention from domestic legislation. The fall of Khartoum, the retreat of Lord Wolseley's advance column in the Soudan, the defeats and disasters of the campaign, the deaths of Generals Gordon, Stewart, and Earle, together with wild rumours of an Arab invasion of Egypt, excited Parliament to a state of high tension. The Government called out the Reserves, announced that they would crush the Mahdi, and ordered the war against Osman Digna to be renewed. The Opposition in the last week of February brought forward a vote of censure on the Ministerial policy in Egypt, calling on Ministers to recognise British responsibility for Egypt and those parts of the Soudan which were necessary for the security of Egypt. Mr. Gladstone evaded any positive declaration of policy, and the Liberal party spoke with two voices, some being for complete withdrawal from Egypt, others being in favour of administering its affairs in the name of the Khedive, but none being bold enough to advocate any permanent course of action. The Ministry were saved from defeat by 302 votes to 288, and this narrow majority was a warning of their coming doom.

A dispute then arose as to the plan adopted for rescuing Egypt from a financial crisis. This plan was embodied in a convention with the Powers and assented to by the Porte, by which a loan of £9,000,000 under International guarantee was advanced to Egypt to save her from bankruptcy, in consideration of which the Powers agreed to suspend the Law of Liquidation and cut down the interest on all Egyptian securities by 5 per cent. That on the Suez Bonds payable to the English Government was, however, reduced by 10 per cent. The arrangement was to last for two years, and if Egypt was still bankrupt in 1887, then her affairs would be subject to an International inquiry. No care had been taken to prevent the International guarantee of the loan carrying with it the right of International intervention in Egypt, though Ministers repudiated the suggestion that it did. The Convention was, however, approved by the House of Commons by a vote of 294 to 246. Soon

after this the diplomatic hostility of France, Russia, and Germany, caused Mr. Gladstone's Government suddenly to limit their responsibilities in Egypt. Operations in the Red Sea were countermanded, the Suakim-Berber railway was stopped, and it was decided to abandon Dongola and fix the Egyptian frontier at Wady-Halfa. Mr. Gladstone, or rather Lord Derby and Lord Granville, had produced the diplomatic isolation of England at a most inconvenient moment, when a dispute with Russia over the Afghan boundary reached a critical stage. The negotiations for settling the boundary had been delayed because the Russian Commissioners under various pretexts avoided meeting Sir Peter Lumsden, the British Commissioner, on the frontier. Meanwhile Russian troops were stealthily advancing and taking possession of the debateable land. English protests against these tactics ended in an announcement from Mr. Gladstone, on the 18th of March, that it had been agreed by Russia that no further advances should be made on either side—the Russians having then occupied Zulficar and Pul-i-Khisti, and entrenched themselves near Penjdeh. Early in April it seemed that the Russian General (Komaroff) on the Kushk, in defiance of the agreement, took Penjdeh. This was resented by Mr. Gladstone as an "unprovoked aggression" on the Ameer, and a violation of a binding pledge to the English Foreign Office. The Government, therefore, called out the Reserves, and asked and received a Vote of Credit for £11,000,000 sterling (27th of April), to enable them to defend the interests and honour of the country against Muscovite perfidy.* Mr. Gladstone's passionate outburst of patriotism, in which he declared that till the aggression at Penjdeh were atoned for he could not "close the book and say we will not look into it any more," silenced criticism. He was fortunate enough also to carry a large vote of credit for the Egyptian account through the House on the tide of excitement he had raised in asking for the vote against Russia. But his hot fit was soon succeeded by a cool one. He agreed to "close the book" in terms of a compromise by which Russia was permitted to hold all that she had furtively seized, pending a delimitation to be effected in London,† the understanding being, however, that Russia would surrender Zulficar to the Ameer. As to Komaroff's attack on Penjdeh, Russia agreed to submit to the arbitration of the King of Denmark the question whether it constituted a breach of the agreement announced by Mr. Gladstone on the 18th of March, but the inquiry was to be conducted so as "not to place gallant officers on their trial." The only gratifying incidents in this painful transaction were the generous offers of armed support that were made to England by her autonomous colonies, and by the princes and peoples of India.

* Of this £11,000,000, it must be said £4,500,000 were to pay for Egyptian expeditions and £6,500,000 for "special preparations."

† M. Lessar, the Central Asian geographer, was now in attendance at the Russian Embassy as an expert.

It was admitted by Mr. Gladstone that only non-contentious legislation could be taken during the Session. Still, he made one exception. He announced that he intended to renew certain "valuable and equitable provisions of the Irish Crimes Act." This decision arrived at, after much discussion in the Cabinet, hurried the Ministry to their fate. The Parnellites privately obtained assurances from some of their influential Tory allies that if the Irish votes were so cast as to destroy Mr. Gladstone's Government, the Tory Government that came after it would allow the Crimes Act to lapse, and would abandon Coercion. The Tory leaders, according to Lord Randolph Churchill, met and resolved to oppose any proposal to renew the Crimes Act or continue coercive legislation for Ireland.* But it was desirable for them to avoid the too open manifestation of their alliance with the Parnellites on a question of supporting the Government in upholding law and order in Ireland. Now that the Coalition was ready to strike, a side issue had to be discovered on which united action might be taken without scandal. This was furnished by Mr. Childers. It happened that, after Whitsuntide, the Cabinet was wrangling over something else besides Coercion—namely, the Budget—and the financial situation was not, it must be confessed, a pleasant one. A violent popular agitation in the autumn against the Admiralty, had produced a panic about the weakness of the Navy.† Lord Northbrook had then promised to make important additions to the Navy. Some steps were also to be taken to protect British coaling stations abroad—and all this helped to increase the Estimates. The Vote of Credit of £11,000,000 aggravated Mr. Childers' difficulties. He had, in short, to face a deficit of a million in his accounts for 1884-85, and, with a falling revenue, an expenditure in the coming year of £100,000,000! The country remembering Mr. Gladstone's furious denunciations of Lord Beaconsfield's administration for running up public expenditure to £81,000,000 in 1879-80, was profoundly chagrined to find that under an economic Liberal Government, expenditure had been run up in 1885 to £100,000,000. The discussions in the Cabinet as to how the money should be raised ended in the adoption of the principle that Labour as well as Property must share the burden. Mr. Childers, therefore, raised the Income Tax to 8d. in the £, equalised the death duties on land and personal property, putting a special tax on Corporations instead of succession duty, and imposed a stamp duty on moveable securities. These changes, he explained in his Budget speech (April 30th), would

* See Speeches of Lord Randolph Churchill (Authorised Edition), edited by Henry W. Lucy (George Routledge and Sons: London, 1885, p. 220).

† As a matter of fact it was weaker than it should have been, but this was due to the neglect of shipbuilding by Mr. W. H. Smith, whose favourite policy was to make old ships do for new ones by patching their boilers. Lord Northbrook had pushed on shipbuilding, and made up leeway so that in first-class ironclads the country was more than a match for France. But much had still to be done in other directions—*e.g.*, in providing vessels for scouting, and for torpedo warfare. The armament of the Navy was also obsolete, in fact, when Mr. Smith handed the Navy over to Lord Northbrook, there was not a single big breech-loading gun mounted in the Fleet.



THE QUEEN IN HER STATE ROBES (1887).

(From the Photograph by Walery, Regent Street.)

bring him in £6,000,000 of fresh revenue. By adding two shillings a gallon to the duty on spirits, and a shilling a barrel to the duty on beer, he expected to obtain £1,650,000. But this still left him with a deficit of £15,000,000 to meet. He took £4,600,000 from the Sinking Fund to meet it—leaving a balance of £3,000,000 to be paid out of the annual revenue. The landed gentry attacked



MR. GLADSTONE.

(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

the Budget because it levelled up the succession duties on land till they were equal to those on personal property. The liquor trade attacked the changes in the duties on spirits and beer—so that an excellent opportunity had arisen for the Tory-Parnellite coalition to deal a fatal blow at the Government on another issue than that of continuing Coercion. Mr. Childers finding that only £9,000,000 of the Vote of Credit (£11,000,000) would be needed, offered to halve the increase on the spirit duty, and limit the increased beer duty to a year—

but without avail. Sir M. Hicks-Beach moved an amendment which united all the forces of the Opposition and the Parnellites, and defeated the Ministry on the 8th of June, by a vote of 264 to 252. Lord Randolph Churchill's* speech at Bow on the 3rd of June, was taken as a good guarantee that the Irish Party need not fear a Coercion Bill from the Tories if they got into office. "But," writes Mr. T. P. O'Connor, "even with so strong an assumption the cautious and realistic leader of the Irish Party was not satisfied; and the Irish Members did not go into the Lobby to vote against a Liberal Ministry about to propose coercion until there was an assurance, definite, distinct, unmistakable, that there would be no coercion from their successors." The scene when the numbers were announced will never be forgotten by those who were present. When it was known that the Government was defeated, the pent-up excitement of the House found vent in a terrific uproar. "Lord Randolph Churchill," writes Mr. Lucy, "leapt on to the bench, and, waving his hat madly above his head, uproariously cheered. Mr. Healy followed his example, and presently all the Irish members, and nearly all the Conservatives below the gangway, were standing on the benches waving hats and pocket-handkerchiefs and raising a deafening cheer. This was renewed when the figures were read out by Mr. Winn, and again when they were proclaimed from the Chair. From the Irish camp rose cries of 'Buckshot! Buckshot!' and 'Coercion!' These had no relevancy to the Budget Scheme; but they showed that the Irish members had not forgotten Mr. Forster, and that this was their hour of victory rather than the triumph of the Tories. Lord Randolph Churchill threatened to go mad with joy. He wrung the hand of the impassive Rowland Winn, who regarded him with a kindly curious smile, as if he were some wild animal. Mr. Gladstone had resumed his letter,† and went on calmly writing whilst the clerk at the table proceeded to run through the Orders of the Day as if nothing particular had happened. But the House was in no mood for business. Cries for the adjournment filled the House, and Mr. Gladstone, still holding his letter in one hand and the pen in the other, moved the adjournment, and the

* Whilst the anti-Coercionists in the Cabinet (Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre) were struggling with the Coercionists, the subterranean arrangements between the Tories and Parnellites were also publicly ratified in a speech delivered by Lord Randolph Churchill at the St. Stephen's Club, in which, amidst ringing cheers, he condemned the renewal of Coercion. Signs of disorder in Ireland, he argued, had passed away, and such being the case Government was bound by "the highest considerations of public policy and Constitutional doctrine to return to and rely on the ordinary law. They were all the more strongly bound at that time because they had just enfranchised the Irish people, and declared them capable citizens fit to take part in the government of the Empire."—*The Parnell Movement*, by T. P. O'Connor, Chap. XIII.

† After he wound up the debate, and during this exciting scene, Mr. Gladstone had been quietly writing his nightly report to the Queen of the proceedings of the House, on a sheet of note-paper which he held on his knee as a desk. Lord Randolph Churchill vainly endeavoured to rouse his attention by putting up his hand to his mouth as if it were a speaking-trumpet, and shouting through it mocking taunts of triumph at the Premier.

crowd surged through the doorway, the Conservatives still tumultuously cheering."*

On the following day (9th of June) Mr. Gladstone told the House that the defeat of the previous evening had caused the Cabinet to submit "a dutiful communication" to the Queen, then at Balmoral, but as an answer to it must take some time to reach London, he moved an adjournment till Friday (12th of June). Strangely enough, the resignation of the Ministry was unattended by any popular excitement. It was perfectly well known that the new Cabinet would be merely a stopgap Government, powerless to do anything except wind up the business of Parliament before the General Election. On the 12th of June the House was in quite a cheerful humour when it met to hear from Mr. Gladstone that the Queen had accepted the resignation of his Cabinet. It was curious that even this last act of his Ministerial life in the Parliament of 1880—85 was not free from blunder. "Her Majesty's gracious reply," said Mr. Gladstone, "was made upon the 11th accepting the resignation of *Lord Salisbury*," a slip of the tongue which the Premier had to correct amidst shouts of laughter. At first the Queen was unwilling to accept the resignation of the Government. She could not admit that Ministers were free to throw the State into confusion because of a defeat on an Amendment to a Budget. In fact, it is not quite Constitutional to coerce the free judgment of the Commons on the financial proposals of Government by threatening Ministerial resignation if these are not slavishly accepted in detail. Such a practice virtually ties the hands of the House of Commons as guardians of the public purse. The Queen, therefore, sought a personal interview with Mr. Gladstone, to hear his full justification for the course he had adopted, but on his instructing Lord Hartington to proceed to Balmoral, her Majesty's request was withdrawn. It now became apparent to her that the crisis was too serious to be dealt with from Balmoral. In the last weeks of the Session Parliamentary time was so valuable that it could not prudently be wasted over a stagnant interregnum protracted by the journeyings to and fro of Royal couriers between Aberdeenshire and London. It was accordingly announced that the Queen would return to Windsor at once—following the course she adopted in 1866, when confronted with a similar inconvenience. Her Majesty arrived at Windsor on the 17th of June, when Lord Salisbury had an interview with her. On the following day he and Mr. Gladstone both waited on the Sovereign—Mr. Gladstone delivering up the seals of office. There was, however, a difficulty to be overcome in the transfer of power which had been created by a tactical blunder of Lord Salisbury's. He had told the Queen that if he took office he must exact from Mr. Gladstone a pledge that the Opposition would not embarrass her new Ministry by

* H. W. Lucy's *Diary of Two Parliaments*, Vol. II., p. 478. (London: Cassell & Co.)

attacks, but loyally co-operate with it in the conduct of its business. Mr. Gladstone refused to waive his right of criticism, and he pointed out that he could not, even if he tried, arbitrarily dispose of the will of his supporters. All he could promise was that he would endeavour to give the new Cabinet "fair play," and deal with it on its merits. But Lord Salisbury was not at first satisfied with this arrangement, and the country was soon startled by hearing that he had revived the crisis, and that even at the eleventh hour he would withdraw his consent to serve as Premier. The Queen here intervened and persuaded him to abandon his pragmatic objections to Mr. Gladstone's assurances.*

The Ministry was formed after some fierce struggles in the Tory Party. Lord Randolph Churchill and his group not only insisted on having high offices, but they demanded the expulsion of Sir Stafford Northcote from the leadership of the House of Commons. Sir M. Hicks-Beach deserted his old chief, and not only went over to his enemies, but even offered himself as a candidate for his vacant post. The result was that Lord Salisbury became Premier and Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Sir Stafford Northcote became Earl of Iddesleigh, and was appointed First Lord of the Treasury. Sir Hardinge Giffard was made Lord Chancellor; Lord Cranbrook, President of the Council; Lord Harrowby, Lord Privy Seal; Sir Richard Cross, Home Secretary; the Duke of Richmond, President of the Board of Trade; Colonel Stanley, Colonial Secretary; Lord Randolph Churchill, Secretary of State for India; Mr. W. H. Smith, Secretary of State for War; Sir M. Hicks-Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons; Lord Carnarvon, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; Lord John Manners, Postmaster-General; Lord George Hamilton, First Lord of the Admiralty; Mr. E. Stanhope, Vice-President of the Council of Education; Mr. A. J. Balfour, President of the Local Government Board; Sir W. Hart Dyke, Chief Secretary for Ireland; Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, a Civil Lord of the Admiralty; Mr. Webster and Mr. J. E. Gorst, Attorney- and Solicitor-General. Sir H. D. Wolff was sent on a special mission for no very well-defined purpose to Egypt, so that every member of the Fourth Party, who had organised the obstructive alliance between the Parnellites and the Tories, was handsomely rewarded with remunerative places. Sir H. D. Wolff's appointment was severely criticised at the time, partly because of his intimate connection with the Anglo-Egyptian Bank. The only other striking incident in the crisis was that Mr. Gladstone was offered an earldom by the Queen — an honour which, however, he declined.†

* The controversy between Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone was conducted through memoranda addressed to the Queen dated the 17th, 18th, 20th, and 21st of June. For the text, see *Parliamentary Report of the Times*, 25th of June, 1885.

† The offer, it is odd to notice, was almost an unprecedented mark of Royal favour. The elevation of Mr. Disraeli to an earldom was effected in the middle, not at the end of his service as Premier, and in the



DRAWING-ROOM IN BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

Very soon after Ministers took office Mr. Parnell exacted his price, and they had to pay it. The Crimes Act was abandoned. It was announced that the Irish Labourers' Act would be pressed on. Lord Ashbourne* promised to bring in a Land Purchase Bill. The Maamtrasna murders, and the cases of those condemned on account of them, were to be reconsidered—a somewhat momentous decision, for Lord Spencer's refusal to revise the sentence in these cases had been upheld by both Parties as a crucial point in the policy of maintaining law and order in Ireland. When the Government threw over Lord Spencer, and not only refused to defend him from Mr. Parnell's attacks, but through Lord Randolph Churchill disparaged his resolute Irish policy, it was clear that great Party changes were impending. Obviously no English Minister could again feel confident in governing Ireland with a firm and dauntless hand, after the Tories had flung Lord Spencer to the lions of Nationalism. Supported by Mr. Parnell and his followers, Ministers had no difficulty in hurrying through Supply. The Budget was revised in terms of the decision of the 9th of June, and Lord George Hamilton discovered a gross blunder in the accounts at the Admiralty, where Lord Northbrook had spent £900,000—part of the Vote of Credit—in excess of his estimates without having the faintest suspicion that he was doing anything of the sort.† Lord Ashbourne's Land Bill stipulated that when all the money was advanced by the State to the purchasing tenants, one-fifth of it should be retained by the Land Commission till the instalments were repaid. The Scottish Sanitary Bill passed. So did a Bill brought in by Lord Salisbury to embody the non-contentious points of the recommendations of the Commission on Housing the Poor. A Bill was also passed to relieve electors from disqualification on the ground that they had obtained Poor Law medical relief, and the Session closed with the demoralisation of parties on the 14th of August.

No event in 1885 gave the Queen more concern than the failure of Lord Wolseley's attempt to relieve Khartoum. The story of General Gordon's

moment of his triumph, not of his defeat. It is, however, worth noting that at the end of his first Administration Mr. Disraeli accepted a viscountess's coronet for his wife. Lord John Russell was not Premier in 1859 when he became Earl Russell; in fact, his acceptance of the Foreign Office under Palmerston was supposed finally to put him in the background. Grenville, Liverpool, Wellington, Goderich, Grey, Melbourne, Derby, and Aberdeen were all Peers before they became Premiers. When Addington's Ministry resigned early in the century, the Premier, it is true, became Lord Sidmouth. Yet it was not an earldom but only a viscountcy—a rank often conferred on ex-Ministers who have not been Premiers—that was given to him. Pitt was not actually First Lord of the Treasury—though no doubt he was the moving spirit in the Cabinet—when he became Earl of Chatham. In fact, for the Queen's offer there was no precedent later than 1742, when Walpole—the Minister to whom her House owe their crown—was created Earl of Orford when he resigned.

* Mr. Gibson had been elevated to the Lord Chancellorship of Ireland under this title.

† "Lord Northbrook," wrote the *Times*, "chose to regard the criticisms on this blundering way of keeping accounts as a personal attack on himself, and rested his defence, with more temper than lucidity, on the propriety of the expenditure incurred, which no one had thought of challenging."

mission to the Soudan has already been partially told. It was on the 18th of January, 1884, that he was instructed by the Cabinet to proceed to Khartoum to extricate the beleaguered garrisons. He writes, "It cannot be said I was ordered to go. The subject was too complex for any order. It was, 'Will you go and try?' and my answer was 'Only too delighted.'"* The truth is that Gordon doubted whether 20,000 Egyptian troops and colonists could be got out of the Soudan by a process of pacific evacuation. Still, if any one might achieve the feat he could, and to please the Government, he consented to "go and try." His and their idea was that by restoring the old native families to power he might buy a safe-conduct for the garrisons. On the 8th of February, when he arrived at Abu Hamed, he found that the country was less disorganised than he had supposed it to be when discussing its prospects with Cabinet Ministers in London. Therefore he suggested that a light suzerainty should be exercised over the Soudan, for a time at least, by the Khedive's officers. This conviction grew stronger when he reached Berber. He then said that his mission could not be carried out with credit to England unless some form of government less heterogeneous than that of the native chiefs were established, in place of the Egyptian administration which he was sent to withdraw. Hence, he suggested that Zebehr Pasha should be appointed Ruler of the Soudan under certain conditions, and he chose Zebehr because he was not such an atrocious slave-trader as the Mahdi; because he might be more easily curbed, and because his high descent from the Abbasides enabled him to exercise real authority over the Soudanese. Sir Evelyn Baring and Nubar Pasha agreed with Gordon. So did Lord Wolseley. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Kimberley too, though they had no love for Zebehr, thought that Gordon's opinion ought to be deferred to, but Lord Hartington only gave them a feeble, half-hearted support, and Lord Granville's opposition to Gordon's policy carried the Cabinet against Mr. Gladstone. Hence Zebehr was not sent. Zebehr naturally took this decision of the Cabinet as an insult, and forthwith opened up a treasonable correspondence with the Mahdi, the discovery of which led to his arrest and deportation to Gibraltar on the 14th of March, 1885.

After the refusal to send Zebehr to the Soudan, the Government seem to have treated Gordon as if they desired to provoke him to take the bit in his mouth, and in a fit of indignation leave Khartoum without definite orders. Had he done so Ministers could have successfully argued that having deserted his post without authority, they were no longer responsible for him. This game was keenly played between Gordon at Khartoum and Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet in London, aided by the Egyptian Government and its English advisers, Egerton and Baring, at Cairo. But every point in it was won by Gordon, who in March warned Egerton and Baring that they must decide quickly, for the sands were

* The Journals of Major-General C. G. Gordon, C.B., at Khartoum, printed from the original MS. Introduction and Notes by A. Egmont Hake. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1885, p. 56.)

running fast in the hour-glass. He also put in their hands a plan for getting the Government out of the difficulty without sending a relief expedition. He had not at that time so far committed the people at Khartoum against the Mahdi that it would be dangerous to leave them to make terms with the False Prophet. He had to prevent his armed steamers from falling into the Mahdi's hands, and Khartoum from being utilised as a base of operations against Lower Egypt. He therefore told the Government that if they held Berber, and accepted his proposal as to Zebehr, it was worth while to keep him (Gordon) at Khartoum. But if not, then he warned his masters that it was useless to hold on to Khartoum, for, he wrote, "it is impossible for me to help the other garrisons, and I shall only be sacrificing the whole of the troops and *employés* here. In the latter case your order to me had better be to evacuate Khartoum." On receipt of that order he proposed to send his intrepid lieutenant, Colonel Stewart, and the fugitives who wished to return to Egypt, down the Nile to Berber. He himself, and as many of his black troops as would go with him, were then to take the armed steamers, and the munitions of war from the arsenal of Khartoum, and make their escape southwards up the White Nile. He guaranteed, in that event, to hold the Bahr Gazelle country and Equatorial regions against the slave-traders, and pin the Mahdi in Khartoum by organising a negro State in his rear, which, like the Congo Free State, he suggested might be put under Belgian protection. But he warned the Government that if this plan were to be attempted he must get the order to quit Khartoum at once, for in a few days the way of retreat to Berber would be closed. The order never came. In fact, the only order he got from his superiors at this time, was to hold on to Khartoum till further notice. Had the instructions which he asked for been sent, there would have been no Nile Expedition with its many disasters, including the fall of Khartoum, and the massacre of its inhabitants.*

The tardy resolution to send a Relief Expedition to Khartoum has already been alluded to. On the 16th of December, 1884, Lord Wolseley joined the camp which had been pitched at Korti by Brigadier-General Sir Herbert Stewart, and received intelligence from Gordon, informing him that four steamers with their guns were waiting for the expedition at Metamneh, and that Khartoum could hold out with ease for forty days after the date of the letter (November 4th). It was not till the 30th of December that Stewart was able to dash into the desert with the Camel Corps to seize the wells of Gakdul. On the 31st a message from Gordon, dated the 29th of October, arrived, showing that Khartoum still held out, but that he was in dire straits, and, on the 1st of January, 1885, the first boats with the Black

* On this point see an entry in Gordon's Journal under date the 6th of October, 1884. It was not till the 17th of May, 1884, that Lord Granville wrote enjoining Gordon to adopt "measures for his own removal and for that of the Egyptians at Khartoum by whatever route he may consider best." But it was now too late to attempt the evacuation of Khartoum save in co-operation with a relief force.

Watch reached Korti. On the 3rd General Earle left to join his force which was proceeding up the river to Berber. On the 5th the Naval Brigade arrived, and Sir Herbert Stewart returned from Gakdul. On the 8th he began his march across the Bayuda Desert with a motley force of 120 officers and 1,900 men. The Mahdi, on hearing of the occupation of Gakdul on the 2nd of January, resolved to crush Stewart's force at the end of its Desert march, and Lord Wolseley's eccentric tactics gave him thirteen clear days in which to concentrate his forces at Abu Klea, where he barred the way to Metamneh.* It was not till the 16th of January that Stewart got touch of the enemy at Abu Klea. During the night our men were harassed by the Arab sharp-shooters, and next day Stewart was artfully drawn into a difficult position, and forced to march out in square formation and give his antagonist battle. When our skirmishers were within 200 yards of the enemy's flags, the square was halted to let its rear close up. Then, to the amazement of everybody, the Arabs sprang forth from the ravine where they had been hiding, as Roderick Dhu's warriors rose from the heather. Stewart's skirmishers ran back in hot haste. The Arabs charged furiously, and, when slightly checked at a distance of about 80 yards, they suddenly swept round to the right and broke the rear face and angle of the British square. For a moment there was dreadful confusion, and had the camels not checked the Arab onset Stewart's force would have been annihilated, like the army of Hicks Pasha at El Obeid. However, the enemy were beaten back with great loss of life, and the day was saved. It was in this affray that Colonel Fred Burnaby lost his life. The square was broken first, because the Gardner gun at the corner jammed, and was useless after the tenth round; secondly, because General Stewart foolishly trusted cavalry men and seamen to hold the exposed angles;† thirdly, because the cartridges of some of the rifles jammed, and shook the soldier's confidence in his weapon.

Stewart's losses, especially in camels, were so heavy that his first idea was to halt at Abu Klea for reinforcements. But he decided to push on, even at the risk of leaving his wounded behind him. The wells of Abu Klea were occupied, and it was then ascertained that the 10,000 Arabs who had been defeated, were but the advanced guard of a great army near Metamneh. Papers were discovered, among which was a letter from the Emir of Berber to the Mahdi, showing that Stewart's occupation of Gakdul had caused the

* Metamneh is 176 miles from Korti, but only 90 miles from Berber, and 98 from Khartoum, from which latter places the Mahdi brought up all the troops he could spare.

† "A cavalry man is taught never to be still, and that a square *can* be broken. How can you expect him in a moment to forget all his training, stand like a rook, and believe no one can get inside a square? . . . The sailors were pressed back with the cavalry, and lost heavily; they get very excited, and would storm a work or do anything of that kind well; but they are trained to fight in ships, and you cannot expect them to stand shoulder to shoulder like grenadiers."—From Korti to Khartoum, by Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.C.L., F.R.S., R.E., late Deputy Adjutant-General, Nile Expedition. Edinburgh (Blackwood), 1885, p. 36.

concentration of the Arabs in force at Abu Klea. The expedition was thus at the outset marred by a fatal blunder in generalship. If Stewart had gone straight across the Bayuda Desert, without wasting time at Gakdul, he would have had no enemy barring his path to Metamneh. By letting the Mahdi's troops concentrate at Abu Klea, he met with the check that delayed his progress till it was too late to save Khartoum.*

On the 18th of January Stewart made a forced night march towards the Nile, which he hoped to strike three miles above Metamneh. His column got into terrible disorder in the dark, for men and cattle were utterly exhausted from hunger and want of sleep. At 7 a.m. it came within sight of Metamneh—men and horses and camels being scarcely able to walk. It was resolved to rest for breakfast before attacking the town, but the Arabs closed round Stewart's zareba, and poured in a dropping fire, which did serious execution. At 10.15 a.m. Stewart himself was shot, and the command was assumed by Sir Charles Wilson, Chief of the Intelligence Department, who happened to be the senior colonel on the field. Sir Charles Wilson, though an officer in the Royal Engineers, was really a scholar and diplomatist who had spent most of his life in civil employment. Still, he did not shrink from the task which an unforeseen accident imposed on him. He undertook the strategic direction of the column, but prudently handed over the tactical control to Colonel Boscawen of the Guards. Having fortified the zareba, Wilson quickly formed his main body into a square, and determined to make a dash for the Nile. Had he not ventured on this perilous step, the whole column must have perished from thirst. Every inch of the way had to be contested, but happily Wilson's frigid temperament seemed to have in some degree communicated itself to his men. Hence, the same troops who at Abu Klea under Stewart's showy but exciting leadership got out of hand and fired wildly, were soon calm and steady, and held in complete check by their officers. They had not proceeded far when swarms of Arabs, as at Abu Klea, charged down upon the square from a ridge at a place known as Abu Kru. At first Wilson's troops began to fire at random as at Abu Klea, and no shot told. Then he ordered the bugles to sound "Cease firing," and the officers coolly kept the men at rest for five minutes, which steadied their nerves. By this time the enemy had come within 300 yards of the square, from which volley after volley was now suddenly poured forth, and with such deliberation that

* Sir Charles Wilson strives hard to defend Lord Wolsley and Sir Herbert Stewart. He says that Stewart could not march straight across the Desert for lack of transport, though he admits that an additional thousand camels, which could have been easily got in November, would have saved the situation. Why were they not got? Moreover, the blunder of Lord Wolsley and Sir Herbert Stewart is inexcusable, because they acted in defiance of Gordon's last message. "Come," said he, "by way of Metamneh or Berber; only by these two roads. Do this *without letting rumours of your approach spread abroad.*" Stewart's first occupation of Gakdul, thirteen days before the Desert column was ready to move, was simply a gratuitous warning to the Mahdi of the English advance.

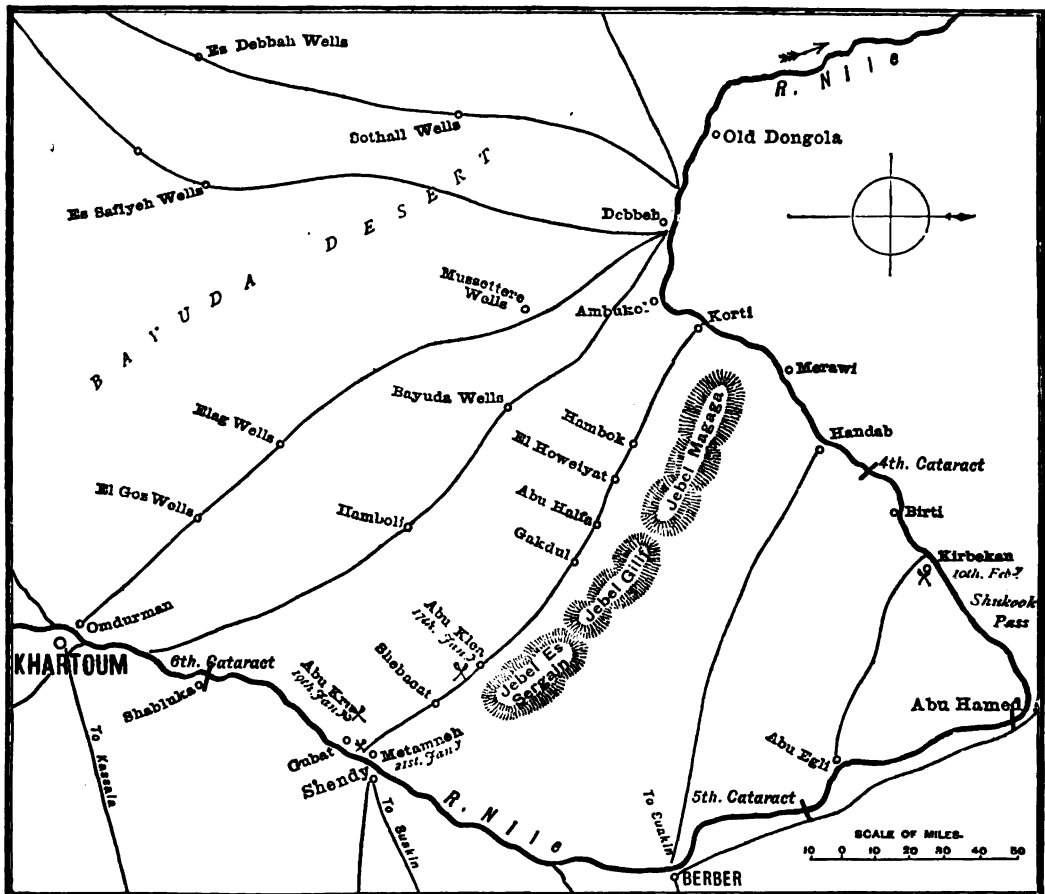
the Arab spearmen turned and fled, not one of them getting within fifty yards of Wilson's position. This is the only instance where British troops in the Soudan won a complete victory without being themselves touched by sword or spear. The square now hastened on to the river, and camped for the night. Next day (20th) they carried water to their wounded comrades in the zareba. They then conveyed them down to the camp by the Nile,* where they found some of Gordon's steamers waiting for them. Wilson's force was now in a sorry plight, and before he took command discontent was smouldering in its ranks. It had been kept toiling and fighting for four days with little food and less sleep. It had lost in killed and wounded one-tenth of its number. And now with its General disabled, it found itself encumbered by a heavy train of wounded, without means of communication with its base, menaced by a formidable fortress, and assured that two great armies were closing on it from Berber and Khartoum. Little wonder that the soldiers murmured sulkily that they had been led into a trap. Wilson's orders were, that on arriving at the river he must proceed to Khartoum with a small detachment, the mere exhibition of whose red coats Lord Wolseley imagined would cause the Mahdi to raise the siege. But Wilson was not to let his men even sleep in Khartoum, and he was only to stay there long enough to confer with Gordon! In plain English, Lord Wolseley ordered him to march twenty or thirty men into Khartoum and come away again, after telling Gordon, who was every day awaiting his doom, that he must expect no effective succour till far on in March. Wilson, however, resolved, like a loyal commander, not to desert his comrades until he had seen them safely entrenched—and till he had, by reconnoitring, allayed their dread of an attack from Berber. The Naval Brigade was so disabled that he was forced to use Gordon's crews for the steamers, and, in obedience to Gordon's instructions, he had to weed out of these crews all untrustworthy Egyptians. He had also to reconnoitre the fortress of Metamneh.

This work kept Wilson busy till the 24th of January, when he proceeded up the Nile, arriving on the 28th of January within a mile and a half of Khartoum. He found that the city had fallen on the 26th, when the Buri gate had been opened by treachery to the Mahdi's troops, who had rushed in and made the streets of the doomed town run red with blood. Gordon it seems was killed, on refusing to surrender, by a small party of Baggarahs, who met him coming out of his palace. While reconnoitring Khartoum, Wilson's two steamers were so hotly engaged with the enemy's batteries that he was forced to turn back.† On the return voyage he adroitly

* This is sometimes called Gubat, and sometimes Abu Kru.

† Gordon's diaries show that even on the 28th of November, 1884, when his men held Omdurman and the North Fort, Wilson could not have passed the junction of the Blue and White Nile without a strong land force to co-operate with his steamers. On the 28th of January, 1885, however, these positions were in the Mahdi's hands, and Wilson had no land force.

foiled the plans of some of his followers who attempted to betray him to the Mahdi, but unfortunately his steamers were wrecked, it is supposed, by the treachery of his pilots. He was, however, rescued by Lord Charles Beresford in one of the armed vessels from Gubat, to which Wilson brought back his party without loss of life.* Wilson found his force in safety, but sadly depressed because they had heard nothing from headquarters. He immediately



MAP OF THE WAR IN THE SOUDAN.

proceeded thither in terms of his instructions, to report the fall of Khartoum to Lord Wolseley, and urge him to relieve Gubat without delay.

Little need be said of the fall of Khartoum—the crowning disaster of the campaign. Gordon's Journals show how, alone and unaided, in defending the city, during a siege that lasted 319 days, he kept at bay the swarming hordes of the Mahdi. The romantic record of his life amply illustrates his higher

* Lord Charles Beresford was too ill to proceed up the Nile with Wilson, and, as he was the only naval officer available, it was prudent to leave him at Gubat. Had our position there been attacked, he would perhaps have been able to assist in its defence with Gordon's steamers.

qualities—the chivalry and loyalty; the sweet, gentle manners, the kindness of heart, the stainless honour, the infinite self-abnegation, the patient endurance, the stubborn valour, the natural and acquired military skill that made him

“A soldier fit to stand by Cæsar
And give direction.”

His Khartoum “Journals” show more than that. They prove that from first to last through the long series of transactions that led up to the fall of the city, Gordon was the only man who kept his head cool, who acted from firm set purpose, who was not afraid to look on the facts with naked eyes, whose inexhaustible ingenuity in dealing practically with every fresh difficulty as it arose never failed him or his masters, and whose shrewd and sagacious prevision was never once ignored, save at the cost of cruel suffering to those who refused his guidance.* Valour and virtue such as his can indeed “outbuild the Pyramids.” Of the millions of English men and English women, who mourned over the heroic defender of Khartoum, none grieved more bitterly for his loss than the Queen. To his sister she wrote as follows:—

“Osborne, 17th February, 1885.

“DEAR MISS GORDON,—How shall I write to you, or how shall I attempt to express *what I feel*! To think of your dear, noble, heroic Brother, who served his country and his Queen so truly, so heroically, with a self-sacrifice so edifying to the world, not having been rescued. That the promises of support were not fulfilled—which I so frequently and constantly pressed on those who asked him to go—is to me *grief inexpressible*!—indeed, it has made me ill! My heart bleeds for you, his Sister, who have gone through so many anxieties on his account, and who loved the dear Brother as he deserved to be. You are all so good and trustful, and have such strong faith, that you will be sustained even now, when *real* absolute evidence of your dear Brother's death does not exist—but I fear there cannot be much doubt of it. Some day I hope to see you again to tell you all I cannot express. My daughter Beatrice, who has felt quite as I do, wishes me to express her deepest sympathy with you. I hear so many expressions of sorrow and sympathy from *abroad*; from my eldest daughter, the Crown Princess, and from my Cousin, the King of the Belgians, the very warmest. Would you express to your other Sisters and your elder Brother my true sympathy, and what I do so keenly feel—the *stain* left upon England for your dear Brother's cruel, though heroic, fate!—Ever, dear Miss Gordon, yours sincerely and sympathisingly,
“V.R.I.”†

After Gordon's death public interest in the “sad Soudan” slowly faded. The River Column under General Earle's skilful guidance had won a brilliant little victory at Kirbekan, where, however, its gallant leader lost his life. He was succeeded by General Brackenbury, who ascended the river steadily to Abu Hamed. Suddenly, however, Lord Wolseley ordered both columns to retreat on Korti, and hold Dongola till his autumn campaign of vengeance against the Mahdi could be undertaken. Meanwhile, General Graham, with 9,000 men, and an Indian and Australian Contingent,‡ was to drive

* See an analysis of General Gordon's Journals by the present writer in the *Observer* for the 28th of June, 1885. For criticism of Wilson's Expedition, see article, said to be by Sir E. Hamley, in *Blackwood* for June, 1885. † See The Letters of General C. G. Gordon. (London: Macmillan, 1888.)

‡ Gordon's death evoked from the Colonies in America and Australia profuse and generous offers of military aid. The only one accepted was that which was made by New South Wales.

back Osman Digna at Suakin, and lay a railway from that port to Berber. Graham defeated the Arabs in several engagements, though in one of them the skill with which the Arabs surprised a zareba almost reproduced the disaster of Isandhlwana. But the dispute with Russia afforded a plausible excuse for freeing England from the incubus of the Soudan, and in April Lord Wolseley evacuated Dongola and fell back on the line of Wady Halfa. The Suakin railway was abandoned, and when Lord Salisbury's Government took office they, too, adhered to the policy of evacuation. The Mahdi died. Osman Digna became entangled in hostilities with the Abyssinian Ras Alula, who attempted to raise the siege of Kassala, and for a time it seemed as if all fears of disturbances on the Egyptian frontier were dispelled. Towards the end of the year, however, the Arabs attacked an advanced post beyond Assouan, where they were skilfully repulsed by General Stephenson at the battle of Kosheh.

Turning to the social events of 1885, the most remarkable was the sudden announcement on New Year's Day of the betrothal of the Princess Beatrice to Prince Henry of Battenberg, the younger brother of Prince Louis, the husband of the Princess's niece—Victoria of Hesse. For fourteen years the Princess Beatrice had been the close companion of the Queen, and their lives had in time become so closely intertwined that a separation could hardly be contemplated by either with equanimity. It was therefore quite natural that Prince Henry of Battenberg, whose fortune was hardly adequate to the maintenance of a separate establishment, should permit intimation to be made that he was to live with the Princess in attendance on the Queen. The announcement of the marriage was as surprising to the Royal Family as it was to the people. In the country the old prejudice against the marriage of a Princess who claimed a dowry from the State, with a person outside the Royal caste speedily manifested itself. Indeed, the feeling against the arrangement was even stronger than that which prevailed when the Princess Louise married the Marquis of Lorne. After all, the latter was the son of a great noble on whose birth no stain of ambiguity rested. Prince Henry of Battenberg, on the other hand, was the offspring of a "morganatic" marriage between Prince Alexander of Hesse and the Countess Hauke, the granddaughter of a Polish Jew, who had entered the service of the Hessian Court in a very subordinate capacity. It was difficult to get the populace to understand that a morganatic marriage was in a certain sense a legal union—not void, though possibly under pressure of State exigencies voidable by the Royal husband—that in fact there was nothing disreputable in such an alliance, save in the sense in which it is considered a social offence for a great noble to marry his mother's scullery-maid. The hostility of the German Crown Princess and the Court of Berlin to the connection did much to create an erroneous impression in England as to the status of Prince Henry. The Prince's lack of fortune did not redeem his lack of social position—and it was most unfortunate that his nearest connection

with Royalty was through his cousin the Grand Duke of Hesse. For the divorce suit raised by the Grand Duke against the Countess de Kalomine, a lady whom he had "morganatically" married in secret on the very night when his daughter, the Princess Victoria, was wedded to Prince Louis of Battenberg, had rendered his family extremely unpopular in England.

That some friction had been created in the Royal Family by the unexpected introduction of Prince Henry to its circle was soon made manifest. When Prince Albert Victor of Wales, the Heir-Presumptive to the Throne, came of age on the 8th of January, neither the Queen, nor the Princess Beatrice, nor Prince Henry of Battenberg—then at Osborne—graced with their presence the joyous celebrations at Sandringham, which were attended by all the other members of the Royal Family. It was also remarked that Prince Henry left England without receiving the congratulations of the Prince of Wales on his betrothal. At a Privy Council, which the Queen held at Osborne on the 26th of January, her Majesty's formal consent to her daughter's marriage was given.

Preparations had been made early in March for the Queen's Easter visit to Darmstadt, but owing to the death of Princess Charles of Hesse, mother of the Grand Duke, her Majesty's arrangements were altered, and it was decided that she should visit Aix-les-Bains first and take Darmstadt on the return journey. Her Majesty left Windsor on the last day of March for the Villa Mottet, a charming residence in the grounds of the Hôtel de l'Europe, Aix-les-Bains, while the Prince and Princess of Wales spent their Easter in paying a State visit to Ireland. The Queen's holiday was sadly broken by the diplomatic controversy with Russia as to the Afghan frontier. Piles of despatch-boxes were given to her when she started, and as many as fifty telegraphic messages a day in cipher were sent to her and answered. Before proceeding to Darmstadt, her Majesty, who had been using her influence with the German Court in order to induce Russia to accept an honourable compromise, offered to return to Windsor if Ministers desired her presence. Mr. Gladstone was not of opinion that this sacrifice was necessary, and on the 23rd of April she accordingly proceeded to Darmstadt, where she again occupied the new Palace on the Platz which had been built for the Princess Alice. At this time her Majesty was much grieved at the reckless and bellicose tone of London Society. She was so anxious to counteract it that the Prince of Wales, knowing her feeling on the subject, was supposed to have dropped some hints at Marlborough House which suddenly imparted quite a pacific tone to the fire-eaters of Piccadilly. Couriers passed so frequently between the Queen and the German Emperor, who with the Crown Prince gave her Majesty much sympathetic aid and counsel throughout the crisis, that the German Press were alarmed lest the Emperor was about to intervene as a mediator between Russia and England. A war between the two nations would have been extremely inconvenient to the Royal

Family,—in fact, it had been arranged in anticipation of such a calamity that the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh must break up their establishment in England, and retire to Coburg. Another circumstance forced a pacific policy on the Court. The Duke of Edinburgh had not concealed from the Sovereign the fact that the Fleet was effective solely on paper. Indeed, had Admiral Hoskins, who was ordered to hold himself in readiness to proceed with his squadron to the Baltic, attempted to carry out his instructions, he would have found himself paralysed, simply because he had neither efficient guns nor transport. On the 2nd of May the Queen returned to Windsor, where she held an anxious consultation with Lord Granville next day. On the 12th of May her Majesty held a Drawing Room at Buckingham Palace, but as on previous occasions, she stayed only a short time, leaving the Princess of Wales as usual to complete the function.

On the 14th of May, Mr. Gladstone carried a resolution in the House of Commons that an annuity of £6,000 a year should be granted to the Princess Beatrice on her marriage; and, by way of conciliating the House, promised that in the next Parliament a Committee would be appointed to consider the plan on which what he called "secondary provisions" for the younger members of the Royal Family, should be made.* The proposed annuity was opposed on the old ground that the Queen was rich enough to support her own family, and Mr. Labouchere argued that as she never had a right to the hereditary revenues of the Crown, the plea that she had given up her income for a Civil List was invalid. But it is certain that in the Royal Speech, at the opening of Parliament in 1837 the Queen said, "I place unreservedly at your disposal those hereditary revenues which were transferred to the public by my immediate predecessor," and in the Address the Queen was then not only thanked for her generosity, but promised an adequate Civil List in return. It was also forgotten that at least four impecunious princely families—those of the Duke of Albany, Prince Louis, Prince Henry of Battenberg, and Prince Christian—must be a charge on the private income of the Queen.†

On the 22nd of May the Court went to Balmoral. The Russian dispute was now compromised, so that the Queen was able to thoroughly enjoy her Highland visit. She spent much of her time in the cottages and homes of the peasantry, to whom she was unusually lavish this year with gifts commemorating her birthday. When she arrived she found that the celebrated cradle and rope bridge over the Dee at Abergeldie—which most of the Royal

* When Mr. Gladstone fell from power, and Lord Salisbury's Government took office in 1887, this promise was renewed. But in 1888 it was repudiated by Mr. W. H. Smith, the First Lord of the Treasury.

† The children of the Prince of Wales will probably be provided for by the State. The children of the Duke of Edinburgh, owing to the wealth of their parents, need no provision. The Duchess of Connaught inherited a large fortune from her father, the "Red Prince." The Princess Louise, Marchioness of Lorne, if she were to have a family, could provide for them as members of the House of Argyll.

personages in Europe had used at different times—was removed, and replaced by a substantial footbridge which had been put up at her expense. But the fall of Mr. Gladstone's Government shortened the Queen's sojourn in Scotland, and she had to return to Windsor on the 17th of June. Complaints were made that she was absent in Aberdeenshire when the Ministerial crisis occurred. But the crisis was unexpected, and since the Prince Consort's death the Queen has always preferred Balmoral to Windsor during Ascot Race



MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS BEATRICE.

week. The death of Prince Frederick Charles (the "Red Prince") of Prussia, at the comparatively early age of fifty-seven, deprived Germany of one of her ablest military tacticians, and sent the English Court into mourning. He was the father of the Duchess of Connaught, to whom he bequeathed a large part of his vast wealth. By a strange blunder which gave infinite annoyance to the Queen, not only did the Prince of Wales appear at Ascot after the event, but her Majesty's order that Court mourning should begin on the 16th was not officially proclaimed till the 18th. The Royal procession at Ascot on the afternoon of the "Red Prince's" death, caused much irritation at the Court of Berlin.

On the 9th the Court removed to Osborne—the Queen being desirous of personally supervising the arrangements for the Princess Beatrice's marriage, which was to take place in Whippingham Parish Church. As there was no precedent for a Royal marriage in a country parish church, Sir Henry Ponsonby and the Court officials had considerable trouble in ordering the ceremony. They were further perplexed by the various instructions which day after day came from the Queen and the Princess. On the 23rd of July the marriage was solemnised by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester, the Dean of Windsor, and Canon Prothero, Vicar of Whippingham. The ceremony was one of demi-state only; and, although the wedding procession was very pretty, especially when seen in the golden light of a July day, it was not brilliant. The nieces of the Princess Beatrice were her bridesmaids, and most of her near relations were present. The family of Hesse-Darmstadt was well represented; and, with the exception of Mr. Gladstone, most of the leading personages in English Society were present. Yet somehow the ceremony seemed to lack the courtly importance and dignity of other Royal marriages, and the absence of the German Crown Prince and Princess, who were not even represented by any of their family, was only too noticeable. The German Emperor, who had been deeply incensed by the de Kalomine scandal, had not yet been persuaded to look kindly on the Court of Darmstadt; but the German Empress, on the other hand, testified her interest in the bride by sending Princess Beatrice a Dresden china clock and bracket as a wedding gift. After the marriage the Queen conferred the Order of the Garter on Prince Henry of Battenberg—adding one more to the already crowded companionship of Royal Knights. This distinction had never before been given to a foreign personage not a monarch *de facto*, or born in the Royal caste, and there can be no doubt that the other Royal Knights of the family would have considered the Order of the Bath a more suitable distinction for Prince Henry.* It was also intimated in the *Gazette* (July 24th, 1885) that Prince Henry would forthwith assume the title of Royal Highness—a rank, however, which could not be conceded to him outside of English territory.†

* The German Crown Prince and the Grand Duke of Hesse received the Order on marrying daughters of the Queen. But the Marquis of Lorne got the Order of the Thistle in similar circumstances.

† Continental diplomatists and publicists held that the notification in the *Gazette* was absolutely illegal, because it was a violation of an international agreement as to the assumption of this title arrived at by the Great Powers at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818. This agreement, which was signed by the Duke of Wellington as the representative of England, is embodied in the "Protocol Séparé Séance du 11 Oct., 1818, entre les cinq Puissances," and it arose out of their refusal to permit the Elector of Hesse to assume the title of king. The Powers declared that the title Royal Highness used by the sons of kings, might be also used by grand dukes and their heirs-presumptive, but by no one of lower rank in sovereign circles. Prince Henry was neither a grand duke nor an heir-presumptive to a grand duke.

It is remarkable that no family objections were raised to the recognition of Lady Augusta Lennox, who had long been married to Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, as the Princess Edward. Till 1885 she had only been received in Court as the Countess Dornburg, a title which had been "created" for her on her marriage, in spite of her high social position as daughter of the Duke of Richmond, to satisfy the exigencies of German etiquette.

After the close of the Parliamentary Session, the Court went from Osborne to Balmoral (August 25th), where the Princess Beatrice and her husband received a warm Highland reception. Life at Balmoral was somewhat dull, but in her walks and drives the Queen was now accompanied by Prince Henry of Battenberg as well as the Princess Beatrice. When not in attendance on the Queen, the Prince occasionally found amusement in deerstalking in the Balloch Pine and Abergeldie grounds. Her Majesty remained at Balmoral till the 18th of November, when she returned to Windsor to hold a Council, at which she sanctioned the dissolution of Parliament. On the 9th of December, accompanied by the Princess Beatrice and Prince Henry of Battenberg, the Queen presented medals for service in the Soudan to a number of Guardsmen at Windsor. On the 18th of December she left Windsor for Osborne. It was now plainly intimated to her Majesty that the royal rank and precedence conferred on Prince Henry of Battenberg would not be recognised at Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, the Courts at which capitals insisted on treating the marriage of the Princess Beatrice as a purely "morganatic" one. The difficulties which arose out of this incident were further aggravated when the Queen permitted the Count and Countess Gleichen to assume the rank and title of Prince and Princess Victor of Hohenlohe-Langenberg.*

In the spring of 1885 a rebellion of French half-breeds in the Canadian North-West, led by Riel, one of the pardoned insurgents who had been engaged in the Red River rising, was suppressed with great skill and ability by the Canadian Militia, under General Sir Frederick Middleton. Riel was tried and hanged for treason.

The misrule of Theebaw, the half-crazy King of Burmah, together with his intrigues with the French—then busy with the conquest of Tonquin—led to disputes between the Indian and Burmese Governments. The result was a war which ended in the deposition of King Theebaw and the annexation of Upper Burmah to the Indian Empire.

* When Prince Victor married the sister of the Marquis of Hertford, she was created Countess Gleichen, a title which the Prince also assumed, the marriage being on the Continent regarded as "morganatic." It was held that the Queen's order raising the lady to her husband's royal rank was void and illegal outside the English Court, like the similar order with reference to the Countess Dornburg.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE BATTLE OF THE UNION.

Mr. Chamberlain's Doctrine of "Ransom"—The Midlothian Programme—Lord Randolph Churchill's Appeal to the Whigs—Bidding for the Parnellite Vote—Resignation of Lord Carnarvon—The General Election—"Three Acres and a Cow"—Defeat of Lord Salisbury—The Liberal Cabinet—Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Scheme—Ulster threatens Civil War—Secession of the Liberal "Unionists"—Defeat of Mr. Gladstone—Lord Salisbury again in Office—Mr. Parnell's Relief Bill Rejected—The "Plan of Campaign"—Resignation of Lord Randolph Churchill—Mr. Goschen becomes Chancellor of the Exchequer—Riots in the West End of London—The Indian and Colonial Exhibition—The Imperial Institute—The Queen's Visit to Liverpool—The Holloway College for Women—A Busy Season for her Majesty—The International Exhibition at Edinburgh—The Prince and Princess Komatsu of Japan.

THE closing months of 1885 were devoted to preparations for the General Election. Mr. Chamberlain's speeches developed his doctrine of "ransom" with a vigour of language and directness of purpose that terrified the Whigs. At Bradford he demanded Disestablishment, and thus concentrated the malice of the Church on the whole Liberal Party. Mr. Gladstone issued a moderate manifesto to his constituents, known as the "Midlothian Programme," in which he attempted to neutralise Mr. Chamberlain's "unauthorised programme." The reform of Parliamentary procedure, and Local Government, the reform of the Registration Laws, and of land transfer were the famous "four points" on which he dwelt. As for Mr. Chamberlain's suggestions for disestablishment, for education, graduated Income Tax, and the abolition of the House of Lords, he put them aside, refusing to peer "into the dim and distant courses of the future." The Tory leaders professed themselves equally willing to reform Procedure, the Land Laws, and Local Government, and attacked the Whigs for their alliance with the Birmingham School of Radicals. Lord Randolph Churchill, in fact, appealed to the Whigs to coalesce with the Tories in resisting what Lord Hartington called "measures of a Socialistic tendency." Both parties in the State made high bids for the Irish Vote. Mr. Chamberlain offered to Mr. Parnell a scheme of Home Rule, under which Ireland would be governed by Four Provincial Parliaments—in fact, he furbished up an old idea which the venerable Earl Russell had shed from his mind when it was in the last stage of decay. The Tories, through Lord Carnarvon, offered Mr. Parnell some form of Home Rule under which Ireland was to have a Legislature of her own with the right to levy Protective Duties on imported goods.* Though Lord

* This intrigue was initiated by Mr. Justin McCarthy, who had long enjoyed Lord Carnarvon's personal friendship. Before finally selling the Irish vote, Mr. Parnell had a personal interview with Lord Carnarvon, at which the bargain was struck. Lord Carnarvon has denied various accounts of this interview, but he has never denied that as Viceroy of Ireland, he told Mr. Parnell that Irish



OPENING OF PARLIAMENT IN 1886: THE ROYAL PROCESSION IN WESTMINSTER PALACE ON THE WAY,
TO THE HOUSE OF PEERS

Salisbury's Newport address was ambiguous in its references to Home Rule, it rather gave colour to the prevalent belief that if the Tories could win a majority by the Irish vote, they would hold power by giving Ireland Home Rule. At the same time, it is but right to say that Lord Salisbury and his colleagues never appear to have committed the Cabinet to Lord Carnarvon's bargain with Mr. Parnell. Indeed, they even seem to have told Lord Carnarvon that, personally, they disapproved of his Irish policy. They, however, still retained his services as a Cabinet Minister, though Lord Salisbury had discovered that he was a Home Ruler.

Mr. Parnell issued a manifesto fiercely attacking the Liberal Party, and ordering all Irishmen to give their votes to the Government. The Liberals, on the other hand, appealed to the people for such a majority as would enable Mr. Gladstone to defy Mr. Parnell. The elections began on the 24th of November. They showed that in the boroughs the Liberal Party was shattered, though it had, through Mr. Chamberlain's doctrine of ransom, won in the counties all along the line.* The new House of Commons it was found would contain 333 Liberals, 251 Tories, and 86 Parnellites, not one Liberal having been returned by Ireland. In the circumstances it was hopeless for the Ministry to attempt a settlement of the Irish Question on Lord Carnarvon's lines.† They had, even with the Irish vote, only a majority of four. But then, if they dared to make concessions to Mr. Parnell, this majority of four would inevitably be converted, by the secession of the Ulster Tories, into a minority of eight. The Liberal Leaders, on the other hand, were in an equally difficult predicament. They, too, could not hope to govern the country save by the Irish vote. It was quite possible, moreover, for the Government, by conceding Home Rule, to detach from the Liberals a sufficient number of Radicals to more than counterbalance the Ulster secession. In these circumstances Mr. Gladstone towards the end of the year let it be known indirectly that he was in favour of giving Ireland Home Rule.

Ere Parliament opened on the 12th of January, 1886, the resignation of Lord Carnarvon indicated that Ministers had dissolved the connection between the Tory Party and the Parnellites. The House of Commons elected Mr. Peel as its Speaker, and when Mr. Bradlaugh appeared he took the Oath in the ordinary manner. The Queen's Speech was read on the 21st of January by her Majesty in person, but its references to Ireland were vague,

industries must be stimulated, and that he would give the new Irish Government power to levy Protective Duties. As taxation and representation go together, this concession implies that the Irish Government was to be vested with fiscal powers, which could only be exercised in co-operation with and under responsibility to an Irish Parliament.

* The doctrine of ransom in the counties took the form of a vague and ambiguous pledge to give every labourer who wanted an allotment "three acres and a cow," by purchase-money advanced from the rates.

† For a definite statement of Lord Carnarvon's policy as Mr. Parnell understood it, see Mr. Parnell's speech on the Home Rule Bill. *Times*, June 8, 1886.

though they foreshadowed the introduction of a Coercion Bill. In the preliminary skirmishes Mr. Gladstone threw out overtures to the Irish Party which Mr. Parnell and Mr. Sexton hailed with effusive delight. The Government, on the other hand, announced the introduction of a Coercion Bill, which would also suppress the National League. The Liberals and Parnellites now promptly united to support an Amendment moved by Mr. Jesse Collings, which censured the Ministry for refusing to bring in a Labourers' Allotments Bill, and the Coalition defeated the Government by a vote of 329 to 258. The opposition of Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen to the Amendment showed that the Whigs at least were afraid of Mr. Gladstone's return to office, after his vague and ambiguous promises of concessions to the Home Rulers. Lord Salisbury resigned, and when Mr. Gladstone formed his Ministry it was seen that many of his old colleagues, such as Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Forster, Lord Selborne, Lord Northbrook, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Cowper, and Sir Henry James, had refused to join him. The appointment of Lord Aberdeen as Irish Viceroy was not very significant. But that Mr. John Morley, the most pronounced of all the English advocates of Home Rule, should have been appointed as Chief Secretary for Ireland meant much. Lord Rosebery was made Foreign Secretary, and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman Secretary at War. Both were known to be Home Rulers. Lord Spencer, disgusted at his betrayal by the Tory Party, had also become a convert to Home Rule principles, and was appointed President of the Council. Oddly enough Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan, who were both pledged against Home Rule, had joined the Ministry. But they had been induced to do so on the assurance that, in the meantime, the policy of the Cabinet would be merely to examine and inquire into the Home Rule question.

During the spring nothing was done in the matter. The House of Commons refused to press Ministers upon their Irish policy, evidently deeming it reasonable that Mr. Gladstone should have time to work it out. Lord Hartington and the Whigs, however, adopted an attitude of independence which showed that Mr. Gladstone had failed to heal the divisions in the Liberal Party. Hence, when it was announced that Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan, on being informed of Mr. Gladstone's proposals for the reform of the Irish Government, had resigned office, it was evident that the fate of the Ministry was sealed.

On the 8th of April Mr. Gladstone expounded the scheme, which set up in Ireland an Executive Government, responsible to an Irish Legislature, capable of dealing with all matters save the Crown, the Army and Navy, Foreign and Colonial Policy, Trade, Navigation, Currency, Imperial taxation, and the endowment of churches. The Lord-Lieutenant, on the advice of his Ministers, was to have a power of veto. The Irish Legislative Body was to consist of two Orders, voting apart, the first to comprise representative peers

and members elected under a £25 property qualification, and the second members chosen by household suffrage. In the event of collision between the two Orders, the measure in dispute was to be held in suspense for three years, or until a dissolution. The Irish contribution to the Imperial Revenue was fixed at £3,242,000. On the 13th of April Mr. Gladstone introduced a Land Bill as a complementary measure to his Home Rule Bill. He proposed to give every Irish landlord the option of selling his land to an authority appointed by the Irish Government, who would sell it to the tenants, the purchase-money being advanced through the Imperial Exchequer by an issue of Consols. These advances the tenant was to repay in instalments spread over forty-nine years, and twenty years' purchase was taken as the basis of the price. The amount to be advanced at first under the Bill was to be £50,000,000, but in the original draft it was nearly £300,000,000. The repayments were to be secured on the Irish Revenue, and paid to a British Receiver-General in Ireland. The opponents of the whole scheme contended that it gave no effective guarantee for Imperial unity, that it put the loyal minority entirely in the power of the disloyal majority in Ireland, that it multiplied the risks of collision between Ireland and the Imperial Government, that, in point of fact, it was virtually a Bill to repeal the Union. Mr. Gladstone's chief argument in favour of the scheme was that the English democracy could no longer be trusted to hold Ireland down by repressive legislation, and that Home Rule was the only alternative to Coercion. Moreover, as Coercion bred Irish disloyalty, it weakened the Imperial power of England in the world. Though the Orangemen of Ulster plainly declared that they would plunge into civil war rather than submit to a Home Rule Government in Ireland, Mr. Parnell accepted the Bill in principle as an adequate concession of the Nationalist claims.

The weak points in the scheme were soon detected. One of these was the exclusion of the Irish Members from the House of Commons—the only proposal of Mr. Gladstone's which had been hailed with applause from both sides of the House when he expounded his Bill. The absence of the Irish Members from the House of Commons was taken as a visible sign, not only that the Parliamentary Union between Ireland and the United Kingdom was dissolved, but that the control and authority of the Imperial Parliament over Ireland was impaired. The Purchase scheme alarmed the taxpayers, who objected to pledge the credit of England in order to buy the Irish landlords out of Ireland. It is now known that, if Mr. Gladstone had made concessions by promising to reconsider the question of retaining the Irish Members at Westminster, and to remodel the Bill accordingly, the Second Reading would have been carried. A meeting of Liberals was indeed held at the Foreign Office to hear what concessions Mr. Gladstone would make. Subsequently, in explaining his speech at this meeting to the House of Commons, his phraseology seemed to the wavering Liberals so illusory that they refused to support him.

Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain accordingly organised their followers (about fifty in number) into a separate Parliamentary party, describing themselves as Liberal Unionists, and at their first meeting a letter was read from Mr. Bright casting in his lot with theirs. They bound themselves to vote against the Second Reading of Mr. Gladstone's Bills.



LORD TENNYSON.

(From a Photograph by H. H. H. Cameron, Mortimer Street, W.)

On the 7th of June the Home Rule Bill was rejected by a majority of 341 against 311. Mr. Gladstone obtained from the Queen permission to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country. The Ministerial candidates, at the General Election which followed, relied mainly upon the contention that Home Rule was the only alternative to Coercion, and the Tories and Liberal Unionists, on the other hand, pledged themselves to govern Ireland without Coercion, and still retain the Parliamentary Union unbroken. The

Liberal Unionists and the Tories formed an alliance for electoral purposes similar to that which Lord Malmesbury, in 1857, had vainly attempted to cement between the Peelites and the Derbyites. The Irish vote failed to balance the votes of the Liberal Unionists, and when the new House of Commons was elected it was found to consist of 316 Tories, 76 Liberal Unionists, 192 Liberal Home Rulers, and 86 Parnellites. Mr. Gladstone resigned, and Lord Salisbury formed a Ministry, having unsuccessfully endeavoured to persuade Lord Hartington and the Liberal Unionist leaders to join a Coalition Cabinet. The services rendered by Lord Randolph Churchill in rousing the fanaticism of Ulster were rewarded with the Chancellorship of the Exchequer and the leadership of the House of Commons. Lord Idlesleigh became Foreign Secretary; Mr. Matthews, Q.C., who had carried one of the seats in Birmingham, became Home Secretary; Sir M. Hicks-Beach was deposed from the leadership of the Commons, and relegated to his old post of Chief Secretary for Ireland. As soon as Lord Salisbury assumed office he found that a fresh agrarian crisis was menacing Ireland. The Irish farmers were demanding a revision even of the fixed judicial rents in terms of the recent fall in prices. There seemed no end to the difficulty, and, in a pessimist mood, Lord Salisbury, at the opening of the Session, declared that he was now in favour of getting rid of the dual-ownership of land in Ireland. In fact, he accepted the principle of a great Land-Purchase scheme, but he also broached the theory that, if judicial rents were cut down, the State should recoup the landlords for their losses.

After the debates on the Address were over Mr. Parnell brought in a Relief Bill, allowing tenants who deposited half their rent in Court to claim from the Court a revision of their rents. The Bill was rejected by the combined vote of the Tories and Liberal Unionists. Mr. Dillon now advised the Irish tenants to refuse to pay more rent than they could afford. His suggestion was that they should combine on each estate, offer the landlord a fair rent, and if this was refused, deposit it in the hands of trustees, and use it to resist eviction. This was known as "The Plan of Campaign" against rack-renters, and it was widely adopted all over Ireland. Sir M. Hicks-Beach and Sir Redvers Buller, who had been sent to organise the police in Kerry, apparently discovered that there was much truth in Mr. Parnell's contention, that the fall in prices had made judicial rents impossible. The Irish Government, at all events, now put pressure on rack-renting landlords, in order to prevent them from demanding full rents and from evicting if they were not paid. But Ministers declined to legislate for Ireland till the following Session, though they appointed Commissions to amass materials for legislation. Parliament was prorogued on the 25th of September.

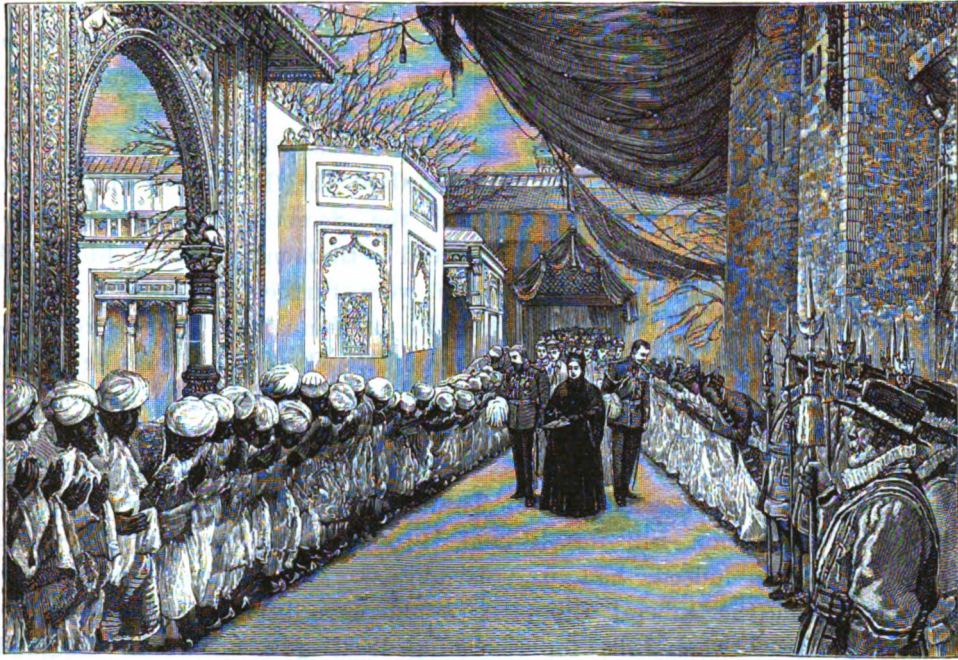
During the autumn the schism between the Liberal Unionists and the Liberals widened. At Leeds the Liberals pledged themselves anew to adhere to Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy. On the 7th of December Lord

Hartington's followers held a Conference in London, at which further arrangements were made for completing their organisation as a distinct Party pledged to maintain the Union. As the year closed various rumours of dissensions in the Cabinet were promulgated. There had been a good deal of agitation against the wasteful extravagance and inefficiency of the spending departments of the State, and Lord Randolph Churchill was called on by public opinion to redeem the pledges in favour of economy which he gave at Blackpool on the 24th of January, 1884. In attempting to do this he found himself thwarted by his colleagues, and, to the astonishment of his Party, he resigned office. He was succeeded by Mr. Goschen, who entered the Cabinet, with Lord Hartington's sanction, as a Liberal Unionist, thereby illustrating afresh the closeness of the coalition between the Dissident Liberals and the Tories.

During the year there was some agitation raised as to the sad condition of the unemployed in London. The Tories had taken advantage of this to revive the Protectionist Movement under pretence of advocating Fair Trade at meetings held in Trafalgar Square. On the 8th of February, however, the Socialists followed suit, and organised a demonstration in favour of their panacea for poverty. The police arrangements were somewhat defective. A crowd of roughs and thieves who hovered round the fringe of the mob evaded the constabulary, rushed along Pall Mall and Piccadilly smashing the windows of the clubs and sacking the principal jewellers' shops. The agitation proceeded, and a counter demonstration to the Lord Mayor's Show on the 9th of November was even planned. It was, however, prohibited by the police.

As the celebration of the Queen's Jubilee was now within measurable distance, already there were great manifestations of popular feeling in favour of Imperial Unity. In this year the Imperial Federation League was founded for the purpose of drawing closer the bonds between the Colonies and the Mother Country. The Indian and Colonial Exhibition at South Kensington was organised by the Prince of Wales on a scale of sumptuous splendour which attracted visitors to London from all parts of the globe. It was opened with great pomp and ceremony by the Queen in person on the 4th of May, in the presence of the more prominent members of the Royal Family, the great dignitaries in Church and State, and the representatives of India and the Colonies. This amazing display of the vast resources of the Empire soon degenerated into an evening lounge. But it brought together a vast number of able men from every quarter of the world interested in the problem of Imperial Federation, and the Prince of Wales dexterously seized the opportunity thus created for him to establish a centre and rallying-point for British Imperialism. He started the movement that ended in the foundation of the Imperial Institute. The Queen visited the Exhibition several times, paying special attention to the Indian Court, and conversing graciously with the Indian workmen.

On the 11th of May her Majesty visited Liverpool to open the International Exhibition in that city. On the 13th she visited the Seamen's Orphanage, and afterwards sailed down the Mersey, contrasting the scene with that on which she gazed when, in 1851, she made a similar excursion with the Prince Consort. Then the Queen was the guest of Lord Sefton; on this occasion she was the guest of the city of Liverpool, the Municipality having fitted up Newsham House for her accommodation. On the 15th she returned to Windsor, the effect of her visit having been to vastly increase her popularity in the North of England. On the 26th of May the Court proceeded to Balmoral. During the absence of the Court in Scotland the Prince and Princess of Wales stimulated the gaiety of the London Season. It was remarkable for the prevalence of Sunday re-unions, the patronage of which by the Heir Apparent soon made them fashionable even among serious Church-going people. On the 30th of June the Queen opened the Royal Holloway College for Women at Egham, an institution for the higher education of women founded by the vendor of the famous ointment and pills. As women had been among the chief buyers both of the ointment and the pills, there was a touch of irony in Mr. Holloway's bequest that recalled the legacy left by Swift to found a madhouse for the use of the Irish people. On the 2nd of July her Majesty reviewed 10,000 troops at Aldershot, and on the 5th entertained a large number of the Indian and Colonial visitors at Windsor. She attended the brilliant garden-party given by the Prince and Princess of Wales at Marlborough House on the 10th; and on the 20th, accompanied by the Princess Beatrice and Prince Henry of Battenberg, left Windsor for Osborne, where she was soon absorbed in the business attendant on a change of Ministry. On the 17th of August her Majesty left Osborne for Edinburgh, where, on the 18th, she visited the International Exhibition. On the 20th the Queen went to Balmoral, where she remained till the 4th of November. On the 5th she visited the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch at Dalkeith Palace, and inspected the Hospital for Incurables at Edinburgh, returning to Windsor on the 6th. On the 22nd her Majesty received at Windsor, with much ceremony, their Imperial Highnesses the Prince and Princess Komatsu of Japan, and on the 29th the Court removed to Osborne.



OPENING OF THE INDIAN AND COLONIAL EXHIBITION : THE QUEEN'S TOUR.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE JUBILEE.

The Fiftieth Year of the Queen's Reign—Mr. W. H. Smith Leader of the Commons—Sudden Death of Lord Iddesleigh—Opening of Parliament—The Queen's Speech—The Debate on the Address—New Rules for Procedure—Closure Proposed by the Tories—Irish Landlords and Evictions—"Pressure Within the Law"—Prosecution of Mr. Dillon—The Round Table Conference—"Parnellism and Crime"—Resignation of Sir M. Hicks-Beach—Appointment of Mr. Balfour—The Coercion Bill—Resolute Government for Twenty Years—Scenes in the House—Irish Land Bill—The Bankruptcy Clauses—The National League Proclaimed—The Allotments Act—The Margarine Act—Hamburg Spirit—Mr. Goschen's Budget—The Jubilee in India—The Modes of Celebration in England—Congratulatory Addresses—The Queen's Visit to Birmingham—The Laureate's Jubilee Ode—The Queen at Cannes and Aix—Her Visit to the Grande Chartreuse—Colonial Addresses—Opening of the People's Palace—Jubilee Day—The Scene in the Streets—Preceding Jubilees—The Royal Procession—The German Crown Prince—The Decorations and the Onlookers—The Spectacle in Westminster Abbey—The Procession—The Ceremony—The Illuminations—Royal Banquet in Buckingham Palace—The Shower of Honours—Jubilee Observances in the British Empire and the United States—The Children's Celebration in Hyde Park—The Queen's Garden Party—Her Majesty's Letter to her People—The Imperial Institute—The Victorian Age.

It was on the 20th of June, 1886, that the Queen entered on the fiftieth year of her reign. But her Majesty naturally refused to assume that she would live to the end of it, and she accordingly determined that the actual celebration of her Jubilee should be put off till the 20th of June, 1887. Thus it came to pass that 1887 will be known as the Jubilee Year of the Victorian period. It was a year that opened badly for the Government. The sudden resignation of Lord Randolph Churchill at the close of 1886

rendered a reconstruction of the Cabinet necessary. Efforts were made in vain to induce some of the Whig Peers to join the Ministry, but, as we have seen, at last Mr. Gosehen was persuaded to accept the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. The leadership of the Commons was given to Mr. W. H. Smith, who was made First Lord of the Treasury; whilst Lord Salisbury, who held that office, assumed the Secretaryship of State for Foreign Affairs. This involved the enforced retirement of Lord Iddesleigh in somewhat painful circumstances, which were further heightened by his sudden death from heart-disease on the 13th of January. The discreditable intrigue, which began by deposing him from the Leadership of the House of Commons, thus ended tragically. Some of the leaders of the Liberal and Liberal Unionist Parties were also endeavouring to discover some means of reconciling these now hostile factions. Parliament was opened on the 27th of January, and the Speech from the Throne plainly foreshadowed the introduction of a Coercion Bill for Ireland. It hinted at a Land Bill as a possible measure; indeed, had it not done so the alliance between the Government and the Liberal Unionists would have been weakened. Other measures promised were Bills for reforming local government in England, Scotland, and, "should circumstances render it possible," in Ireland, for cheapening private Bill legislation, and land transfer. An Allotments Bill, a Tithe Bill, a Railway Rates and Merchandise Marks Bill, were also in the programme, which was large and varied. But the debate on the Address showed that no opposed Bills were likely to pass unless the House of Commons reformed its procedure, and to this task the Tory Party had most grudgingly to apply itself. Six sittings were spent on the Address as a general subject of discussion. After that amendments relating to the evacuation of Egypt and the Irish policy announced in the Queen's Speech were debated. Three Scottish amendments were next brought forward, so that when, at the sixteenth sitting of the House, Mr. Dillon began to denounce jury-packing in Dublin, the Speaker ruled him out of order. A motion for an adjournment was defeated, and a motion to consider the condition of unemployed labourers in England was declared by the Speaker to have been sufficiently discussed after two speeches were delivered. The Closure, so dreaded by the Tories in former Parliaments, was then applied by Mr. Smith, a vote taken, and the Address disposed of on the 17th of February.

The Government lost no time in preparing to meet the obstruction with which their Coercion Bill was already threatened. They circulated their new rules for debates, and on the 21st of February Mr. W. H. Smith moved the adoption of the Closure, vesting the initiative in applying it not in the Speaker, which was the old rule, but in a bare majority of the House, provided always that at least 200 Members voted for it. The Liberal Leaders supported the proposal on principle, but complained that the new rule was

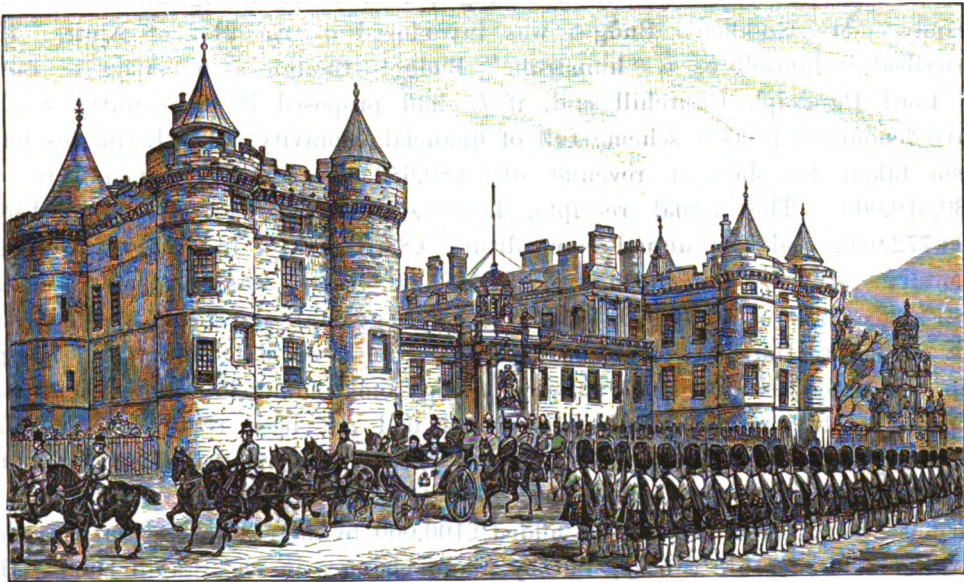
still too weak, and that it ought to be applied unconditionally. Their view was confirmed in the following year, when Mr. W. H. Smith was forced to reduce the necessary quorum of 200 to 100. Meanwhile events had been moving apace in Ireland. The Chief Secretary, Sir M. Hicks-Beach, finding that the landlords were cruelly straining their rights against the poorer tenantry, urged them to be merciful for the sake of peace. He put upon them what he called "pressure within the law," which practically meant that he hinted to them that he would refuse them the aid of the police in enforcing warrants of the Courts. In other words, he seemed to be exercising the "dispensing power" of the Executive, little more than a year after Mr. Morley had been forced to apologise for even suggesting its exercise. In Ireland evictions were resisted by force, and lurid pictures of the state of the country were drawn by the supporters of the Government. The prosecution of Mr. Dillon and other Irish leaders for a conspiracy to defeat the law, because they advocated the Plan of Campaign, broke down through the disagreement of a Dublin jury. The negotiations between the Liberal Unionists and Liberals at the "Round Table Conference" were said to be producing happy results, and it was soon noised abroad that the Government not only hesitated to demand a Coercion Bill, but that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach was ruling the Irish with a hand so light that they were lapsing into lawlessness. The *Times* published a series of articles designed to prove that Mr. Parnell and the Irish Home Rule Members were secretly in league with the Party of Assassination. Mutterings of mutiny were heard from the Irish Tories, and at this crisis Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, against whom these complaints were directed, suddenly resigned. This step, however, had been rendered necessary in consequence of his failing eyesight rather than from considerations of a political character. To his post Lord Salisbury appointed his nephew, Mr. Arthur James Balfour, pledged to carry out an unflinching policy of Coercion. Sir George Trevelyan, one of the secessionists from the Liberal Party, about this time showed by his public utterances that he had now returned to Mr. Gladstone's party.

On the 23rd of March Mr. Smith moved that the Crimes Bill have precedence over all other orders—and then the battle began. It was not till the 28th that Mr. Balfour was able to move for leave to introduce the measure, in a speech which seemed to show either that his case was exceptionally weak, or that he had not been able to master it.* The Bill gave magistrates power to inquire into crimes where no person was charged. It gave two resident magistrates summary jurisdiction and power to inflict imprisonment up to six months in cases of criminal conspiracy, boycotting, rioting, assaults on the police, and in cases of inciting to these offences. It gave the Lord-Lieutenant power to "proclaim" certain associations as

* The case for the Government, however, was strengthened and made more conclusive as the debate went on.

dangerous, and to subject to the penal clauses of the Bill any one who after that took part in them. The Bill was to be a permanent measure, and not like former Coercion Bills, merely passed for a fixed period of time. Violent scenes occurred during the debates which led up to the Second Reading of the measure on the 28th of April, and the House was in an irritable mood because it had been forced to sacrifice most of its Easter holiday. In spite of the frequent use of the Closure, the first clause, which was scarcely a contentious one, was not carried in Committee till the 17th of May. When the fourth clause was reached, on the 10th of June, Mr. W. H. Smith moved a resolution that if the Bill were not reported at 10 p.m. on the 17th, the remaining clauses should be put to the vote without debate. When that hour struck Sir Charles Russell was speaking on the sixth clause. The Chairman stopped the debate, and put the question, the Irish Members leaving the House in a body. After the division the Liberal Members also left, and the rest of the Bill passed without any more opposition. It was read a third time on the 8th of July, and having been adopted by the Peers, it received the Queen's assent on the 19th of July. The determination of the Government to carry the Coercion Bill was natural. It had been admitted by all clear thinkers that, unless Home Rule were granted to Ireland, she could only be governed under Coercion. Moreover, the introduction of the Bill before the Liberal Unionists and Liberals had been reconciled, forced the former to vote for Coercion, which rendered the gulf between them and the old Liberal Party practically impassable. But ere the Liberal Unionists thus burned their boats, they had induced the Ministry to bring in a conciliatory Irish Land Bill in the House of Lords. The Peers sent it down to the Commons on the 4th of July, when the Second Reading was moved on the 12th. The Bill adopted Mr. Parnell's proposal of the previous year, to admit leaseholders to the benefit of the Land Act of 1881; it gave notice of eviction the same effect as the actual service of an ejectment writ, and gave the Courts power to stay execution, and arrange for payment of rent on easy terms when the tenants were in distress. But when insolvent, it provided for them relief from rent and all other debts by a process of bankruptcy, allowing them, however, to retain their farms. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman attacked the bankruptcy clauses, and demanded a revision of all Irish rents in terms of the fall in prices. To a general revision of rents the Government would on no account assent. But the revolt of one of the Liberal Unionists, Mr. T. W. Russell, compelled them to reconsider the bankruptcy clauses. The Tories argued that it was unjust to ask the landlord to accept a composition for rent from the farmer, when the tradesmen to whom he owed money were not expected to abate their claims. Mr. Parnell and Mr. T. W. Russell contended that no analogy could be drawn between rent and trade debts. The latter had never been disputed by the debtor. The former had been disputed. The tenant who owed money to his grocer or seed-merchant never denied that he had got value for it. But he did deny

that he had got value for the money his landlord claimed as rent, and he was able to prove this in court when the rent was cut down. To insist, as did Mr. Chamberlain, on relief from just and unjust claims being given with equal ease under a process of gentle bankruptcy, at which the State was asked to connive, was to make an attack on property and on credit from which even the leaders of the Paris Commune might have shrunk. It was tantamount to asserting that whenever a man was able to show that one creditor had overcharged him 30 per cent. he was entitled to refuse payment of his just debts to all creditors who had not overcharged him, unless they too took



THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO EDINBURGH (1886): HER MAJESTY LEAVING HOLYROOD PALACE. (See p. 732.)

30 per cent. off their bills. When this was made clear not even Mr. Chamberlain's advocacy sufficed to save the bankruptcy clauses, which were accordingly dropped. But by way of conciliating the landlords the Government insisted on applying the vicious principle to arrears of rent. No relief from unjust arrears was to be given unless they were to be dealt with in bankruptcy alongside just and undisputed trade debts. The result was that when the Bill passed it had a fatal defect in it. It prohibited landlords from evicting for unjust rents, but by this clause it left them free to evict for the arrears which had accumulated under rents which the Courts decided to be unjust. On the 19th of August the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland "proclaimed" the National League as a dangerous association, thereby enabling Mr. A. J. Balfour to suppress any branch of it he thought fit under the Crimes Act.

The Government were now compelled to abandon the bulk of their legislative programme. They, therefore, made no attempt to proceed with any

measures unless they were so democratic that the Liberals could not with decency oppose them. Hence they passed a Coal Mines Regulation Bill, an Allotments Bill—disfigured, however, by the obstacles in procedure which it put in the way of labourers who applied for allotments—and a Bill to prevent substitutes for butter known as “Margarine,” from being sold as butter. The success of this measure led to a demand for a similar Bill to prevent publicans from selling poisonous Hamburg spirit as “Fine Old” Cognac, or Scotch or Irish whisky. Baron de Worms, as representative of the Board of Trade, however, though eager to prohibit shopkeepers from selling a wholesome animal fat as butter, was shy of prohibiting the publicans—whose votes were of some value to the Tory Party—from selling poisonous Hamburg alcohol as old brandy. Mr. Goschen’s Budget was introduced on the 21st of April. He described it himself as a “humdrum” Budget—though as a matter of fact, as Lord Randolph Churchill said, if *he* had proposed it the country would have denounced it as a scheme full of financial depravity. The Estimates had been taken to show a revenue of £89,689,000, and an expenditure of £89,610,000. The actual receipts, however, for the past year had been £90,772,000, and the actual expenditure £88,738,000. In spite of supplementary estimates, amounting to £1,129,000, there was a surplus on the year’s accounts of £776,000. Mr. Goschen’s general statement showed that not only were the taxes yielding less than they ever did, but that, though the rich and the poor had suffered much from commercial and agricultural depression, the profits of the middleman had not been reduced. For the coming year he took the revenue to amount, on the existing lines of taxation, to £91,155,000, and the expenditure he set down at £90,180,000, leaving a surplus of £975,000. To this he added £100,000 by increasing the duty on the transfer of Debenture Stocks, and by minor changes in the Stamp Duty. He then added to it a further sum of £1,704,000, by reducing the charges for the public debt. His surplus was thus inflated to £2,779,000, of which he spent £600,000 in reducing the Tobacco Duty, £1,560,000 in taking a penny off the Income Tax, £280,000 in relieving Local Taxation, £50,000 in aid of Arterial Drainage in Ireland, leaving him a probable surplus of £289,000. To manufacture a surplus by the simple process of ceasing to pay off debt, would certainly not have secured for any other Chancellor of the Exchequer, except Mr. Goschen, the reputation of a financial puritan. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Randolph Churchill demonstrated by unanswerable arguments the unwholesomeness of the financial policy which reduced the payments for the National Debt by cutting down the Income Tax instead of by cutting down departmental expenditure. But Mr. Goschen’s Budget gave everybody a little relief all round, and was accepted quite irrespective of the unsound principles on which it was based. It was, in fact, the first illustration afforded by a Household Suffrage Parliament of the deteriorating influence of democracy on the financial policy of the nation. Parliament was prorogued on the 16th of September.

But public interest in politics faded as the Session grew old. Indeed, from the beginning of the year, the attention of the country was more and more concentrated on the movements of the Queen. It was known that she had nerved herself to emerge from her seclusion, and, in some degree, discard the mourning weeds she had worn so long. The first note of the Jubilee was struck in India, where the great Imperial festival was celebrated on the 16th of February. In presidency towns, inland cities, the capitals of Protected States—even in Mandalay, the capital of the newly-conquered State of Upper Burmah, natives and Europeans vied with each other in acclaiming the event. Announcements of clemency, banquets, plays, the distribution of honours, reviews, illuminations, were not the only methods adopted for celebrating the Jubilee. At Gwalior all arrears of land-tax—amounting to £1,000,000—were remitted. Libraries, colleges, schools, waterworks, hospitals, and dispensaries were opened in honour of the Empress.

“These are Imperial works and worthy thee,”

might well be the comment of the chronicler on such celebrations. All over England preparations were now being made for the great anniversary. In every town meetings were held to decide as to the mode of its observance, and it was curious to notice that everywhere the people desired to localise their rejoicings. Public parks, libraries, town-halls, museums, hospitals—in a word, the foundation of works and institutions of public usefulness in each locality was universally regarded as the best means of honouring the occasion. There was only one Jubilee institution of national grandeur that won public favour—the Imperial Institute. It was originated, as has been noted, by the Prince of Wales, and it was to his energy and skill in appealing for public support that the enormous funds needed for its endowment were now collected. In March the congratulatory addresses began to come in—the Convocation of Canterbury, whose deputation headed by the Primate was received by the Queen at Windsor on the 8th of March, leading the way.

On the 23rd of March Birmingham, in spite of the boisterous weather, was *en fête* to receive her Majesty who arrived to open the new Law Courts in that town, and few who were present will ever forget the mighty shout of enthusiasm that rose up from the swarming throng, when the Queen's procession turned into New Street. Never was Royalty more loyally received than in the Radical capital of the Midlands. The Democratic demonstration at Birmingham gave point to the passage in the Laureate's Jubilee Ode, in which he wrote:—

“Are there thunders moaning in the distance?
Are there spectres moving in the darkness?
Trust the Lord of Light to guide her people,
Till the thunders pass, the spectres vanish,
And the Light is victor, and the darkness
Dawns into the Jubilee of the Ages.”

On the 29th of March her Majesty, accompanied by the Princess Beatrice and Prince Henry of Battenberg, left Windsor for Portsmouth, where they embarked in the Royal yacht for Cannes. On the 5th the Royal party went to Aix-les-Bains, where the Queen occupied her old rooms at the Villa Mottet. Aix was wonderfully free from visitors, and she, therefore, enjoyed almost complete privacy during her stay. By the special sanction of the Pope her Majesty, on the 23rd of April, was allowed to visit the Monastery of the Grande Chartreuse, within whose precincts no woman's foot is permitted to tread. She returned to Windsor on the 29th of April. On the 4th of May she received at the Castle the representatives of the Colonial Governments, who presented her with addresses congratulating her on having witnessed during her reign her Colonial subjects increase from fewer than 2,000,000 to upwards of 9,000,000 souls, her Indian subjects from 96,000,000 to 254,000,000, and her subjects in minor dependencies from 2,000,000 to 7,000,000. On the 9th her Majesty held a court at Buckingham Palace, at which the Maharajah and Maharanee of Kutch Behar and the Maharajah Sir Pertab Sing were presented to her. On the 10th she held a Drawing Room, and afterwards visited a private performance of the feats of the American cow-boys, and Indians, and prairie-hunters at the "Wild West Show" at Earl's Court. On the 14th she opened the People's Palace at Whitechapel, an institution which had grown out of a suggestion in Mr. Walter Besant's romance of "All Sorts and Conditions of Men." The route of procession from Paddington was seven miles long, and it was thronged with people, who gave the Queen as warm a welcome as she had received in Birmingham. On her return her Majesty visited the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House. This was a remarkable event, for her Majesty had not entered the Municipal Palace since she had visited it with her mother two years before her accession. Her Majesty partook of tea and strawberries with her Civic hosts, with whom she spent fully half-an-hour, charming the company with her affability. On the 20th the Court removed to Balmoral, where the Queen found her mountain retreat covered with snow. On the 17th of June the Court returned to Windsor, and on the 18th her Majesty received at the Castle the Maharajah Holkar of Indore, and several Indian princes and deputations from Native States.

The Jubilee itself was celebrated on the 21st of June. The chief streets of London were given over to carpenters and upholsterers, gasmen, and floral decorators, who transformed them beyond all possibility of recognition. On the night of the 20th the town was swarming with people, who had come out in the hope of seeing some of the illuminations tried. As the day dawned crowds began to stream into the metropolis, and in the forenoon every face wore a festal aspect. Fabulous prices had been paid for seats along the line of procession, and those who had secured places were in possession of them early in the morning. Everybody was in good humour, and the police were

exceptionally amiable. At the point of departure—Buckingham Palace—there were no decorations, but the presence of the Guards and of the seamen of the Fleet, who were on duty within the gates, gave animation to the scene. As eleven o'clock—the hour of starting—approached, a strange silence seemed to fall over the noisy, gossiping crowd, as if men and women felt awed and touched at the sight of their aged Sovereign proceeding in State from her Palace to the old Abbey to thank God for permitting her to see the fiftieth year of her reign. Only thrice in the history of England had a Jubilee been celebrated, and in none of these cases was there, as now, ground for unalloyed joy. But for the founding of our Parliamentary System, none would care to recall the distracted reign of Henry III. That of Edward III., glorious as it was at its beginning, was clouded with disaster at its end. That of George III. cost the dynasty, not a Crown, but a continent. On the Jubilee Day of Queen Victoria there was, however, no room for any feeling save that of gratitude and pride that, under her gentle sway, the English people had gained and not lost dominion upon earth. It was not till the head of the procession moved along, and the Royal carriages came in sight, that the pent-up feeling of the dense masses of spectators found utterance in volley after volley of cheers. The Queen's face was tremulous with emotion, and yet there was triumph as well as grateful courtesy in her bearing as she bowed her acknowledgments to her subjects. Beside her were the Princess of Wales and the German Crown Princess, the latter beaming with happiness and delight to find that her countrymen still held her dear. The loyal tumult all along the line literally drowned the blare of bands and trumpets.

The first part of the procession consisted of carriages in which were seated the sumptuously apparelled Indian Princes, in robes of cloth of gold, and with turbans blazing with diamonds and precious gems, who had come from the far East to celebrate the Jubilee of their Empress. Following them came carriages with the Duchess of Teck, the Persian and Siamese guests of the Queen, the Queen of Hawaii, the Kings of Saxony, Belgium, and Greece, and the Austrian Crown Prince. Life Guards followed, and behind them came two mounted lacqueys of the Court. To them succeeded escorts of Hussars and Life Guards, followed by outriders in scarlet. In the first part of the procession were eleven carriages. Of these, five conveyed the Ladies-in-Waiting and the Great Officers of the Household. The sixth conveyed the Princess Victoria of Sleswig-Holstein, Princess Margaret of Prussia, and Prince Alfred of Edinburgh. In the seventh were seated the Princesses Victoria and Sophie of Prussia, Princess Louis of Battenberg, and Princess Irene of Hesse. The eighth conveyed the Princesses Maud, Victoria, and Louise of Wales. In the ninth were the Duchess of Connaught and the Duchess of Albany. In the tenth were the Duchess of Edinburgh, Princess Beatrice, Princess Louise, and Princess Christian. Between the eleventh carriage and the Queen's rode the brilliant procession of

Princes, whose appearance all along the route gave the signal for an outbreak of cheering. In the first rank rode the Queen's grandsons—Prince Albert, Victor and Prince William of Prussia being among the most conspicuous. Following them came the Queen's sons-in-law, the German Crown Prince, Prince Christian, the Grand Duke of Hesse, and Prince Henry of Battenberg. The Marquis of Lorne had started with the procession, but his horse took fright and threw him, about 300 yards from the Palace, whereupon he returned on foot, and, borrowing a charger from an Artillery officer, rode by himself to the Abbey by Birdcage Walk. Of this group, the central figure was that of the German Crown Prince, whose white uniform and plumed silver helmet attracted general admiration. Covered with medals and decorations, most of which he had won by his prowess in battle, he sat his charger as proudly as a mediæval knight, in whom the spirit of old-world German chivalry lived again. His fair, frank face became radiant with delight, when he found that peal after peal of applause greeted him whenever he appeared. Partly owing to his picturesque figure, partly to his manly and heroic character, and partly, no doubt, to honest sympathy with his sufferings under the disease that had suddenly smitten him in the very prime of life, the German Crown Prince received an ovation more effusive even than that bestowed on the ever-popular Prince of Wales, and almost equal to that which greeted the Queen herself. After her sons-in-law came her sons, the Duke of Connaught, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Edinburgh. They, too, were hailed with cheering that was prolonged, and that deepened in volume till her Majesty's carriage passed. A gorgeous cavalcade of Indians brought the splendid procession to a close. Along the route, from the Palace up Constitution Hill, round Hyde Park Corner, on through Piccadilly, down Waterloo Place, past Trafalgar Square, along Whitehall to Westminster Abbey, every house was glowing with many-tinted draperies, with bunting, and with floral decorations, and every balcony and window was crowded with bright and happy faces framed in festoons of roses and laurel.

The scene in the Abbey was impressive. Municipal dignitaries, representatives of the Universities, civic functionaries of the higher order, representatives of the Church and the Law, Lords-Lieutenant and their deputies, High Sheriffs, Officers of the Auxiliary Forces, Diplomats, Ministers of State in Windsor uniforms, Officers of the Household, Foreign Princes and Potentates, and their suites—in fact every invited guest privileged to wear robe or uniform, contributed to the mass of varied colour that, after a time, almost tired the eye. Among the earliest arrivals were the Princess Feodore of Saxe-Meiningen, the Prince Albert, and the Princess Louise of Sleswig-Holstein, the Princess Alice of Hesse, the Princesses Mary, Victoria, and Alexandra of Edinburgh, the Princess Frederica, Baroness Pawel von Rammingen, Baron Pawel von Rammingen, Prince and Princess Edward of Saxe-Weimar, the Prince and Princess of Leiningen, Prince and Princess

Victor of Hohenlohe, with the Countesses Feodora and Victoria Gleichen, and Count Edward Gleichen. Then entered the swarthy Chiefs and Princes of India, among whom the stately and resplendent Holkar was very prominent. The Queen of Hawaii followed, and after her came the Princess Victoria of Teck, and the Princes Adolphus, Francis, and Alexander of Teck, Prince Frederick of Anhalt, Prince Ernest of Saxe-Meiningen, the Duke and Duchess of Teck, the Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenberg, Prince Ludwig of Baden, Prince Philip of Saxe-Coburg, the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, the Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, G.C.B., Prince Ludwig of Bavaria, the Duke of Saxe Coburg-Gotha, the Infante Don Antonio of Spain, the Infanta Donna Eulalia of Spain, the Duc d'Aosta, the Crown Prince of Sweden, the Crown Prince and Princess of Portugal, the Austrian Crown Prince, the Grand Duke and Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, the King of Saxony, the King and Queen of the Belgians, Prince George of Greece, the Crown Prince of Greece, the King of Greece, and the King of Denmark.

Half-an-hour after the appointed time the silver trumpets announced the coming of the Queen's procession, headed by the six minor and the six residentiary canons of Westminster, the Bishop of London, Archbishop of York, the Dean of Westminster,* the Primate, all attired in sumptuous canonicals. They were followed by heralds and other functionaries, who were followed by the members of the Royal procession walking in ranks of three, in the inverse order of precedence always enforced at Royal ceremonials. These were—

The Hereditary Prince of Saxe-Meiningen.	Prince Christian Victor of Sleswig-Holstein.	Prince Louis of Battenberg.
Prince Henry of Prussia.	Prince George of Wales.	The Hereditary Grand Duke of Hesse.
The Grand Duke Serge of Russia.	Prince Albert Victor of Wales.	Prince William of Prussia.
Prince Henry of Battenberg.		The Marquis of Lorne.
Prince Christian of Sleswig-Holstein.	The German Crown Prince.	The Grand Duke of Hesse.
The Duke of Connaught.	The Prince of Wales.	The Duke of Edinburgh.

The Queen, clad in black, but with a bonnet of white Spanish lace glittering with diamonds, and wearing the Orders of the Garter and Star of India, entered, escorted by the Lord Chamberlain, as the organ pealed forth the strains of the march from Handel's "Occasional Oratorio." The solemnity of the spectacle, and the reflection that the Queen-Empress is about to give thanks to God for the crowning triumph of her life, surrounded by the ashes of her predecessors, repress all manifestations of feeling. Reverently does her Majesty take her place on the Royal dais, and, when the Princes and

* As successor of the old abbots, the Dean of Westminster, in the Abbey, takes precedence of all ecclesiastics except the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Princesses in her train arrange themselves, the picture is one of imposing magnificence. Surrounding this shining group of Princes a vast throng, representing the genius, the rank, the wealth, and the chivalry of Britain, filled every nook of the sacred fane in which the Queen celebrated her golden wedding with her people. Towering high above all his peers the Imperial form



THE CROWN PRINCE, AFTERWARDS THE EMPEROR FREDERICK III., OF GERMANY.

(From a Photograph by Reichard and Lindner, Berlin.)

of the German Crown Prince, clad in the white uniform of the Cuirassiers, stood forth as the most majestic figure in that magnificent pageant.

The Thanksgiving Service was brief and simple. The Primate and the Dean of Westminster officiated, and the music was largely selected from the compositions of the Prince Consort. Prayers and responses invoking a blessing on the Queen were intoned. The Prince Consort's *Te Deum* was given. Three special prayers were offered up by the Archbishop of Canterbury,

after which the people's prayer—*Exaudiat te Dominus*—was intoned. The lesson (1 Pet. ii. 6—18) was next read by the Dean, and Dr. Bridge's Jubilee anthem, "Blessed be the Lord thy God, which delighted in thee to set thee on the throne to be king for the Lord thy God," a piece in which the theme of the National Anthem is suggested, was sung. Two simple



THE CROWN PRINCESS, AFTERWARDS THE EMPRESS FREDERICK, OF GERMANY.

(From a Photograph by Reichard and Lindner, Berlin.)

prayers were then offered up, and the ceremony, impressive from the grandeur of the surroundings, and yet thrilling and pathetic by reason of its devotional earnestness and simplicity, ended with the Benediction. Here the Queen, who was several times overcome with emotion, is seen by the spectators to make a movement as if she would rise from her seat on the sacred Coronation Stone of Scone and kneel on the *prie-dieu* in front of her. But she cannot reach so far, and she sinks back into her place, veiling her bowed face

with her hands. She then glances round, and her eyes fill with tears when they rest on her sons and her daughters, and her sons-in-law and their children. The pent-up feeling of that dazzling group of Princes and Princesses can no longer be restrained, and the solemn pageant of State suddenly assumes the aspect of a family festival. The Prince of Wales bends forward and kisses the Queen's hand, but her Majesty raises his face and salutes him affectionately on the cheek. The German Crown Prince pays his homage with chivalrous grace and stately courtesy, and the Grand Duke of Hesse follows him. But the emotion of the moment is too strong for Court ceremonial. The Queen with an impulsive gesture discards the Lord Chamberlain's etiquette, and embraces the Princes and Princesses of her house with honest and unreserved motherly affection. Then she turns to the German Crown Prince with a loving smile, and as he comes forward she kisses him warmly on the cheek. The Grand Duke of Hesse is also saluted, and her Majesty, making a profound bow to her Foreign guests, which they return, quits the scene as the "March of the Priests" in *Athalie* peals forth from the organ. The procession was now formed again, and as the Sovereign returned to Buckingham Palace, it was noticed that the reception which was given to her was even more enthusiastic than that which greeted her on her way to the Abbey. It is, perhaps, only once in a generation that it falls to the lot of a monarch to be hailed in the streets of her capital with such passionate demonstrations of loyalty, and the Queen seemed to be filled with the emotion of the hour.

The rest of the day was kept as a public holiday by the people, and when the shades of night fell on the metropolis its streets were ablaze with light. The art of the illuminator was indeed exhausted in providing novel and varied designs, and gas jets and electric lamps, arranged so as to display every conceivable device expressive of loyalty, turned night into day. Nor were gas and electricity the only agents employed to give splendour to the festivity of the evening. In many places festoons of Chinese lanterns shed their soft and mellow radiance over a scene not unworthy of fairyland. The Queen, who had borne the fatigue and excitement of the Thanksgiving pageant wonderfully well, rested a little while after her return to Buckingham Palace, and there, as a special compliment to the "Senior Service," she came out and held a review of the 500 seamen of the Fleet who had formed her guard of honour at the Palace doors. In the evening she gave a grand banquet, at which sixty-four royal personages were present.

All over England and in the North of Ireland the Jubilee was also celebrated as enthusiastically as in London. The illumination of the city of Edinburgh was said to be even more effective as a brilliant spectacle than that presented by the metropolis. It was only in Cork and Dublin that riotous demonstrations of disloyalty took place. Eight peerages, thirteen baronetcies, and thirty-three knighthoods were conferred in honour of the

event. A Royal amnesty to deserters from the army was also proclaimed. In the Colonies the day was celebrated even more joyously than in England. In foreign lands the British residents also held Jubilee festivals. But in the United States the citizens of the Republic freely joined the British residents, honouring the occasion as if it were one of as much interest to them as to their kith and kin in the old home of their race. The most glowing of all the Jubilee orations was in fact spoken by Mr. Hewitt, Mayor of New York, at the grand Thanksgiving Festival in the Opera House of that city, in the course of which he elicited the passionate enthusiasm of his countrymen by recalling the events of the Civil War. "In the hour of our trial," he exclaimed, "when the flag under whose broad folds I was born was trailing in the dust, it was my fortune to journey to another land on matters of great moment. There I learnt—and I know whereof I speak—that we owed to the Queen of England the non-intervention policy which characterised the Great Powers of the world during our struggle for life and death. I had no purpose to open my lips here, but when you call on me for a testimony to her who was our friend, as she is your Queen, my lips ought to be palsied if I were such a coward as not to give it." A speech so simple and unexpected, received as it was by a spontaneous outburst of enthusiasm from the American citizens in the audience, it need hardly be said produced a profound sensation.

But of all the Jubilee celebrations perhaps the most charming and novel was one which was held in Hyde Park. A few weeks before Jubilee Day it occurred to a kindly and generous gentleman, Mr. Edward Lawson, well known in society as the editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, that there was a fatal omission in the Jubilee programme. Elaborate arrangements had been made to interest all classes in the festival save one—the school-children of London—the boys and girls who must form the men and women of the next generation. Mr. Lawson contended that this defect should be remedied, and the whole town was immediately taken with his idea. Everybody wondered that nobody had put forward the suggestion before, and Mr. Lawson soon found himself honorary treasurer of the Children's Jubilee Fund, to which he himself was one of the most prominent subscribers. Foolish efforts were made to check the movement, and people were warned that it was impossible to entertain 30,000 children in Hyde Park, as Mr. Lawson proposed, without accidents to life and limb. It was, however, in vain that he was denounced as the organiser of a juvenile Juggernaut. The fund was raised with ease, and Mr. Lawson, by skilful organisation, not only got 27,000 children into Hyde Park from all parts of London on the 22nd of June, but sent them back unhurt and happy to their homes. Great ladies of fashion helped him to carry out his arrangements. The little ones were entertained with the sports and shows dear to boys and girls of their age, and the Queen not only came out and greeted them in person, but she

was received with a delight that touched her profoundly. The Princes and Princesses and many of the foreign visitors also witnessed this strange but interesting incident in the Jubilee celebrations.*

On the 24th of June, an evening party was given at Buckingham Palace, which was attended by nearly all the members of the Queen's family, by the foreign sovereigns and Princes then in London, and by a gay throng of distinguished persons. On the 25th of June, a singularly beautiful and touching letter, evidently straight from the Queen's own pen, to the Home Secretary, thanking the nation for their display of loyalty and love, appeared in the *London Gazette*. In this communication it almost seems as if the Queen laid her heart open to the people with a frank and simple confidence rare in the relations that subsist between sovereigns and their subjects. On the 27th her Majesty received at Windsor Castle congratulatory deputations from municipalities, friendly societies, professional associations, and public bodies, representing almost every phase of English life, and thought, and enterprise. Her Garden Party at Buckingham Palace on the following Wednesday was a brilliant reunion at which were present several thousands of guests. On the 2nd of July the Queen from Buckingham Palace reviewed 28,000 Metropolitan Volunteers, and military men were amazed at the skill with which the troops were handled by their officers in the narrow and confined space. It was, however, unfortunate that at this review a slight was cast on the Royal Navy. As is natural in a seafaring nation, the naval forces of the Crown always take precedence of the land forces. Hence, the phrase "Senior Service" used to distinguish the Navy from the Army. But at this review the claim of the Royal Naval Volunteers for precedence over the grotesque and motley body known as the Honourable Artillery Company of London, a force which belongs neither to the Army, the Militia, nor the Volunteers, and which has been permitted even to repudiate the authority of the War Office, was disallowed.

On the 4th of July the crowning event of the Jubilee Festival occurred. On that day the Queen laid the foundation stone of the Imperial Institute in the Albert Hall. Noting the growing Imperialism which the Jubilee evoked, the Prince of Wales determined to fix it by embodying it in some permanent institution. In spite of distracted counsels, inter-Colonial jealousy, and much anti-monarchical opposition, the necessary funds for the purpose were raised, but it was universally admitted that had not the Prince toiled without ceasing the scheme must have collapsed. The Institute was and is meant to stand as an outward and visible sign of the essential unity of the British

* When the children got to the Park Mr. Lawson, like a practical man, put them in good humour by feeding them. They were taken in squads to tents, and each child got a bag with a meat pie, a piece of cake, a bun, and an orange; also a plated medallion portrait of the Queen. A Jubilee mug of Doulton ware was also given to each boy and girl, and during the day lemonade, ginger beer, and milk were to be had for the asking.



THE JUBILEE GARDEN PARTY AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE: THE ROYAL TENT. (See p. 748.)

Empire. It was to be a rallying-point for all Colonial movements, a centre of instruction for those who desire information as to Colonial trade and Colonial resources. In a word, what the Queen "inaugurated" on the 4th of July, at Kensington, as the culminating function of her Jubilee, was a vast and ubiquitous Intelligence Department for her far-stretching dominions. The decoration of the building in which the ceremony took place was chiefly floral, and, indeed, the scene suggested sylvan freshness and beauty. Eleven thousand people were seated in the chief pavilion.

When the Queen entered, preceded by the officers of her household and escorted by her family, she took her seat on the draped dais, and found herself again surrounded by a majestic throng of Kings and Princes. The Prince of Wales read aloud to her Majesty the Address of the organising Committee of the Institute, describing its aims and its prospects. The ode, written for the occasion by Mr. Lewis Morris,* and set to music by Sir Arthur Sullivan, was performed by the Albert Hall Choral Society, aided by a full orchestra. After it was finished, the Queen, assisted by the Prince of Wales and the architect, Mr. Colcutt, laid the first solid block of the building—a piece of granite three tons in weight. Prayers, read by the Primate, followed, after which the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851 presented an Address, congratulating the Queen on the celebration of her Jubilee. Her Majesty then, leaning on the arm of the Prince of Wales, left the hall, while the band struck up "Rule Britannia." The ceremonial differed from that which took place in the Abbey in one respect. The Thanksgiving Service threw the minds of Sovereign and subject back on the past, with all its trials and all its triumphs. But the function in the Royal Albert Hall invited speculation as to the future, and as to the part which the Monarchy must inevitably play in the evolution of the English-speaking race, and the development of their spreading dominion over strange lands and under strange stars. The Institute typified the inheritance of Empire which Englishmen had won during the reign by their toil and their enterprise. As Mr. Morris sang,

"To-day we would make free
The millions of their glorious heritage.
Here, Labour crowds in hopeless misery;
There, is unbounded work and ready wage.
The salt breeze calling, stirs our Northern blood,
Lead we the toilers to their certain goal;
Guide we their feet to where
Is spread, for those who dare,
A happier Britain 'neath an ampler air.

* * * * *

First Lady of our British Race,
'Tis well that with thy peaceful Jubilee
This glorious dream begins to be."

* Lord Tennyson's health did not admit of his officiating as Laureate on this occasion, and Mr. Browning always declared himself unable to produce ceremonial odes to order.

It would be unnatural to close the record of this great function of State without casting a rapid retrospective glance over the distinguished career which it glorified, and over the progress and development of the empire with which the Queen's pure and dutiful life must ever be associated by the loyal and liberty-loving race that under her gentle sway has filled the world with its labours and its enterprise. Many curious reflections are suggested by such a review.

Only seventeen years elapsed between the death of George III. and the accession of the Queen to the sovereignty of a people who had let a virgin continent slip from their grasp, and who were not only exhausted by wars, but whose wars had also exhausted the nations that trafficked with them. England had then but one hope of recovery. It was to bind the forces of Nature to the tarrying chariot-wheels of her Industry. To this end she bent the energies of her highest intellect and genius. For this reason, perhaps, the Victorian period, in which the Queen stands out as the central figure, represents the triumph of the applied Sciences, rather than the apotheosis of the Arts and the Humanities. "The true founders of modern England," says Mr. Spencer Walpole, "are its inventors and engineers." * The mighty power which the British Empire now represents has therefore been built up under the Queen's sceptre, not on the red fields of war, but in the laboratory, the workshop, and the mine. Three facts alone will serve to give the distinctive character of the Victorian age. When the Queen was crowned railway travelling was almost unknown; steam navigation had hardly emerged from the region of experiment; the telegraph was but a toy of the physicists. As we reflect on what the railway, the steamship, and the telegraph have done for England, we can measure the extent and discern the nature of the peaceful revolution in affairs over which the Queen has presided. The national resolve arrived at after the death of George IV. to recover the power and wealth which seemed to have vanished during the last years of his reign, and to recover it by gaining fresh dominion over the forces of Nature, naturally shaped the whole course of public policy. If England was to be resuscitated in the laboratory, the workshop, and the mine, the Sciences, rather than the Arts and Humanities, must be fostered. Capital must be set free. The dignity of Labour must be recognised. Commerce must be unshackled, and perfect freedom, combined with unbroken order, established in the land. The swift decay of privilege that marks the course of political reform during the last half century, the spread of popular education, the wide distribution of political power, the wise revision of the penal laws, the humane legislation designed to better and brighten the lot of Toil, the subjection of authority to opinion, the subjugation of Art to Industry, are but natural results of a struggle on the part of a masculine race to build up its power on the achievements of the inventor, the experimentalist, and the pioneer.

* History of England, Vol. V., p. 537.

Nor can the harvest of its toil be deemed altogether unsatisfactory. The poor we have still with us, but their condition has been vastly improved since the reign of William IV. Save in one respect, that of house rent in large towns, the necessaries of life have been cheapened, while the purchasing capacity of the people has been increased. As for the upper and middle classes, their wealth in comparison with their numbers has been multiplied twofold since the Queen ascended the throne.

So far as the public life of the Queen has affected her House, these pages prove that it has done so in one way. At her Accession the Crown had almost entirely lost its authority as a governing order in the State. At her Jubilee the Crown held a position of authority higher than any to which it has attained since the time of William of Orange. According to Mr. Gladstone, the success of the Queen's dynastic policy has been due to her determination to acquire influence rather than power for the Monarchy. *Imperium facile iis artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est.* But if the Roman historian be right in holding that power can be most surely kept by the means whereby it has been acquired, he who runs may read the lesson of the Queen's life. Its record, showing how her influence has been won, must also show those who will some day take her place, how alone it can be retained and strengthened.

CHAPTER XXXI.

UNIONISM IN EXCELSIS.

A Year of Volubility—Who Broke up the Round Table Conference—Highland Crofters and their Grievances—"Remember Mitchelstown"—Bloody Sunday—Italy completes the Triple Alliance—Unionists and Tories in Agreement—Defences of Greater Britain—Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Balfour—The Right of Open-Air Meeting—Reform of the House of Lords—Mr. Goschen's National Debt Conversion Scheme—The Budget of 1888—The Local Government Bill—The Charges and Allegations Bill—Mr. Gladstone at Birmingham—Drawing Lord Sackville—Jack the Ripper—Deaths of the Emperors William I. and Frederick III.—The Queen's visits to Glasgow, Paisley, and Dundee.

AFTER the Jubilee, politics in England degenerated into a free faction fight. Only it was a rhetorical contest conducted on the platform, and it led to no effusion of blood. The Liberal Unionists seemed to be nervously anxious to explain their attitude towards other parties in the State, and Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Goschen, and Lord Derby never missed a chance of defending their position or of attacking that of Mr. Gladstone's followers. Mr. Gladstone and his lieutenants were naturally compelled to meet speech with speech, and thus the Jubilee year will long be remembered as the one in which Parliament out of session was more active and voluble than it had ever been in the Queen's reign. As for the country, it looked on with suspended judgment, hearing both sides and favouring none. The Ministry had shown that it could quiet mobs by coercion, both in Tipperary and in London, but it had incurred unpopularity in consequence. The Opposition were as feeble as ever, and their failure to come to terms with the Liberal Unionists at the Round Table Conference greatly weakened their reputation for statecraft. Sir George Trevelyan had returned to the Gladstonian party, and he delivered many speeches trying to explain the concessions which Mr. Gladstone had made to him on the Home Rule Question. But the effort to discover them, as Mr. Brodrick said, was "as hopeful as the enterprise of the Yankee who tried to find a black hat on a dark night." Mr. Balfour, also, in a speech at Manchester (December 14), diverted the country by likening Sir George to Mr. Pliable who, when he fell into the Slough of Despond, used bad language to his former companion, and, after struggling in the mud, got out on the wrong side, returning to the City of Destruction, where "he was held greatly in derision amongst all sorts of people." Sir George contended, on the other hand, that Mr. Gladstone had met his views by agreeing to retain Irish members at Westminster, and by consenting to state precisely what powers were to be given to an Irish legislature, instead of specifying those that were reserved for the Imperial Parliament, and then giving the Irish Legislature everything else. At the time it was said that Sir George Trevelyan and Mr. Chamberlain had ceased to be on speaking terms when the Round Table Conference broke up, the

cause alleged being that Mr. Chamberlain had been treacherous to his colleagues. This view was not accepted by those who remembered that considerably more than a fortnight after Mr. Chamberlain was said to have behaved with disloyalty in connection with the Conference, Sir George Trevelyan delivered an eloquent eulogy at Liskeard on the Liberal Unionists, specially selecting for adulation Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Henry James.* Outside Parliament the question—who broke up the Round Table Conference?—was keenly canvassed, and the facts elicited seem to be as follows.

The attempt of the Tories to coalesce with the Whigs produced the Conference. The negotiations between Lord Hartington's friends and the Government made the Radical Unionists nervous. They therefore hinted, through Mr. Chamberlain, that a reunion of the old Liberal party was possible. Mr. Gladstone, in a letter to Sir William Harcourt (January 2nd, 1887), encouraged the project, and so the conference between Mr. Chamberlain and Sir George Trevelyan on the one part, and Mr. Morley and Sir William Harcourt on the other, under Lord Herschell's presidency, was organised. It was agreed to treat the old Home Rule Bill as dead. The Unionists then said they must demand the retention of the Irish membership at Westminster. They also insisted that Parliament should control and revise all Irish legislation passed by a Home Rule Legislature. Separate and special provisions must be made for the government of Ulster. The business of maintaining law and order and controlling the Royal Irish Constabulary must be left to the Imperial Government. Sir George Trevelyan as well as Mr. Chamberlain stated these concessions were necessary, as conditions precedent to any conference at all.

It does not, however, appear that Mr. Morley, Sir William Harcourt, and Lord Herschell ever committed themselves officially to the acceptance of them. All that can be said is that, knowing they formed the basis on which Sir George Trevelyan and Mr. Chamberlain consented to negotiate, the Gladstonian leaders negotiated with them. The concessions demanded were taken down in writing by Mr. Gladstone's representatives for reference to him. He, however, gave no sign as to what he thought about them. The Conference was therefore repeatedly adjourned, but according to Sir George Trevelyan (July 26) the meetings had been very friendly and promised to lead to satisfactory results. No meeting took place after the 14th of January, and on the 6th of February Sir William Harcourt told Sir George Trevelyan that Mr. Chamberlain's recent speeches had given great offence to Mr. Gladstone's friends.† Mr. Chamberlain's friends, on the other hand, contended that the

* "It is difficult to conceive how anybody who has watched the proceedings in Parliament during the last session and this session can doubt that the non-recognition by the Liberal party of Lord Hartington, Sir Henry James, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Courtney is not only a great misfortune to the Liberal party, but a great national danger."—Sir G. Trevelyan at Liskeard, *Times*, March 17th, 1887.

† At Wolverhampton on the 20th April, 1887, Mr. Morley said Mr. Chamberlain "in the private conclave was as reasonable, conciliatory, and friendly as a man could desire" but that his speeches revived irritation.

manner in which he was attacked by Gladstonian critics provoked recrimination, and suggested that the negotiators were not in earnest. All difficulties were, however, smoothed over at a dinner given by Sir William Harcourt at his house in Grafton Street on the 14th of February, at which it seemed the union of the Liberal party was at last within sight. At this time, however, offensive attacks were again made on the Liberal Unionists by the Gladstonian press.* The refusal of Mr. Chamberlain to vote against the Government when it was forced to appropriate the rights of private members, was made the pretext for an irritating assault on him. The action of the Government was approved by public opinion, but it had incidentally prevented Mr. Dillwyn from bringing forward a proposal for disestablishing the Church in Wales. Mr. Chamberlain was therefore rather unfairly branded as a traitor to his principles for supporting the Leader of the House, not only in closing the wearisome debate on the Address, but in refusing to set aside a special day for Mr. Dillwyn's motion. To these attacks Mr. Chamberlain replied in a temperate article which he wrote specially for the *Baptist* newspaper, saying that charges of treachery and threats of expulsion levelled against him would not re-unite the Liberal Party, and that instead of uttering them Liberal critics and speakers would be better employed in supporting Mr. Morley and Sir William Harcourt, then engaged in the work of reconciliation. This article appeared on the 25th of February. On the previous day the proceedings of the Round Table Conference had been submitted to Mr. Gladstone, who had drawn up a memorandum on them. That document was never published, and the historic Round Table Conference came to an end. Mr. Gladstone's representatives said that Mr. Chamberlain's article in the *Baptist*† rendered further friendly relations with them impossible. Mr. Chamberlain's friends said that Mr. Gladstone's memorandum refused the concessions which were the basis of negotiation, and that Mr. Morley and Sir William Harcourt seized the *Baptist* article as an excuse for avoiding the production of that important document, and the embarrassment of confessing that Mr. Gladstone declined to make those concessions to the Liberal Unionists which even Sir George Trevelyan thought necessary. In deciding between these opposing views, two facts universally admitted are of supreme significance. Mr. Gladstone's memorandum has never been published, and yet its publication would at once show whether he was or was not responsible for the failure of the Conference. Rather than let the Conference come to naught, Mr. Chamberlain wrote to Mr. Morley a letter offering to withdraw from public

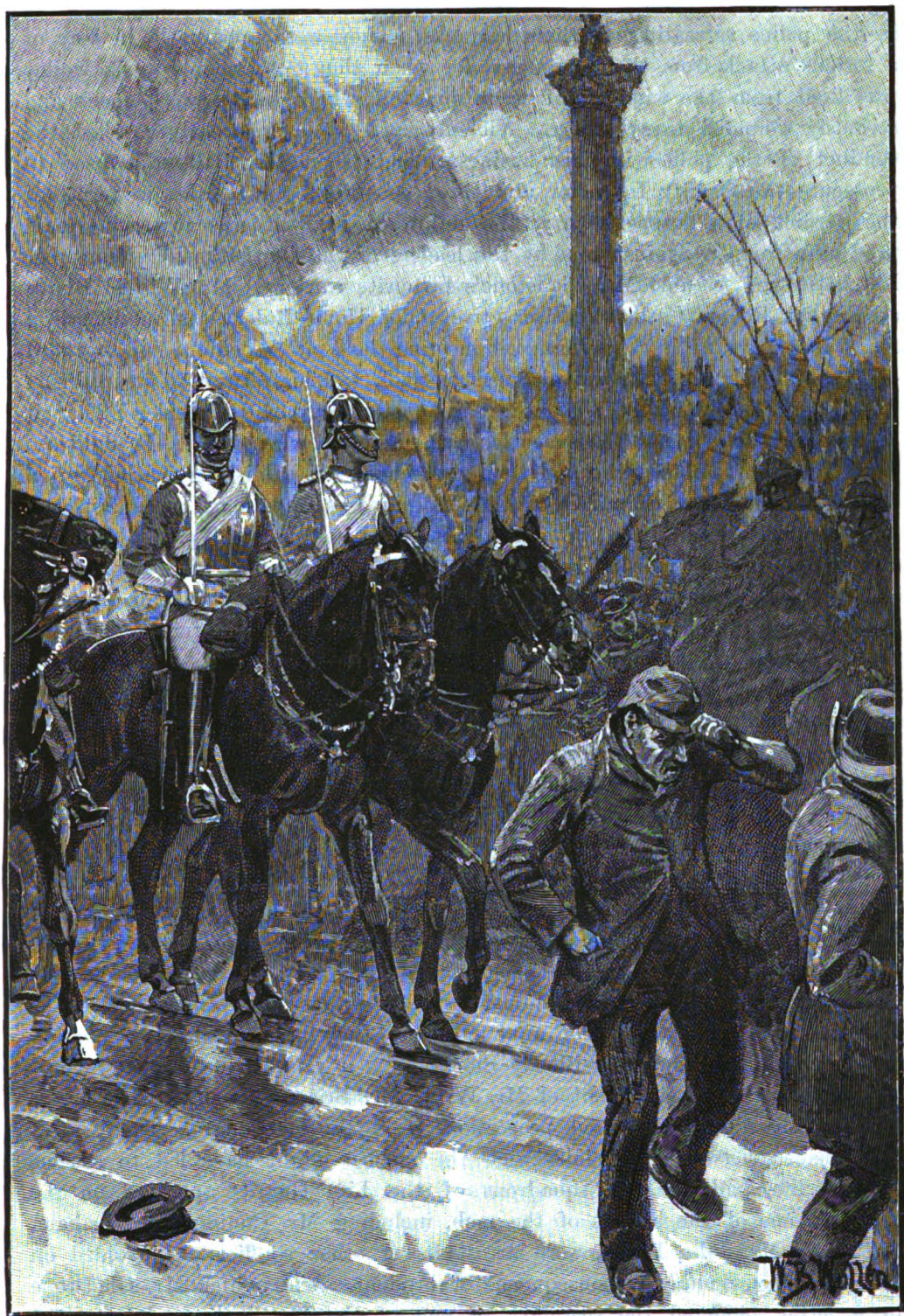
* In the *Contemporary Review* for June, 1887, in an article on "The Liberal Party and Home Rule," the Rev. Dr. R. W. Dale describes these.

† The only words in it that could possibly be disagreeable were these: "The plans and methods for settling the Irish Question which have been rejected by the country must be laid aside, and some alternative must be found which will take account of the objections conscientiously entertained by so many good and consistent Liberals."

life altogether, in order that any difficulties in the way of reunion which might conceivably be traceable to his speeches or actions, might be removed. Mr. Chamberlain afterwards challenged publication of the record showing the agreement which the Gladstonian negotiators had arrived at with the Liberal Unionists, about the Land Question. Mr. Morley, at the beginning of 1889, said he had no objection to publish it, provided Mr. Chamberlain's concessions to the Home Rulers were also set forth at the same time. At Bacup, on the 28th of May, 1889, Mr. Chamberlain met Mr. Morley's challenge by stating that he had been willing to be bound by his well-known scheme of provincial Home Rule for Ireland on the Canadian model, and that "the plan discussed at the Round Table was one based on provincial lines." In spite of this professed willingness of both sides to lay the records of the Conference before the country, they were never published.

The spirit of impatience under oppression, ending in distressing conflicts with authority, was active among the people at the end of the Jubilee year. Highland Crofters, infuriated by neglected grievances, had been tried and imprisoned for rioting early in the year. Meetings in Edinburgh and Glasgow had been held to sympathise with them, and in November a band of hungry cottars raided the Forest of Lochs and killed many of the deer. Her Majesty's gunboat *Seahorse* was sent to overawe the district, and the ringleaders surrendered themselves. Crofters seized pasture lands belonging to the Duke of Sutherland at Clashmore in Assynt, and the *Seahorse* was sent to Lochinver. This discontent was not perceptibly allayed by the reduction of rents varying from twenty to fifty per cent. which the Crofters Commission were effecting. Emigration to British Columbia for the surplus population was now pressed on the Government as a remedy.

In Ireland the Government began to attack the organisers of the Plan of Campaign, when it was applied for strategic purposes to good landlords as well as bad ones. The prosecution of Mr. Dillon was abortive, but on February 16th it elicited incidentally from the Irish Court of Appeal the decision that the Plan was illegal, and in July Mr. Dillon went to Bodyske to stimulate the people to resist evictions. Mr. Balfour retorted by proclaiming Ireland under the repressive clauses of the Crimes Act. The National League was also proclaimed, and Mr. O'Brien was prosecuted for a speech at Mitchelstown (August 9) urging resistance to the police, and encouraging the Campaign against the Kingston Estates. After the proceedings at the Mitchelstown Court House on the 9th of September had ended in the issue of warrants against Messrs. O'Brien and Mandeville, a public meeting of Leaguers, at which some prominent English Liberals were present, was held in the square of the town. When Mr. Dillon was speaking a Government reporter, who had come late, tried with the help of twenty policemen to push his way through the crowd to the platform. This annoyed the people, and there was hustling and scuffling and struggling, which ended



"BLOODY SUNDAY": THE LIFE GUARDS HOLDING TRAFALGAR SQUARE. (See p. 758.)

in the police retreating to their barracks. They were apparently in fear of a serious attack from their pursuers, for when they got under cover a volley was fired from the windows of their quarters, which killed two persons and seriously wounded many others. Violence and panic apparently marked the conduct of the police in this business; and when Mr. Balfour refused to prosecute the County Inspector and three constables for murder in terms of the verdict of a coroner's jury, the untoward incident was for some years used as a weapon against him by the leaders of the Opposition. "Remember Mitchelstown" became Mr. Gladstone's favourite war-cry. Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, an English Roman Catholic Conservative and a Home Ruler, was put in prison for taking part in a "proclaimed" meeting held at Woodford on the 23rd of October. Mr. O'Brien was also sent to gaol, and his refusal to wear prison dress was the subject of some theatrical controversy on both sides. That it soon became tiresome to the executive was suggested when Mr. T. D. Sullivan, Lord Mayor of Dublin, who had been prosecuted for publishing in the *Nation* reports of suppressed branches of the League, was imprisoned as a first-class misdemeanant, which freed him from the obligation to wear prison uniform, and when priests in similar circumstances were treated with equal consideration. A quarrel broke out between the Fenian and Nationalist parties at the meeting of the Gaelic Association at Thurles, the former carrying the election of a chairman by a vote of three to one. The last days of the year, however, brought to Ireland the good news that the Land Commissioners had, under the Land Act, ordered reductions ranging from six to twenty per cent. on all judicial rents fixed by Mr. Gladstone's Act. This cost the landlords about £360,000 a year, and they naturally resented it. As for the Nationalists, it did not conciliate them, for they demanded further abatements.

In November the social question and anxiety as to foreign affairs troubled the nation. Gatherings of unemployed workmen were held day after day in Trafalgar Square, and doubts arose as to their genuineness. The attempts of the authorities to regulate them failed, and Sir Charles Warren, the Chief Commissioner of Police, at last issued an order suppressing them. The Radical and Socialist clubs then announced that they intended to hold a meeting on the 13th of November—"Bloody Sunday," as it came to be called—to protest against the imprisonment of Mr. William O'Brien, whereupon Sir Charles Warren forbade all organised processions to enter the Square. The contest that ensued between the clubs and the police might have led to serious loss of life, had not two squadrons of the Life Guards appeared on the scene. Some of the leaders of the mob, including Mr. Cuninghame Graham, M.P., and Mr. John Burns, were arrested. Another conflict was avoided on the following Sunday in consequence of prudent advice which Mr. Gladstone in a letter tendered the secretary of one of the Bermondsey clubs. The appeal for special constables to enrol in aid of the police did not bring

more than 6,000 into the field, the general feeling being that as the meetings had been latterly got up for political purposes, Mr. Gladstone's warning would probably put a stop to them. Though they certainly ceased after his letter appeared, they furnished the Opposition with an opportunity for engaging the House of Commons in discussions next year as to their legality.

The clouds on the horizon of affairs abroad had risen when it was known that Italy had joined the Austro-German Alliance. This was a League of Peace, and a good guarantee for preserving the political equilibrium in the Mediterranean—a matter of importance to England, which, as a Naval Power, had no possible enemy to fear but France. Had England joined the League of Peace? Or, had she only agreed to defend the Italian coast against an attack from France? Was the concentration of Russian troops in Poland and the south-west provinces of Russia ominous of war in the spring? Such were the questions that were anxiously asked. France was, however, helpless, because at the time her Parliament, enraged at the system of corruption which the aged President of the Republic had tacitly permitted to grow up under the cover of his name, had driven him from office, and a new President, M. Sadi Carnot, reigned in his stead with a new government absorbed in questions of domestic and administrative reform. At the Guildhall Banquet Lord Salisbury on the 9th of November reassured the nation by his statement that he knew nothing that could give cause for uneasiness. But the uneasiness existed, and it accounted for the political apathy of large numbers of Liberals in the country who dreaded Mr. Gladstone's influence on foreign politics, and were too glad to defer serious attacks on the Ministry till the Continent had become quieter.

The weariness of strife which marked the close of the old year was carried into the new, and yet, when 1888 opened, it was clear that party divisions were becoming more accentuated. The Liberal Unionists were drifting farther than ever from their old moorings. As Sir Henry James said at Glasgow on the 9th of January, they might dislike the stringency of the Irish Crimes Act, but they had to admit its necessity; and Mr. Bright's letters in support of the Unionist cause neutralised Gladstonian attacks on the Ministerial policy. The consolidation of the alliance was manifestly a reality when Lord Salisbury at West Derby warned his audience that it would have to be paid for, and appealed to them not to blame the Ministry if its measures were tinged with Liberal convictions. This meant that the Cabinet had decided to introduce a Radical County Government Bill. It was also predicted by cynical observers that, when the session opened, Mr. Gladstone would be seen at his very best—namely, as the genial, sympathetic critic of the Government, anxious to co-operate with it in the furtherance of public business for the public good; for Mr. Parnell, through the *Freeman's Journal*, had indicated that factious obstruction had been a failure. Instead of preventing

the Government from getting their measures discussed and keeping "coercion" to the front in the hope of splitting up the Liberal Unionist and Conservative alliance, it would, he argued, be better to help Ministers to produce their legislation. "They may agree about bullying or dragooning Ireland," said he, "but they will undoubtedly part company over their English legislation." Though the Ministerial scheme of Local Government proved to be much more Radical than any to which Mr. Gladstone had ever committed himself, it did not, as he and Mr. Parnell had expected, shatter the coalition. Nor was the Cabinet weakened at the beginning of the year by Sir M. Hicks-Beach's retirement on account of ill-health, or by the resignation of Lord Charles Beresford, a Junior Lord of the Admiralty, on the ground that the Treasury stinted the Intelligence Department of the Navy.

Jaded by barren controversy over the Irish Question, the people were ready to interest themselves in a fresher subject. This, oddly enough, was furnished by Lord Brassey and the London Chamber of Commerce, before which he laid the result of an inquiry into the defences of "Greater Britain," conducted during a yachting tour round the world. The Duke of Cambridge, who was at the meeting, expressed the popular view of the case when he said it was idle to appeal to the politicians. If pressed to find money for Imperial defence, a politician, he remarked, would "do quite right" if he refused it, for if he did not, he and his party might be turned out of office by their opponents accusing them of financial extravagance. It was for commercial men, then, to insist that Governments of both parties should make adequate provision for the protection of British Colonies and ocean-borne commerce, and strike the mean between partisan pessimism and official optimism.

On the 9th of February Parliament was opened with a colourless Queen's Speech, which touched as lightly as possible on controversial politics. It alluded to provisions for Imperial defence, the reorganisation of Local Government, to Bills dealing with land transfer, technical education, employers' liability, railway rates, and limited liability companies—a Universities Bill, a Police Bill for Scotland, and a measure of land purchase for Ireland, being also promised. The debate on the Address in the House of Lords was tame and brief. In the Commons the discussion opened peacefully. Mr. Gladstone had to accommodate himself to Mr. Parnell's change of tactics, and thus, to the surprise of his English followers, he declared that the Opposition did not desire "to renew the constant agitations and combats of last session." If Home Rule were discussed the debate would not be prolonged, and he promised to help the Government as far as he could in reforming procedure and Local Government. But Mr. Parnell's amendment, declaring that, though the remedial legislation of last session had tended to diminish crime in Ireland, the harsh administration of the Crimes Act had also diminished the respect of the Irish people for the law, stirred strife. His own speech

was cool, logical, and even hopeful, and there was strong sense in his appeal to the Government, "now that there was breathing time in Ireland," to deal with the unredressed grievances of tenants forced to defend themselves by the Plan of Campaign. But the debate soon drifted. Sir George



SIR G. O. TREVELYAN.

(From a Photograph by Messrs. Chancellor and Sons, Dublin.)

Trevelyan maintained that his own Coercion Act had been more effectual in reducing crime than Mr. Balfour's, which, if true, would not have been surprising, seeing that it was a harsher one; and Mr. O'Brien, released from prison on February 16th, delivered a ferocious attack on the "malignant cruelty" and "miserable impotence" of Mr. Balfour's

administration. It was in this debate that Mr. Balfour first perfected his system of dealing with his Irish critics. Mr. Parnell he always took seriously ; but for the rest, he treated them with good-natured contempt, as if they were a company of amusing political comedians, whom he could afford to tolerate because, whenever their stage-tricks bored him or became mischievous, it was easy to send them to gaol. He was perpetually pretending to ask pardon from the House, as he did in this debate, for not considering such attacks as Mr. O'Brien's violent. To him they were mild when compared with those that had been made on Sir George Trevelyan and Lord Spencer, who had been described as members of "the foulest brood of Ministers that ever English rule in Ireland had produced." When, said Mr. Balfour cheerily, Mr. O'Brien's newspaper vowed that he "lusted for slaughter with an eunuchised imagination," he easily consoled himself by remembering it had said of Sir George Trevelyan that "if nature had denied to him the resources of the skunk and the cuttlefish, she had enabled him to supply their place." As for the Opposition, from Mr. Gladstone down to Sir George Trevelyan, Mr. Balfour's favourite plan was to answer them with extracts from their old speeches, and with ironical references to their own administrative acts, the cruelty of which he would demurely insinuate he was too soft-hearted to emulate. By carrying out this scheme of defence with brilliant audacity, he did not actually simplify the task of solving the Irish problem, but he temporarily inoculated the House of Commons with the belief that nobody was really in earnest about Irish grievances or Home Rule, except Mr. John Morley, and perhaps Mr. Parnell. Every charge was met with a counter-charge and a flat denial. Every set of statistics on the one side was neutralised by contradictory figures brought forward by the other. The end of the long and detailed impeachment of Mr. Balfour's coercive policy was therefore the rejection of Mr. Parnell's amendment by 317 votes to 229, the Government being supported by 50 Liberal Unionists. The solemnity and pathos of Mr. Gladstone's concluding appeal to the consciences and hearts of his old followers among the Unionists affected them but little, for the practical result of the debate was to show that, after hearing Mr. Balfour's defence, only three Liberals felt it necessary to desert the Unionist Coalition because of his repressive method of ruling Ireland. In the meantime the House of Lords was more usefully engaged in passing Lord Herschell's Bill to protect workmen's tools and poor people's bedding from distraint, and in appointing, at the instance of Lord Dunraven, a strong Committee to investigate the abuses of the sweating system in the East End of London.

The House of Commons, after closing the debate on the Address, adopted new rules of procedure. By these, it was to meet at 3 p.m. and close its sittings at 12.30 p.m. on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. The closure was to be applied, if not fewer than 100 members voted in the

majority for it. The Speaker was empowered to take a division by merely ordering the minority to stand up in their places and recording their names. Rules to prevent disorderly conduct, irrelevant debate, and obstructive motions for adjournment were passed. Sir George Campbell's proposal to appoint a Grand Committee for Scottish business, though supported by Mr. Gladstone, was summarily rejected by a vote of 214 to 137. Mr. Rathbone's proposal for a Welsh Committee, defended by Mr. Osborne Morgan, on the ground that "Wales had a nationality, a language, and a literature, whereas Scotland had merely an accent," was, however, only defeated by a vote of 135 to 113.

On the 1st of March Sir Charles Russell attacked the Home Secretary for suppressing all public meetings in Trafalgar Square by the mere ukase of the Chief Commissioner of Police. Here it may be explained that at the Central Criminal Court (January 19), when Mr. Cuninghame Graham, M.P., and Mr. John Burns were sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment for taking part in the prohibited Trafalgar Square meetings, Mr. Justice Charles had ruled that the Common Law of England conferred no right whatever to hold public meetings in places used as thoroughfares. He also ruled that the Chief Commissioner had not only the right to stop meetings likely to be disorderly, but was liable to criminal proceedings if he did not do so. Many attempts had been made to hold gatherings to test this *obiter dictum*, but nobody succeeded in getting it reversed. In the course of the debate the Opposition leaders attempted to convict Ministers of trying to do away with public meeting altogether, and they posed as if traversing the ruling of Mr. Justice Charles. The Home Secretary, however, merely said what was true—namely, that as Trafalgar Square was Crown property, the Government could stop all meetings in it if it chose, and that there was no legal right of open-air meeting anywhere except on private ground by permission. Indeed, Sir Charles Russell really said the same thing from a different point of view when, denying on the one hand that the obstruction which a meeting caused in a thoroughfare made it an illegal meeting, he admitted on the other that those present could be prosecuted for the offence of blocking the road. Moreover, he practically threw up his brief when, in the middle of the Home Secretary's defence, he rose and, to the manifest chagrin of the Radical members, admitted that the authorities were within their right in forbidding the meeting on "Bloody Sunday." The law, therefore, seemed to be clear enough, and, as the Attorney-General had said that the prohibited meetings might be permitted again when there was no longer any reason to stop them, it was hopeless to persuade the House that an inquiry into the right of public meeting was necessary. Sir Charles Russell's motion for inquiry was accordingly rejected by a vote of 316 to 224.

On the 14th of March Mr. Bradlaugh moved the second reading of a Bill—which ultimately became law—authorising anyone who objected to take an oath to make an affirmation. Mr. Parnell on the 21st of March, though

supported by Mr. T. W. Russell, a Radical Unionist from Ulster, failed to get the sanction of the House for a Bill that would have enabled the courts to postpone the execution of decrees against poor tenants for rent, so as to let them pay by instalments where the value of the farm was less than £100. This proposal was really defeated by the Liberal Unionists from England, who carried an amendment declaring that the Bill must apply to all debts as well as rent.

About this time a current of public opinion was setting in favour of the reform of the House of Lords. On the 9th of March Mr. Labouchere moved, though he failed to carry, an abstract resolution condemning the principle on which any person was made a member of the Legislature by mere right of birth. In the House of Lords an academic motion of inquiry proposed by Lord Rosebery, was also defeated. Lord Dunraven, with greater courage, brought in a Bill to amend the constitution of the Upper House, which he withdrew because Lord Salisbury promised to introduce a scheme to facilitate the creation of Life Peers. This the Prime Minister did on the 18th of June, his proposal being—(1) that there should be fifty Life Peers created, (2) that not more than five could be created each year, (3) that of these, three were to be chosen from an official circle, including judges, admirals, generals, ambassadors, and colonial governors, and two from all persons not in this class who might be selected for special merit. To get rid of "the black sheep," as he called the peers whose bad character disgraced the House, the Queen was empowered to deprive any peer of his right to receive a Writ of Summons. This Bill was dropped after its second reading on the 10th of July. The debates in both Houses showed that, though nobody—not even the extreme Radicals—wanted to dispense with a Second Chamber, everybody was convinced it could not safely rest on the hereditary principle. Mr. Rathbone said he would have fifty members of the Upper House elected by each new House of Commons from the peerage till one hundred and fifty were chosen. He would let them sit for three Parliaments. With them he would associate the Law Lords, the Chairmen of the County Councils, and a limited number of Peers created by the Ministry. Mr. Curzon thought that the Upper House could be strengthened by sending to it "notables" taken from the non-established Churches, the Colonies, and the public services. Lord Rosebery proposed to limit the number of peers, and give the County Councils, the Municipalities, and the House of Commons the right of choosing them from the hereditary nobility. He thought peers not chosen should be eligible for seats in the House of Commons, and he approved of life peerages, and of admitting the Agents-General of the Colonies to the Upper House. If the two Houses disagreed, he thought they should sit together, and consider any dispute as a Council of the Realm, and decide it by a joint vote. Lord Dunraven's Bill created a House of four hundred members, including

princes, spiritual peers, Lords of Appeal, Lords of Parliament chosen by County Councils, representatives of the various Churches, of Science, Literature and Art, and of the Colonies and Dependencies. Lord Pembroke suggested that the simplest reform would be to give the Crown the right to create from one hundred to two hundred life peers.

The really curious thing in these debates was the expression of a



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unanimous desire that there should be a Second Chamber, in the constitution of which, heredity, divested of irresponsibility, must be recognised. But it was easy to see that most of the zeal professed in the House of Commons for reforming the House of Lords masked a real, though concealed, hostility on the part of the Liberals to any such project. They saw clearly enough that whatever tended to strengthen the House of Lords by investing it with popular authority must proportionately diminish the monopoly of supreme power which the House of Commons claimed as the sole responsible representative of public opinion.

Mr. Goschen's scheme for converting the National Debt was explained to a Committee of the House on March 9. Mr. Goschen created a new stock,

on which for fifteen years $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest must be paid, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. being thereafter guaranteed for twenty years. Holders of the debt who refused to take up this stock would, if they chose, be paid out in cash, which Mr. Goschen could easily borrow at a lower rate of interest than the State had at the time to pay them. Those who held the £160,000,000 of "New Threes" then afloat could be bought out without notice and in any sums. Holders of Consols (£323,000,000) and of "Reduced" (£69,000,000) must, of course, be bought out in sums of not less than £500,000, and only after a year's notice. But to induce them to convert their holding into the new stock, afterwards called "Goschens," the Chancellor of the Exchequer offered to give them all, even the holders of "New Threes," who could be bought out at once, 3 per cent. for the first year, the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. rate to run afterwards for fourteen years. Holders of "New Threes" would be assumed to consent to the arrangement if they did not notify refusal before March 29. If the holders of "Reduced" and Consols waived their right of a year's notice and came in by April 12, they were to get a cash premium of five shillings per £100. On conversion transactions in these two stocks authorised agents were to get a commission of one and sixpence per cent. The saving to the taxpayer Mr. Goschen estimated would be from April, 1889, equal to £1,400,000, and after April, 1903, to £2,800,000 a year. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Childers generously assisted Mr. Goschen to carry his plan, and it had no serious opponents except Mr. Henry Fowler, the Radical member for Wolverhampton, and Sir C. Lewis, the Conservative member for Londonderry. Their opposition was, however, rendered futile by the complete success of the scheme, which was assured on April 12, when assents representing £450,000,000 out of a total of £558,000,000 of debt were received.

This was a great historic achievement which raised the credit of the country to a pinnacle at which foreign nations—to whom credit meant fighting power—gazed with envy. For in place of the three well-known national stocks, Mr. Goschen suddenly, as if by a stroke of a wizard's wand, had substituted one stock of about £530,000,000 with security to the investor against change in its interest for a third of a century. On that stock the taxpayer paid a reduced interest, and it was created without any disturbance or tightening of the money market—without adding to the nominal capital of the debt, or purchasing relief to the present generation of the taxpayers at the expense of posterity. There were plenty of critics, however, who held that Mr. Goschen's bribe to the bankers was enough to secure the success of the scheme. As to which, says Sir Thomas Farrer, the ablest of all Mr. Goschen's hostile critics, it was not so much any small profit or small commission, "as the value attached by bankers to a large, simple, and easily convertible stock, which procured the favour of the great bankers."*

* Mr. Goschen's Finance, 1887-1890, by Sir Thomas H. Farrer. London Liberal Publication Department, 1891, p. 8.

The estimates for the Army and Navy created an unusual amount of popular interest. Those for the Army showed an expenditure of £26,700,000, of which £3,027,000 was for non-effective services. Mr. Stanhope, however, thought the time had come to carry out the recommendations of the Carnarvon Commission, appointed in 1879, which reported on the insecurity of our military ports and coaling stations. He therefore proposed to spend £2,999,430 on their protection, less £799,430 for ammunition and lighter defensive material, which was to be charged to the income of the year. In order to prevent this work from being interrupted by factious obstruction of the annual estimates in the House of Commons, Mr. Stanhope took the sanction of Parliament for the scheme as a whole, spreading the expenditure for the works and buildings over three years. It was easy to meet the attacks of the Opposition, whose leaders complained that the Ministry were removing public expenditure from the annual criticism of the House of Commons by citing the precedent of the Military Forces Localisation Act of 1872. The Navy Estimates showed an expenditure of £13,082,800, the decrease being due partly to the rapid carrying out of the building programme and partly to reform in dockyard administration.

But Mr. Goschen's Budget was the subject which soon overshadowed others. First came the Imperial Budget. In the past year Mr. Goschen having received £1,454,000 more than he expected, had spent £422,650 less than had been estimated. He had enjoyed three "windfalls," two estates of over £3,000,000 and one of over £1,250,000 having fallen in for probate and succession duty. Then it had been Jubilee year, and a loyal people had toasted the Queen so assiduously that the drink duties had vastly increased their yield. His surplus and his balance in hand were, therefore, so large that he said he could afford to pay the holders of "New Threes"—if they objected to his debt conversion scheme—cash down for their stock. Yet he had reduced the National Debt by £7,601,000, of which he had paid £7,292,000 out of the revenue of the year—a feat without a parallel since 1872-73. For the coming year he put expenditure at £86,910,000 and revenue at £89,287,000, so that if he kept taxes as they stood he would have a surplus of £2,377,000. But no sooner had he laid hold of it for the remission of taxes than it began to vanish. If he was able to profit by the withdrawal of £2,600,000 of Imperial subsidies from local authorities, he had, on the other hand, to surrender to them certain licences and half the Probate Duty. This cut down his surplus to £1,252,000, though his proposed addition of one-half per cent. to the Succession Duty brought it up to £1,302,000. What he called "minor reliefs" then reduced it to £1,277,000, and on this he thought income-tax payers had the first claim. To lower the income-tax to sixpence on the pound would need £1,550,000, so he must look for new taxes to stretch out his shrunken surplus. By tightening collection—adding one shilling per cent. to the stamp duty on securities,

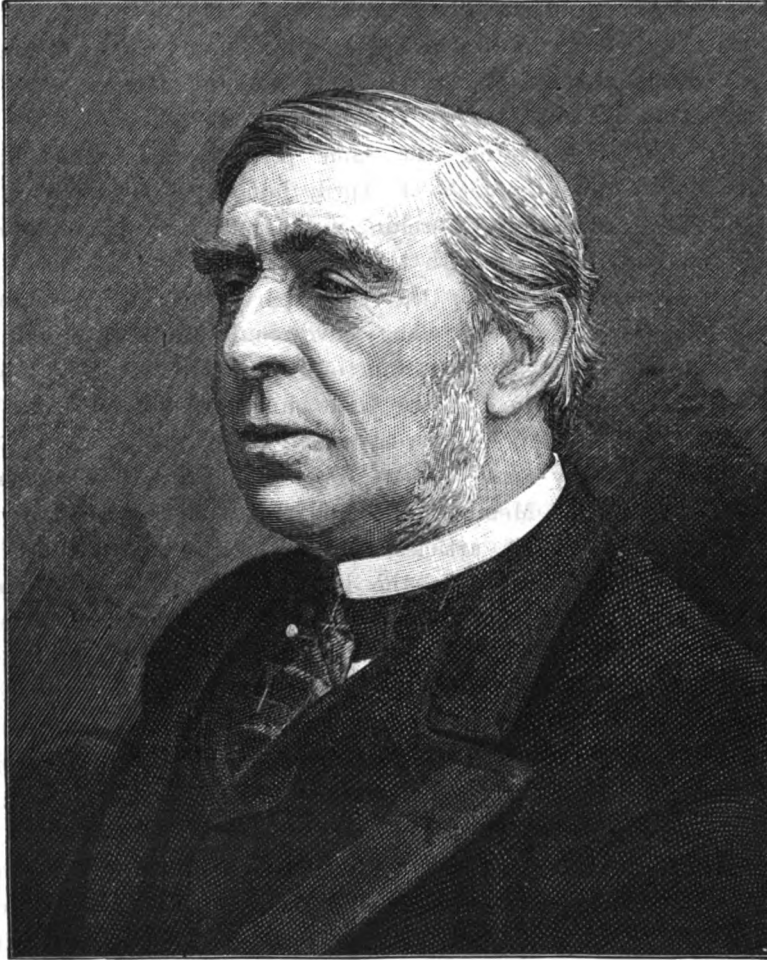
and fivepence to the duty on contract notes, by imposing a duty of £1 per £1,000 on the registered capital of new Limited Liability Companies, and of five shillings a dozen on bottled wines—he brought his surplus up to £1,762,000. So he said he could cut a penny off the income-tax and at the end of the year have in hand £212,000, after providing for his expenditure.

It was now necessary to start on a fair financial footing the new County Governments, which were to be formed by Mr. Ritchie's Local Government Bill. Hence Mr. Goschen handed over to them existing licences, chiefly those of publicans (£3,000,000), and new licences (£800,000), with power to increase the latter within limits; establishment licences (dogs, guns, carriages, etc.), worth £1,600,000; and half the Probate Duty, amounting to £1,704,000. Local authorities would therefore get £5,500,000 in lieu of their old Imperial subventions—or a net gain to them of £2,900,000 in relief of local taxation. By adding one-half per cent. to the Succession Duty Mr. Goschen raised it to one and a half per cent. As the Probate Duty was three per cent. and half of it was now surrendered to local authorities, only one and a half remained for the Imperial Government. Thus, for the first time in history, the principle of these democratic reformers who contended that real and personal property should contribute equally to Imperial taxation, was practically adopted. As for the demands of the Admiralty and War Office on account of Imperial defence, Mr. Goschen parried them artfully. He charged the Naval requisition as an annuity for ten years against the Navy estimates, and this arrangement, with the colonial contributions, enabled him to pay off the capital of the loan he borrowed without imposing new taxes. As for the War Office, he found the money it needed by simply pawning the Suez Canal shares. In other words, he forestalled for four and a half years the annual revenue (£570,000) which they must yield after 1894, and applied it to meet the cost of fortifying military ports and coaling stations.

The great measure of the year—Mr. Ritchie's Local Government Bill—deprived Quarter Sessions of administrative as distinguished from judicial functions. It put the government of counties in the hands of councils elected every three years by the ratepayers as in boroughs. To the Council thus elected, its members added one-fourth, chosen by themselves, from within or from without their body, to serve as Aldermen. Large cities like Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Bradford, Sheffield, Bristol, Nottingham, Hull, and Newcastle, were made into Administrative Counties.

Under the County Councils there were to be District Councils taking the place of existing Local Boards—a part of the scheme abandoned for lack of time to carry it—and London as defined in the Metropolis Management Act—was to be made a county by itself—its County Council taking over the functions of the Metropolitan Board of Works, which ceased to exist. It has been said that the measure which did most to educate the people of England in the art of self-government was not Lord Grey's Reform Bill

of 1832, but Lord John Russell's Municipal Corporations Reform Bill of 1835. That measure, however, only roused the urban populace from political torpor. Mr. Ritchie, however, did for the counties what Lord John Russell had done for the towns, thereby giving life as well as power to the rural democracy



MR. GOSCHEN. (From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.)

of England. As for London, he may be said to have enfranchised a new kingdom and added the political forces of a new nation to those that already moulded the policy and destinies of the Empire. Yet the weak point in his Bill was visible at a glance. Mr. Ritchie gave Committees of the Councils power to grant or refuse licences to publicans and increase at discretion the duty by 20 per cent. But if they refused a licence, except for bad conduct, they were to pay compensation on the basis of the difference between the values of the publican's house with and without a licence. The holder of a publican's licence had, however, no legal vested right of property in it,

for the existing licensing authority can cancel it at discretion. The Bill, therefore, gave publicans compensation for the loss of a property they did not possess. Although popular opinion was in favour of giving some recompense as an act of grace, it was, as the defeat of the Conservative candidate at the Southampton election showed, against giving it as a legal right, and Mr. Ritchie prudently withdrew all his licensing clauses on the 12th of June. Mr. Heneage failed to carry an amendment giving County Councils sole control of the police, which was left in the hands of a joint committee of County Councils and Justices of the Peace. The measure was passed on the 27th of July. A Bill practically extending the same privileges to Ireland was introduced by Mr. Carew on the 25th of April, but though supported by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Randolph Churchill, it was defeated by a vote of 282 to 195, Mr. Chamberlain voting with the majority.

A still more serious reverse for the Irish party was the condemnation of the Plan of Campaign by the Pope, whose envoy in Ireland, Monsignor Persico, had reported on it to the Congregation of the Holy Office.* The Papal condemnation, though published in the Irish churches, did not seem to affect the conduct of the Campaigners in the very least.

An exciting controversy arose out of proceedings for libel which Mr. F. H. O'Donnell, formerly a Member of Parliament, had raised against the *Times*, which, in a series of articles, had accused many members of the Nationalist party of being privy to the intrigues of assassins. The *Times* published what it called a facsimile of some compromising letters from Mr. Parnell, in one of which he apologised to a correspondent for condemning the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke. On the 6th of July Mr. Parnell told the House of Commons that the charges were false and the letters alleged to be written by him forgeries. The *Times* persisted in asserting that its accusations were true, and on the 12th of July Mr. Parnell asked whether Government would appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the matter. Mr. Smith proposed the appointment of a Commission, with full power to investigate the allegations made against the Parnellites in the action, O'Donnell *v.* Walter. Mr. Parnell, however, complained not unreasonably that the Commission was really one for raking up the ancient and well-known history of the Land and National Leagues, and their connection with Irish-American revolutionary societies; and he and Mr. Gladstone strove, though without success, to narrow the scope of investigation to the personal charges made against the Irish members. There was a very strong feeling at the time that Government handled the affair imprudently.

* The condemnation was based on three grounds: (1) The breaking of voluntary contracts, (2) That the land courts gave adequate redress to tenants, (3) That funds were extorted from unwilling contributors. Boycotting was condemned because (1) It was contrary to natural justice and Christian charity, (2) That it persecuted people who were willing to pay rent, or who were only exercising a legal right to take vacant farms.

Party passions ran so high in the debates, according to Mr. Courtney, that "reason seemed to be abandoned and the very Bench itself bespattered." People asked why Mr. Parnell and the *Times* could not be allowed to fight out their quarrel in the ordinary law courts. Even if the three judges who were to form the Commission reported that the letters were genuine, and that Mr. Parnell had lied when he denied that he wrote them, the Irish difficulty would remain and there would not be one Home Ruler the less in Ireland. Government, however, carried their "Charges and Allegations Bill" embodying Mr. Smith's proposal on the 8th of August. Parliament was adjourned on the 13th of August.*

The naval manoeuvres on the coast attracted attention, because they suggested that the effective blockading of an enemy's ports in these days was scarcely possible, and that it was equally impossible to protect ocean-borne commerce and open coast towns. Then followed a long series of acrimonious autumnal speeches, by which the Irish controversy was embittered. The only new feature in them was Mr. Gladstone's increasing tendency to stimulate the Home Rule feeling of Wales and Scotland. The presence of Mr. Gladstone at the meeting of the National Liberal Federation at Birmingham in November had raised some hope that he might make conciliatory overtures to the Radical Unionists. On the contrary, he attacked them with virulence, scornfully treating their scruples as "stale or pettifogging" objections. But he formally accepted for the first time the principle of retaining the Irish Members at Westminster; while the Federation adopted payment of Members, disestablishment in Wales, and the reform known as "one man one vote," which makes residence a necessary qualification for the franchise, as part of their programme.

The United States Senate had rejected the Fisheries Treaty which Mr. Chamberlain had negotiated, and as a Presidential election was approaching, in which the capture of the Irish-American vote was of importance, it was supposed that political capital might be made by manufacturing a sham dispute with Great Britain. The Republican Party, therefore, got an agent—pretending to be an Englishman—to write from California to the British Minister asking his advice confidentially, as to how he, as one interested alike in the land of his birth and adoption, should vote in the contest. Lord Sackville replied, also under the seal of confidence, indicating that the policy of President Cleveland and the Democratic Party was, on the whole, most likely to promote friendly relations between the two countries. The letters were published, and the Republicans appealed to the Irish to support them against the Democrats who were the friends of England. President Cleveland, in the interests of his party, then proceeded to quarrel ostentatiously

* An alternative offered to Mr. Parnell, but declined by him, was the prosecution of the *Times* for libel at the expense of the State in the name of the Attorney-General. Mr. Parnell, however, was to select his own counsel if he chose to do so.

with the British Minister. On the strength of loose statements made by newspaper interviewers, he pretended that Lord Sackville had questioned the good faith of the United States Government in rejecting the Fisheries Treaty, and rudely insisted on his leaving the country. With ironical solemnity, Lord Salisbury therefore placed the British Legation at Washington for a time in charge of Mr. Herbert, the senior Secretary.

Parliament met on the 7th of November to finish its business. The House of Commons plunged into detailed criticism of the Estimates. Mr. Balfour's Bill—for advancing a further sum of £5,000,000 to enable Irish tenants to buy their holdings—was stoutly opposed by Mr. Gladstone, because, as he said, he disliked Land Purchase when "in homœopathic doses." Some of his own followers, like Mr. Haldane and Sir Edward Grey, refused to support him, but the Bill (which consisted of only one clause) made not unsatisfactory progress, for it passed on the 29th of November. Parliament was prorogued on Christmas Eve. Mr. Gladstone agreeably surprised his party by appearing at Limehouse on the eve of his eightieth birthday and delivering a speech adopting Mr. Morley's "Clerkenwell programme," which included "one man one vote," shorter parliaments, taxation of ground rents, leasehold enfranchisement, free education, disestablishment in Scotland and Wales, and control of the police by the London County Council—a concession to be given not at once, but sometime in the future.

Late at night on the 29th of August a woman was found murdered and mutilated in Thomas Street, Whitechapel, within three hundred yards of the place where two other women of the same class of "unfortunates" had been slain in similar circumstances. Seven crimes almost identical in character, and apparently the work of the same hand, followed, and were all committed in the same locality. The utter failure of the police to detect the murderer, nicknamed by the populace "Jack the Ripper," his daring and his ferocity, created a panic. The police were blamed for incompetence, and Sir Charles Warren, the Chief Commissioner, defended them in an article in *Murray's Magazine*. He had made himself unpopular by his stern fidelity in enforcing the Home Secretary's veto on meetings in Trafalgar Square. He had also resisted an attempt to make Mr. Monro, Chief of the Detective Department, practically independent of his authority; the result being that Mr. Monro, who was said to hold all the threads of the Irish conspiracy in his hands, resigned. Mr. Matthews, taking advantage of a rule which forbids officials in Sir Charles Warren's position from writing to the press, censured him, thereby gratifying personal and popular resentment at the same time. Sir Charles, as a matter of course, resigned, and Mr. Monro was appointed in his place.

The death of the German Emperor, William I., sore stricken with the burden of ninety-one years, on the 9th of March, had saddened the Royal family. The Queen felt the bereavement keenly, for the Emperor had been

one of her oldest friends, greatly loved and honoured by her and the late Prince Consort, because of the nobility of his character and the grand Imperial mould in which it was cast. Though the silver wedding of the Prince and Princess of Wales was therefore celebrated on the 10th of March with a certain amount of reserve, the Queen was able to be present at the State banquet at Marlborough House, and it was not till near midnight that



FUNERAL OF THE EMPEROR FREDERICK. (See p. 774.)

she returned to Windsor. On the 22nd she left Portsmouth for Cherbourg, and on the 24th arrived at Florence, having passed through the Mont Cenis Tunnel. Here she remained in restful leisure till the 23rd of April, deeply touched by the cordial endeavour of all classes, rich and poor alike, to make her visit pleasant.* Then she left for Berlin, where she was received with great enthusiasm by the people. This visit was a sad one. Her son-in-law, the Emperor Frederick, was dying. The English surgeon, Sir Morell Mackenzie, who was attending him, still cast doubt on the opinion

* Her Majesty lived in the Villa Palmieri, twenty minutes' drive from Florence on the road to Fiesole. Boccaccio houses the tellers of the Decamerone tales in it.

of the German surgeons that the laryngeal disease, from which His Majesty had been suffering, was cancerous. But everybody knew that it was hurrying the Emperor to his grave, and his deathbed was, unhappily, the centre of much discreditable intrigue. The Imperial Chancellor, Prince Bismarck, was the enemy of the Empress, to whose influence over her husband he attributed those sympathies with German Liberalism which his first public utterances after accession reflected. The inspired scurrility of his "reptile press" was fully echoed at this time by the hags who sell perishable articles in the streets of Berlin. It was their humour to include in one's purchase something rotten—a fish, an egg, or an apple, and then when one objected, to say—"I do not charge you for it, because you may need it to throw at 'the Englishwoman' when she comes to Berlin." The project of marriage between Prince Alexander of Battenberg and the Emperor's daughter the Princess Victoria, favoured by the Empress, was opposed by the Chancellor, and in the effort to gain the dying Emperor's consent Prince Bismarck threatened to resign if it were given. He, however, withdrew his threat in deference to petitions which he received from his friends and flatterers in the National and Conservative parties; and it was known that the long interview which the Queen had with Prince Bismarck on the 26th of April would mend his bad manners and mitigate his truculence.

On the 27th Her Majesty returned to London, and on the 28th she attended a performance of Sir Arthur Sullivan's "Golden Legend," at the Royal Albert Hall. Then, on the 15th of June, came the news, long looked for and long dreaded, that her best beloved son-in-law was dead. During his brief reign he had given promise of great skill in guiding the destinies of Germany along the path of social progress. His life was one of almost romantic nobility of aim and achievement—alike in the arts of war and peace. He was, as Chaucer has it, "a very perfect gentle knight," a strong, helpful, tender-hearted, brotherly man, honest, brave, accomplished, and most dutiful. The charm of his sympathetic manner, his unfailing kindness, and serene, even temper attached his family and his friends to him with a devotion that was almost passionate. No foreign prince connected with the Royal Family was ever so popular in England, especially among scholars, artists, and men of letters. His death rendered the festivities that had been planned to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Queen's coronation on the 28th of June impossible. But it did not deter the Queen from visiting Glasgow on the 22nd of August to open the new municipal buildings in which the government of that great city is sumptuously housed; nor from proceeding to Paisley on the 23rd, to rejoice with it, as "Countess of Renfrew," over the fourth centenary of its existence as a borough. Scotland was high in Royal favour this year, for on the 30th of November the Provost of Dundee received notice that Her Majesty had resolved to elevate his town to the rank of a city.

CHAPTER XXXII.

EMERGENCE OF THE SOCIAL QUESTION.

A New Departure—The Morier Incident—The County Council Elections—Opening of Parliament—"The Jacobyns"—The Naval Defence Scheme—Local Government for Scotland—Free Education—The Court and the Commons—Marriage of Princess Louise of Wales to the Duke of Fife—"Secondary" Royal Grants—Cruelty to Children—The Dock Strike—Strikes of Sympathy—The Docker's Tanner—Labour War of the Thames—The Gas Strike—The Collapse of the Case against Mr. Parnell—The Queen's Visit to Spain—Death of the Duchess of Cambridge—The Queen a Prussian Colonel—Royal Visit to Wales—Death of Mr. Bright—The Influenza—Trouble with Portugal—Failure of Strikes—Report of the Parnell Commission—Shabby Treatment of Mr. Parnell—The Plan of Campaign—Irish Land Purchase—Mr. Goschen's Budget (1890)—The O'Shea Divorce Case—Fall of Mr. Parnell—Committee Room No. 15—The Scramble for Africa—Mr. Goschen's Budget (1891)—Free Education—Death of Mr. Bradlaugh, Archbishop Magee, Lord Granville, Mr. W. H. Gladstone, the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. W. H. Smith, and Mr. Parnell—Character of Mr. Parnell—Court Life in 1891—More Influenza—Death of the Duke of Clarence, Cardinal Manning, and Mr. Spurgeon—Mr. Balfour's Local Government Bill—The Small Holdings Bill—A "Humdrum Budget"—The General Election—Defeat of Lord Salisbury—Mr. Gladstone's Ministry—The Queen's Holiday on the Continent—Court Life in 1892.

It is always difficult to fix the exact point at which a new line of departure in public life can be drawn. But it may be approximately correct to say that the year 1889 witnessed the beginning of those changes in the English mind which gradually substituted realism for art in politics. For the first time since the suppression of the Chartist movement the social question gradually but peremptorily pushed all others aside—except, perhaps, in Parliament, and in the caucuses. The discovery that unskilled Labour could organise itself, even at the London Docks, and more than hold its own against the most powerful forces of Capital, convinced close observers that England, at the end of 1888, was entering a new era in which the problem of bettering the lot of the working classes would soon absorb all the resources of statecraft. This was not an agreeable discovery for the leaders of the Liberal Party. Their followers by natural instinct desired to guide this new movement, and to their chagrin they found that Mr. Gladstone had mortgaged all their strength to the service of Parnellism in Ireland and Particularism in England, Wales, and Scotland. Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, was disappointed to find that any issue but that of Home Rule interested the masses to whom he had appealed for support against "the classes." Partly because the politicians were tired of speaking, partly because the people were tired of listening to them, the opening days of the year were not vexed by the Irish controversy.

The "Morier Incident" was, therefore, an agreeable diversion for the New Year. It arose out of the arrogant policy of the Bismarck family, who fondly imagined they had the young German Emperor under their control. Everyone obnoxious to the Imperial Chancellor and his son, Count Herbert Bismarck, more especially if they chanced to be friends of the widowed

Empress Frederick, was attacked in the "reptile press," or, like Professor Geffcken, harassed by legal proceedings. The prosecution of the Professor for criticising events in the Franco-German War in a manner distasteful to Prince Bismarck was a mistake, perhaps due to lack of humour. It was as if Mr. Gladstone on becoming Prime Minister demanded the prosecution of Professors Tyndall and Huxley for speaking evil of his Irish policy. A more important victim was, however, discovered in Sir Robert Morier. He was to have been sent to the Court of Berlin as British Ambassador on Lord Ampthill's death, but having been peremptorily objected to by Prince Bismarck, he was appointed to the Embassy at St. Petersburg. The German Chancellor now suspected that Sir Robert was avenging himself by trying to weaken the alliance between Russia and Germany. In order to discredit him, Count Herbert Bismarck put about, not only in London but in Berlin, some gossip to the effect that when Chargé d'Affaires at Darmstadt in 1870, Sir Robert Morier had betrayed the movements of the German Army to Marshal Bazaine. The libel found its way on the 16th of December, 1888, into the *Kölnische Zeitung*, a journal redolent at this period of the local odours which Coleridge immortalised.* Sir Robert promptly obtained from Marshal Bazaine the most unqualified denial of the story. This, with his own denial, he sent to Count Herbert Bismarck, appealing to his honour as a gentleman to get a contradiction inserted in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. Count Herbert replied with a rude refusal written in the tone, not of a dignified diplomatist, but of a mess-room cub. Sir Robert Morier's cutting answer, and the comments it evoked all over Europe, evidently moved Prince Bismarck soon afterwards to soothe British susceptibilities, which had, however, not been ruffled, by proclaiming the dependence of Germany on English co-operation in East Africa.

The County Council elections ended in the return of excellent and substantial citizens as representatives of the ratepayers, and the new governing bodies were obviously permeated by strong Liberal ideas. The London County Council was captured by the Progressive Party, the Conservative ratepayers having made the mistake of starting candidates who scarcely concealed their contempt for the body to which they sought election. Members of the old Metropolitan Board of Works, which had perished in corruption, were, as a rule, ignominiously rejected, only six out of thirty-seven being returned. Battersea chose as its representative a Socialist working-man—Mr. John Burns, who, it will be remembered, had been imprisoned for his share in the "Bloody Sunday" meeting in Trafalgar Square. The Progressive majority elected some distinguished men—of their own way of thinking—as

* The hatred of the Bismarcks to Sir Robert Morier really dated, not from the war of 1870, but from that of 1866, when the husband of Princess Alice, whose confidence and friendship Sir Robert Morier enjoyed, took the side of Austria against Prussia. The Crown Prince also interfered, under English influence, to prevent the annexation of Hesse-Darmstadt to Prussia after the war

aldermen, and Lord Rosebery and Sir John Lubbock were chosen as Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the first Home Rule Parliament of London.

The session of Parliament opened on the 21st of February, with a modest programme. On the 25th Mr. Morley moved a vote of censure



MR. LABOUCHERE.

(From a Photograph by Maclure, Macdonald and Co., Glasgow)

on the Irish administration, which on the 1st of March was defeated, the Ministry being in a majority of 70. A small Radical fringe now formed a separate party under the intermittent leadership of Mr. Labouchere, which was nicknamed "the Jacobyns," because Mr. Jacoby, the member for Mid-Derbyshire, was one of its "whips." Their object was to stop all public business till they forced the Ministry to resign, but they soon came in conflict with Mr. Gladstone, and then their strength abated. On the 7th of March Lord George Hamilton introduced his National Defence Bill, asking

Parliament to vote £21,000,000 to be expended over seven years not only in making good defective vessels, but in adding seventy fighting ships to the navy.* The people who had created a panic about the weakness of the Navy had said that 40 battle-ships and 200 cruisers were absolutely necessary, but they praised the scheme of the Government. There was little to assail, for the practical effect of it, when picked to pieces, was merely to add during the following five years one ironclad and one cruiser more than would have been added to the Navy in the ordinary way. Mr. Childers, on behalf of Mr. Gladstone, moved an amendment condemning the proposal to vote the money for seven years, his argument being that the control of Parliament over expenditure was being weakened. As Mr. Gladstone had practically done the same thing when he financed Lord Palmerston's futile Fortification Scheme in 1859-60, and again when he took three millions, not from a vote of the House of Commons, but from the Sinking Fund, to strengthen the Navy in the panic of 1885, Government easily carried their proposal, and their next great measures were the Scottish Local Government Bills.

It must here be explained that when Mr. Goschen in the previous session proposed to devote the Scottish share of the Probate Duty to the relief of rates, Mr. W. A. Hunter, the Member for Aberdeen, rather startled the House by warning it that owing to a difference in the system of rating which prevails in Scotland, the grant would give only a trifling relief to ratepayers. The average rate in Scottish counties was low, and it was already divided between landlord and tenant. Whereas in England the whole Probate duty went to the tenant, in Scotland half of it would go to the landlords. As the sum to be disposed of was very nearly equal to the total amount of the school fees paid in elementary board schools, Mr. Hunter suggested that Mr. Goschen would spend his grant to greater advantage by abolishing school pence in Scotland. Mr. Goschen refused to do so, but agreed to allocate the money for local purposes for one year only. Mr. Hunter's proposal was frowned at by the Liberal leaders and their organs. In the London press only one newspaper—the *Daily Chronicle*—advocated it boldly, because it said it would give the English people leverage for forcing Mr. Chamberlain's project of Free Education for England on the Government. In Scotland Mr. Hunter's suggestion became so popular that the official Liberals ceased intriguing against it, and the Government were induced by his persuasive influence to be guided in the matter by Scottish public opinion. Their Local Government Bills for Scotland therefore established County Councils on the English model, only without encumbering them by selected aldermen. They re-organised the Parochial Boards, corresponding to "the guardians" in England, and appropriated £170,000 of the Scottish share of the surrendered Probate Duty for the payment of fees in the necessary standards of elementary schools.

* These were to consist of eight first-class and two second-class battle-ships, and sixty cruisers of from 7,300 to 735 tons' burden.

The proceedings of Parliament became personally interesting to the Queen as the summer advanced. In June it was announced that the Prince of Wales had sanctioned a project of marriage between his eldest daughter, the Princess Louise, and the Earl of Fife. This raised the whole question of those "secondary grants" to the Royal Family which Mr. Hume—like the late Prince Consort—had predicted would one day be troublesome. Unfortunately the Government had for two years evaded a promise to appoint a Committee for the investigation of these subsidies, a fact of which Mr. Labouchere and the Radicals reminded Mr. W. H. Smith when, on the 22nd of July, he introduced a Bill to make provision for the eldest son and daughter of the Heir Apparent. Mr. Smith had ultimately to appoint the Committee, and then Mr. Labouchere and the "Jacobyns" revolted against Mr. Gladstone's leadership. They induced Mr. Bradlaugh to move an instruction to the Committee which would have led to a close scrutiny into the Queen's private affairs.* The motion was defeated by a vote of 313 to 125. On the 9th of July the "Jacobyns" still further irritated Mr. Gladstone by opposing the list of Members of the Committee which had been drawn up by himself and Mr. Smith. In this quarrel 136 Liberals deserted their leader. The Ministerial list was, however, carried, and a compromise suggested by Sir Reginald Welby on behalf of the Royal Family, in private negotiation with Mr. Gladstone, was—much to the amazement of the Opposition—agreed to. Thus the allowance of the Prince of Wales was increased by £30,000 a year, on condition that he undertook to make all future provision himself for his children. The Committee also thought the Queen had a fair claim for grants for her grandchildren. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley opposed this view, Mr. Gladstone, however, supporting the Ministry after the majority of the Committee decided in favour of them. On the 26th of July a Bill giving effect to these proposals, though it was hotly attacked by the Radicals, was carried by the help of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell, and some of their more loyal followers.

The marriage of the Princess Louise of Wales took place on the 27th of July, 1889, in the chapel of Buckingham Palace—an old conservatory converted by the Prince Consort into a place of private worship. The ceremony was attended by the Royal Family and all their friends and chief servants, whether of the State or the Household—though otherwise it was conducted with great privacy and simplicity. The bride and bridegroom drove away in the sunshine through the bright streets and lanes to their pretty suburban home at Sheen, where it was announced the lady would keep no State household. Her husband was elevated to the Dukedom of Fife, whereby the Princess was curiously enough promoted to a privileged rank.

* The lobbies of Parliament rang with complaints from the Lord Steward's office about the mismanagement of the Queen's household—the expenses of which for mere housekeeping were said to amount to £80,000 a year!

As the daughter of the Prince of Wales she had no other civil status than that of any other young Englishwoman. As Duchess of Fife she ceased to be a commoner, entered the charmed circle of the peerage, and by the Act passed in the reign of Henry VI. acquired the right, if accused of crime, of being tried by a jury of peers of the realm. Unless the daughters of English Royal Princes and Princesses marry English peers or are created peeresses in their own right, they remain simple commoners, whose very titles are only conceded to them by courtesy.

A Bill empowering County Councils to subsidise technical education was carried in spite of opposition on the plea that the measure was a slight to school boards. The Ministry lost their Land Transfer Bill in the House of Lords. They had to withdraw their Sugar Convention Bill because consumers feared it would raise the price of sugar. Their Tithes Bill was sacrificed to clumsy management. If they had only inserted in it a provision of one of their own early drafts, laying the tithe directly and not indirectly on the landlords, they would not have irritated Conservative tenant farmers, against whose hostile influence, applied by Mr. Gray, when combined with that of the advocates of disestablishment in Wales, it was hopeless to contend. One useful Bill passed was the result of a crusade against cruelty to children, which had been carried on for many years by the Rev. Benjamin Waugh, Honorary Director of the National Society for the prevention of this species of barbarity. Its provisions for the first time gave to the offspring of men and women the protection against ill-treatment which had long been enjoyed by that of the lower animals. It was, however, encumbered by a clause prohibiting the employment of children under ten years of age in theatres, which provoked long and acrid debates. The dramatic critics made fun of it, contending that parents would be tempted to stunt their children's growth to fit them for juvenile parts in plays.* But a compromise was accepted by which the Lord Chamberlain was empowered to license their employment. Parliament adjourned on the 30th of August, the interest in its proceedings having been diminished by the strike of the Dock Labourers at the Port of London. This strike had at last brought the social question to the front of practical politics.

The revolt of casual and unorganised Labour at the London Docks began in August, the men demanding that wages should be raised from 5d. to 6d. an hour, and that regular should be substituted for casual employment. Though public opinion was in favour of the strikers, the Dock Companies

* "An anecdote told (I think) of Forrest," wrote "W. A." in the *World*, "will probably repeat itself. He was playing Rolla one evening at a country theatre where the child was for the nonce represented by a dwarf. The tragedian was quite unprepared for this, and snatching up the child in the darkness of the wing, thereby noticed that it was unusually heavy, so that he had to rest it on his shoulder instead of carrying it at arm's length. What was his consternation then, as he dashed across the rickety bridge, to hear the terrible infant growl into his ear in a deep bass voice, 'Steady, you — fool, or you'll have me over.'"

refused to yield. The Docks were then "picketed" and the Home Secretary refused to let the police interfere with unionists who dissuaded men from taking service on the Companies' terms. Workmen in several other trades also struck "in sympathy" with the dockers; and efforts that were of no avail were made to organise a general strike and stop all manual work in London by way of intimidating the Companies. Never before



LOWER CASTLE YARD, DUBLIN. (From a Photograph by W. Lawrence, Dublin.)

had the country received such a strong object lesson in Socialism, or such a convincing proof that the unskilled workers were beginning to understand and taking action to realise the "solidarity" of labour, skilled or unskilled. Some wharfingers and shipowners, who were unfriendly to the Dock Companies, encouraged the alliance between the Dockers and allied riverside trades, and it was feared that the water-borne traffic of the Port of London would be ruined. Money in support of the strike was liberally contributed by the colonies, notably by Australia. A Committee of Conciliation, consisting of Cardinal Manning, the Lord Mayor, and Mr. Sydney Buxton, after much difficulty, induced both parties to accept an arrangement which

conceded "the Docker's tanner," as the sixpence an hour claimed was called, and penalised the custom of giving irregular and casual employment. Out of this struggle the Dockers' Union emerged powerful and triumphant under the leadership and organisation of Messrs. Mann, Burns and Tillett. The lightermen were equally successful in their dispute with their employers—but the luck of Labour changed when the strike among the stokers at the South Metropolitan Gasworks was decreed. Mr. Livesey, the manager of the company, had offered a bonus on wages to all men who would sign an agreement to serve for a specified time. The Union resenting this as an attempt to weaken its control over its members, organised resistance, and the sympathetic strikes among the coal porters and gasworkers north of the Thames that followed threatened to leave London in darkness at the end of 1889. The music of the bells that rang the old year out, therefore, fell on the ears of a sullen and discontented proletariat.

Abroad the world was at peace—even in Brazil, where the Emperor Dom Pedro, an amiable scientific busybody, was politely but firmly deposed, and a republic proclaimed, the revolution was bloodless. In South Africa the Portuguese raised a claim to the Shiré Valley, a country opened up by Livingstone and peopled by Scottish missionaries and planters, and the aggressive behaviour of Major Serpa Pinto heading a Portuguese Scientific Expedition in this region, caused a controversy between the Portuguese and British Governments.

Two sensational events marked the history of the year—the collapse of the more serious charges brought by the *Times* against Mr. Parnell, and the agitation which grew out of the trial of Mrs. Maybrick, a lady of good family, for poisoning her husband at Liverpool. This case excited the public and the House of Commons, and the convict's importunate friends worried the Home Secretary so persistently on her behalf that it was said his health was impaired. The judge who tried the criminal refused to assist the Home Office with his advice, and the extraordinary course was therefore taken of referring the matter to the Lord Chancellor, who decided that Mrs. Maybrick had given the arsenic to her husband which the analysts detected in fatal quantities in his body, but that it was doubtful if he had really died from the poison. Mrs. Maybrick was therefore saved from the gallows but doomed to penal servitude for life.

On Wednesday, the 27th of February, to the amazement of the country, the only important part of the case against Mr. Parnell which had been pressed by the *Times* broke down. Nobody except politicians took the least interest in the argument that Mr. Parnell must be deemed an assassin because the Land League of which he was one of the leaders had been associated for certain common objects—not necessarily criminal—with revolutionary organisations using criminal methods for the attainment of ends with which the latter were exclusively concerned. Everything that could be known about

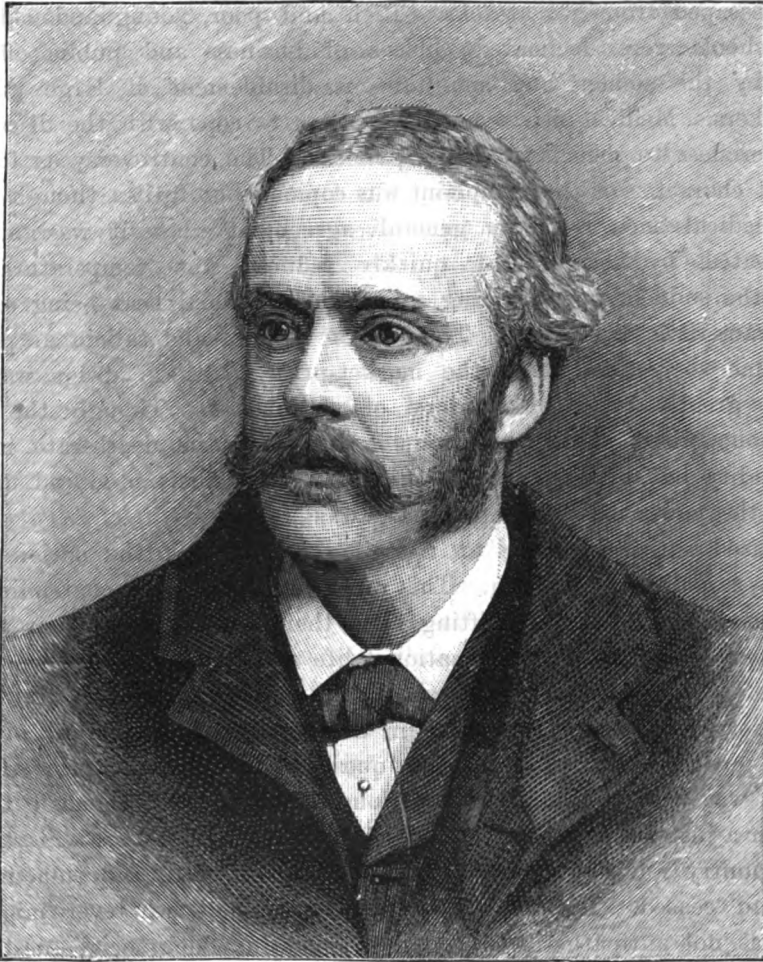
this phase of the Home Rule movement had been known not only to Mr. Forster, who had stated that he never believed Mr. Parnell to be implicated in murderous conspiracies, but to Lord Carnarvon and the Tory leaders when they engaged with Mr. Parnell in alliance and intrigue. The facsimile letters said to be written by Mr. Parnell, proving that he was privy to the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, could not, however, have been known to anyone till the *Times* reproduced them, and they therefore contributed the only portion of the case against Mr. Parnell which had not been condoned by the Conservative and Liberal leaders, who had alternately fawned on him for support. It was now clearly proved that Mr. Parnell told the truth when he informed the House of Commons that the letters given in the *Times* were forgeries of his handwriting. The *Times* had bought the papers from one Houston, the son of an old gaoler in a Dublin prison, who had become secretary of an anti-Home Rule Association. It turned out he had obtained them from Richard Pigott, long a trusted leader of the Home Rule party, and editor of the *Irishman*, a newspaper greatly admired by Irish patriots because of its lying libels on England and Englishmen and on everybody connected with the Irish Government. Pigott was one of the obscene creatures of prey who feed on the vanity and credulity of the Irish democracy. Latterly it came to be known that he was a traitor to the Irish cause, and he had an evil reputation in Dublin as a spy, a surreptitious dealer in foul books, and an inveterate blackmailer. When Mr. Parnell prudently bought him out of the *Irishman* newspaper, Pigott came to London and, by proffering for sale secrets of the Irish party, obtained some employment on certain newspapers and other periodicals. There was, therefore, nothing exceptionally stupid in the conduct of the managers of the *Times* who accepted his aid in their attack on Mr. Parnell. But under Sir Charles Russell's cross-examination it was proved he had forged the incriminating letters, for the publication of which both Mr. Walter, the proprietor, and Mr. Macdonald—an able and conscientious man, who was so profoundly affected by the wrong he had unwittingly done that he died soon afterwards of a broken heart—were equally responsible. Sir Richard Webster was blamed not only in the House of Commons, but throughout the country, for persistently acting as advocate for the *Times* and also as adviser of the Government, whose position in the business was one of neutrality. He was condemned, not unfairly, because he apparently knew from the first that the letters had been obtained from Pigott, whom he must have discovered to be an unspeakably disreputable witness if he had made the least inquiry about him in Dublin. Pigott fled to Madrid, where he committed suicide on the 1st of March.

In spring the Queen went to Biarritz, and on the 27th of March met the Queen of Spain at St. Sebastian—the first time a Spanish and British sovereign ever met on Spanish soil. She returned to Windsor on the 2nd

of April, and on the 6th the Royal Family were again in mourning—on this occasion for the death of the Duchess of Cambridge, at the age of 92, a princess noted for her tenacious vitality and her caustic wit. At Eton on the 18th of May the Queen laid the foundation stone of new school buildings; and on the 4th of June, for the first time she witnessed the procession of boats from Eton to Surly Hall, by which the collegers celebrate the anniversary of her Royal grandfather's birthday. On the 13th of August her Imperial grandson gazetted her as honorary Colonel of the 1st Regiment of Prussian Dragoon Guards, and on the 23rd she visited North Wales, staying at Pate Hall, which had been put at her disposal by Mr. Robertson, the owner. Mr. Gee, Chairman of the Denbighshire County Council, and one of the leaders of the Gladstonian party in Wales, published a letter in the vernacular press urging the Welsh people to hold aloof from all demonstrations of a loyal welcome, because the Tithes Bill was not satisfactory to him. His appeal was without effect, however, for nothing could exceed the enthusiasm with which Her Majesty was greeted at Wrexham, Ruabon, and Llangollen, which she visited before going to Scotland.

The death of Mr. Bright on the 27th of March was the only occurrence that seemed to soften the hostility of the Liberal Unionists and Home Rulers. For a moment parties called a truce over the grave of the staunch patriot and popular tribune whose temperament reflected most of the distinctive qualities of English Democracy. His seat in the House had been really vacant long before he "went over to the majority," and his death left Mr. Gladstone the sole survivor of the more illustrious of his comrades in the political strife of the reign. The secret of Mr. Bright's influence and perhaps the clue to his limitations was his unconquerable habit of applying to everything one test—that of moral obligation as he understood it, and then in explaining the result in language vibrating with restrained passion, glowing with hidden fire, but plain, direct, and easily understood of the people. Abraham Hayward wrote of him, or was said to have written of him, as follows in the *Quarterly Review*: "'Genuine Saxon, by the Soul of Hengist!' was the exulting shout of Cedric on hearing the name of a Saxon knight who had been a victor in the lists. 'Genuine Saxon' will be the exclamation of every critical listener to Mr. Bright. His look, his tone, his choice of words and illustrations, his stubborn independence, his boldness, his pugnacity, are all redolent of race. A Foxite adduced Peel's preference for Latin compounds as an all-sufficient proof of habitual ambiguity. Apply a similar test to Mr. Bright, and no further proof will be needed of his straightforwardness. His diction is drawn exclusively from the wells of English pure and undefiled. Milton and the Bible are his unceasing study. There was a time when it was rare to find him without 'Paradise Lost' in his hand or pocket. The use of Scriptural imagery is a marked feature of his orations, and no imagery can be more appropriately employed

to illustrate his views; for Mr. Bright, in all his grand efforts, rises far above the loaded, unwholesome atmosphere of party politics into the purer air and brighter skies of patriotism and philanthropy." This just and generous tribute is all the more remarkable that it appeared in a Tory



MR. BALFOUR.

(From a Photograph by Lafigette, Dublin.)

organ, in 1872, when Mr. Bright was one of the leaders of a party on which the Conservatives, rendered insolent by unexpected victories at bye-elections, were waging "war to the knife." But he was not a constructive statesman, and as an administrator he was slow and conservative, as became one who believed that the less governments meddled with the people the better. It is as an orator that he will live, for his resonant eloquence kept the democracy of the Victorian period true to the loftiest ethical ideals, and roused statesmen to find remedies for the abuses he denounced.

Social life all over the kingdom was disorganised by one of its minor miseries at the beginning of 1890. Influenza in an epidemic form had been steadily travelling westwards from Russia for about two months, and four days after the New Year began it smote London with some severity. The malady was not so malignant in England as it had been on the Continent, but few escaped from its attacks. Rich and poor, young and old, suffered alike. Schools were decimated; places of business and public offices were crippled by the sudden and simultaneous disablement of large numbers of their workers. Medical men seemed powerless to cope with the disease, which was as merciless to them as to their patients. The controversy as to the real cause and character of the complaint was copious but futile; though there was among medical men a pretty general agreement that it was most effectively treated by drugs that quickly reduced the temperature of the sufferer—the sudden and alarming evolution of animal heat being one of the most characteristic symptoms. The use of quinine and salicin as preventives also became so general that the market-price of these drugs was rapidly enhanced, greatly to the advantage of speculators. Though the epidemic almost monopolised public attention, it increased the death-rate not by its direct fatality but by the ravages which its after-effects produced upon those in whom the power of resisting disease was weak.

It pleased satirical people at the time to say that the nation was also afflicted by a political influenza. This was a mistake. The contending parties in the State were, no doubt, drifting from their anchorages. Their power and prestige were decaying, but the national life was growing more vigorous and wholesome. Outside the arena in which the politicians were fighting for office it was observed that the best minds in the country in every rank of life were becoming preoccupied with the social question. In every class of society the conviction was being formed that a serious attempt must be made to procure for Labour a juster share than it enjoyed of the conquests of Civilisation.

The country was more prosperous than it had been, and rumours of war abroad had ceased. The policy of the Government, whatever might be its defects, was not antipathetic to the new spirit in which social questions were being discussed. It was a policy that was peaceful abroad and mildly progressive at home. It, therefore, did not excite the alarmists on either side; and even in Ireland, where it was least successful, it not only maintained the *status quo* with the *minimum* of friction possible in the circumstances, but was accompanied by a considerable increase in material well-being.

Some progress—more apparent than real—was made with the practical discussion of the Irish Question. Nothing could be more remarkable than the cautious, conciliatory, and statesmanlike tone of Mr. Parnell's speeches after his visit to Hawarden in November. He seemed to be straining the resources of his prestige to moderate the ambitions and hopes of Irish Nationalists. The ideas of those who in England and Scotland had any of their own about

the Irish problem were gradually grouping themselves round three men—Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Chamberlain. Although there were a few Home Rule politicians, like Mr. Asquith, who inclined to a policy of federalism, the great body of the Opposition favoured what they imagined to be Mr. Gladstone's view, that his old Home Rule Bill, (1) modified by the retention and severe curtailment of the Irish representation at Westminster, (2) by the Imperial control of the judicature and armed police for a limited number of years, and (3) by a Land Purchase scheme not involving any practical or serious risk to the English taxpayer, could be revived. The majority of the Tories thought that the *status quo* could be maintained if Ireland were conciliated by schemes for developing her resources, and by a Local Government Bill with stringent provisions to prevent abuse of power on the part of elected local authorities. A third party, consisting of independent thinkers on both sides, was disposed to agree that an Irish Local Government Bill would have to be accompanied by some measure popularising the central and controlling administration at Dublin Castle, so as to render it sensitive to Irish public opinion. Some believed that an Irish Legislative Council might be evolved from the Irish County Councils and urban municipalities. Others fancied that Mr. Chamberlain's scheme for forming Provincial Legislative Councils in Ireland with legislative powers would meet most difficulties, provided that no concessions were made to the Provincial Legislatures which either impaired or diminished the concurrent power of the Imperial Parliament to make laws for and levy taxes in Ireland. An Irish National Parliament, Provincial Parliaments, and elected County Councils thus represented the leading ideas of the politicians who professed to hold the key of the Irish problem. Outside their circle interest in the question was beginning to fade slowly, but surely, and people seemed to have no definite opinion except that "something should be done" to meet Mr. Parnell's views, in the first place, because he had become surprisingly reasonable, and, secondly, because he had been unfairly persecuted and spitefully maligned by the *Times* newspaper on the strength of forged letters uttered by a perjured witness.

Foreign critics marvelled that so much interest and excitement were roused by the dispute with Portugal that it even threatened at one time to make Englishmen ignore the influenza. The truth, however, is, that the question interested the people because it was taken to mean that the Foreign Office would not permit the interests of Britain in Africa to be ignored in any arrangements which Continental Powers might make among themselves—not even though they might be of the rank of France and Germany. The Portuguese had made conventions with these two nations, recognising the sovereignty of Portugal over the belt of Africa between Angola and Mozambique. A group of independent Democratic politicians, Unionists and Home Rulers alike, had a strong feeling in favour of preventing any break in the continuity of the sphere of British influence in Africa, and they protested against the

Portuguese claims. They had the support of Radical Scotland, which had a strong sentimental interest in the lands David Livingstone revealed to the world. Scotland had also planted industrial mission stations in Nyassaland, so that her interests were even more than sentimental. Lord Salisbury had, therefore, powerful allies among the Radicals not only when he resisted the Portuguese claims, but when, patient remonstrance being seen to be futile, he sent an *ultimatum* on January 11th, demanding that all Portuguese forces should be withdrawn from the Shiré Valley and Mashonaland. If this were not done he instructed the British Minister to withdraw with the Legation to H.M.S. *Enchantress*, which was at his disposal at Vigo. At the same time he ordered the British East African Squadron to Mozambique, and sent the Channel Fleet to sea with sealed orders, instructing it to take positions off the Tagus, the Cape de Verd Islands, and the Azores. Portugal, however, complied with the British demands, and in summer concluded a convention with England, withdrawing her claim to the territory that would have separated Nyassaland from the Cape Colony.

The strike among the stokers of the South Metropolitan Gas Company ended in the defeat of the workmen, and an attempt to renew the dock strike, made at Hay's Wharf, failed. Lord Dunraven, representing the younger school of Toryism, at Liverpool and Bermondsey delivered speeches on January 6th and January 9th exhibiting strong sympathy with the demand to limit by legislation the working day to eight hours, while Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden (January 9th) condemned projects for nationalising the land, contending that the best system is the present one under which the soil is owned by "one set of men," and tilled by another. Lord Randolph Churchill spoke in support of Lord Dunraven's views at St. James's Hall (January 10th), and as Mr. Morley and Mr. Labouchere had both discouraged the agitation for an eight hours' day it seemed as if Labour must look more particularly to the left wing of the Tories for sympathy. The representatives of the Miners' Federation further obtained promises of support for the principle of their Eight Hours Bill from Lord Dunraven and Lord Randolph Churchill (February 18th). Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, said he neither "could nor should" pass it. Out of the long series of barren party speeches that followed, the only fresh point noted was Mr. Morley's suggestions at Liverpool (January 31st) for "mending," not "ending," the House of Lords.*

When Parliament met on the 11th of February people were wondering—not what the Queen's Speech would say—but what the report of the Parnell Commission, which was expected every day, would set forth. The Royal Speech

* It could, he said, only be abolished by violence or law. He objected to violence, and the other plan would take too long. Peers, he said, should have the option of abandoning their rights, and getting elected to the House of Commons, and their veto on legislation should only last for a certain time, after which if the Commons passed a Bill twice intact, the veto of the Peers should no longer destroy it.

promised only two measures of primary practical importance—a Land Purchase Bill for Ireland, and a Local Government Bill for Scotland. There were several others in the list; but as it was more than doubtful if they would pass, they did not interest anybody except their special supporters. The game played by the Opposition in the House of Commons was to try to extort from it an expression



MR. GLADSTONE'S STUDY, HAWARDEN CASTLE.

of opinion in favour of Mr. Parnell on the strength of the withdrawal of the forged letters. The Government desired to prevent any expression of opinion whatever till the report on other points in the case was published. Sir William Harcourt moved an amendment to the Address, condemning the *Times* as guilty of breach of privilege. Sir John Gorst met it by a counter-motion declining to treat the publication of the "forged" letters as a breach of privilege; the acceptance of the word "forged" being forced on the Government by Mr. Parnell. As Sir William Harcourt was beaten only by a majority of 260 to 212, it was plain that Mr. Smith, as Leader of the House, had been guilty of a grave error of judgment in not devising some means whereby Government could permit the House to record the general opinion of the people, which was that Mr. Parnell had in this affair at least been ill-used by his opponents. The debate on the Address attracted little attention, because on the 13th of February the

Report of the Parnell Commission was laid before Parliament. It exonerated Mr. Parnell from the only charges brought against him by the *Times* that were of supreme importance. It freed the members of the Irish Parliamentary Party from the charge of direct personal complicity with crime. But it found them guilty of joining a conspiracy to promote their policy by methods which they must have known must lead to violence and outrage. Perhaps public opinion on the Report may fairly well be reflected by saying that the Commission found nothing new in the charges against the Parnellites that were true, and nothing true in those that were new. Long wearisome debates followed. Mr. Gladstone and his friends tried to make Parliament record its satisfaction that Mr. Parnell had obtained a verdict of "Not Proven" on those counts of the indictment which charged them with being directly concerned in committing revolting crimes. The Tories tried to get this pronouncement qualified by a condemnation of the Irish Party for conniving at or inciting to the commission of crimes which they must have known would follow from their methods of agitation. Ministers prudently took the middle course of inviting Parliament merely to adopt the report, without any formal expression of opinion. This ought not to have been objectionable to those who thought that it recorded a triumphant acquittal of the Irish Party, or to those who considered that it branded them as malefactors. As the offences brought home to them were well within the knowledge of the leaders of both parties in Parliament, when in turn they intrigued with Mr. Parnell's representatives for his political support, it would have been only generous to express some satisfaction that politicians with whom they had co-operated in party warfare had cleared themselves from imputations that rendered them unfit to associate with decent men. The Government, however, carried their point after much exasperating debate. In the meantime the Plan of Campaign was enforced on the estates of Mr. Smith-Barry, admittedly an excellent landlord, his offence being that he had helped another landlord, Mr. Ponsonby, to resist the demands of his tenants. Mr. Smith-Barry owned most of the business part of the town of Limerick, and his thriving tenants there had to submit to eviction. The League then built for them some wretched sheds, which they called "New Tipperary," and in these the poor shopkeepers gradually drifted to ruin. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick denounced as wicked the application of "the Plan" to the Massarene Estate, and was in turn denounced by Messrs. John Dillon and William O'Brien. In the autumn a riot was organised on the occasion of Mr. John Morley's visit to the town. Mr. Balfour was undismayed by the extravagance and violence with which the legal proceedings that followed were met, and accordingly when he persisted in prosecuting Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien they broke their bail-bonds and fled to the United States.

During the first part of the session the Government made no progress

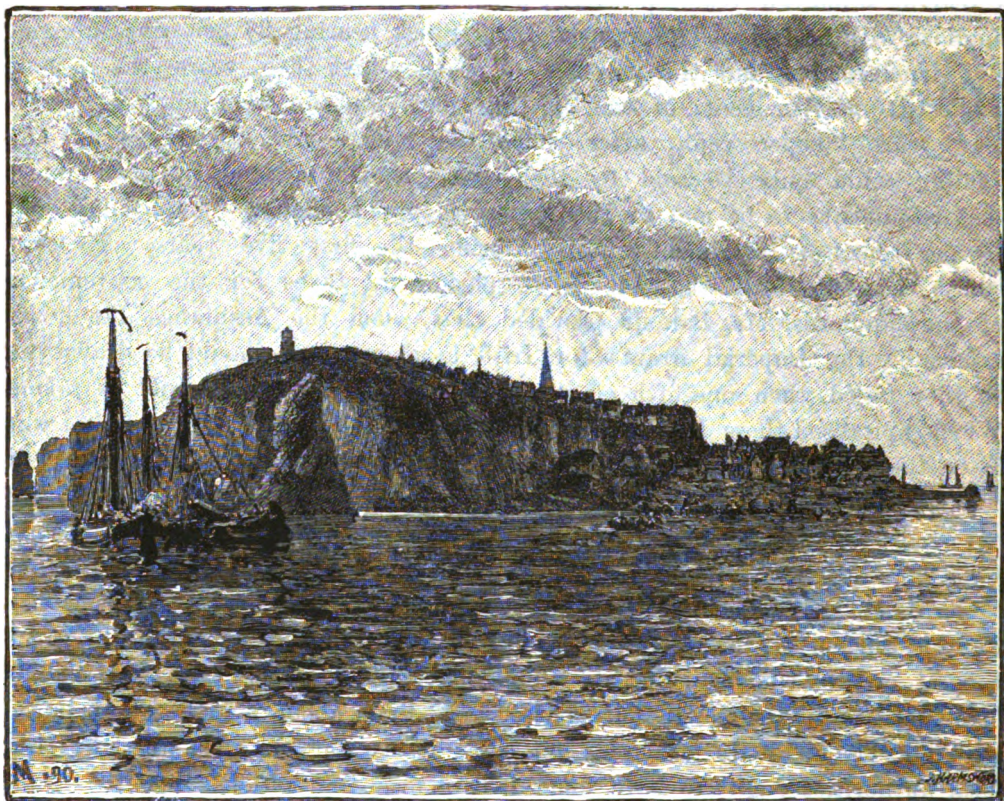
with business. Lord Salisbury, at a meeting in the Carlton Club, implored his followers to assist him in pushing forward an Irish Land Purchase Bill, a Tithes Bill, and a measure for giving free, or, as he called it, assisted education to the people. Accordingly, on the 24th of March, Mr. Balfour introduced the Irish Land Purchase Bill. He proposed that the landlord and tenant should first voluntarily agree upon a price for a farm—not exceeding twenty years' purchase of the net rent.* Supposing this were £100 a year at seventeen years' purchase, a Land Department would buy out the landlord with £1,700 in Government Land Stock bearing $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. interest, and irredeemable for thirty years. For the first five years the tenant would pay 80 per cent. of the existing rent, and for the following forty-four years 70 per cent., after which the land would be his own. The holding could only be sold by the State on default, and, if involuntary, the default was to be met by the Assurance Fund created by the additional 10 per cent. of instalment exacted during the first five years. To conciliate those Radicals who objected to pledge the taxes for the convenience of the landlords, Mr. Balfour provided that when the Assurance Fund was exhausted the Imperial grants for Irish local purposes should be drawn on. If they failed, then one-fifth of the landlord's capital stock could be taken. When capitalised these different securities represented £33,000,000, and that was to be the limit of the State advances. Of course, as the money was repaid it could be lent out again on the same terms. Congested districts were to be put under a Special Board, which might make land purchase compulsory, assist emigration and migration, and develop local resources. Their fund was to consist of £1,500,000 left from the old Irish Fishery Board and the Irish Church Surplus. On the whole the Bill was well received, save by some Liberal critics, who ridiculed its complexity. Though the Irish Nationalists denounced the measure, Mr. Parnell said very little about it. He was believed to be in favour of its principle, but thought, as did Mr. Chamberlain, that local authorities ought to have some control over transactions under it.

The Tithes Bill, read a second time on the 28th. of March, made the owner liable for tithe with power to recover it out of the rent if need be, through the County Court, the judge of which might abate it when it exceeded the letting value of the land.

After the Easter holidays came the Budget which Mr. Goschen presented on the 17th of April. His surplus was not so large as had been expected. There had been a saving of £116,000 in expenditure, but the revenue amounted to £3,000,000 more than he had looked for, chiefly because of "the rush to alcohol" which marked the social history of the year. He estimated for the coming year a revenue of £90,406,000, and an expenditure of £86,617,989. That gave him a probable surplus of £3,788,061 with which he might reduce taxes. Mr. Goschen did nothing heroic with it. He frittered it

* Net Rent in Ireland is actual rent, landlord's rates being deducted.

away in small doles for barrack expenditure, volunteer equipment, reduction of ocean postage, the abolition of the duty on gold and silver plate, the reduction of the duty on currants. As for the masses, he sought to please them by taking 2d. a pound off the tea duty—it was not unfair, he said, to “make the tipplers pay for the tea”—and, to ease the burden of “the people who begin to wear a black coat,” he reduced the tax on houses



HELGOLAND.

below a £60 rental. It was necessary to find a source of revenue in place of the ill-fated wheel-and-van tax which he had withdrawn, so as to provide the promised subsidies to local governments. Mr. Goschen, therefore, ceded to them the additional duty he had put on beer and a tax of 6d. a gallon on home and foreign spirits. In England £300,000 of this was to be spent on Police pensions, £350,000 for buying up licences, and the balance for general local purposes. Mr. Goschen failed to please the temperance party by his proposal to suspend the granting of new licences, and it was soon seen that his Local Taxation Bill would be obstructed under popular sanction, because it empowered County Councils to spend part of the new spirit duties in buying up licences. This proposal was the revival of Compensation in disguise.

Business lagged sadly between Easter and Whitsuntide. After five nights' debate the second reading of the Land Purchase Bill was, however, carried on the 1st of May, the sensational speech of the debate being one in which Mr. Parnell abandoned the principle of purchase and put forward a modification of Mr. Shaw Lefevre's scheme for "fining down" rents with the State advances.* The Conservative Unionists would have accepted the



MR. H. M. STANLEY.

principle of this scheme, but their Radical allies challenged it on the ground that the object of the Unionist Party was to pacify Ireland by promoting the extinction of rent, whereas Mr. Parnell's plan perpetuated rent and rendered its payment objectionable, because it would go to mere rent-chargers on the land. After Whitsuntide the indecision of the Ministry seemed to encourage obstruction, and the Opposition invented the process, as Mr. Smith said, "of smothering Bills with instructions to Committee." The

* Mr. Parnell proposed an advance of £27,000,000 to all landlords, on condition they would pay off their heaviest encumbrances and reduce rents of all farms under £50 a year by 30 per cent. This, if accepted, would have meant that in the nine brief years of his career Mr. Parnell would have contrived to cut 50 per cent. off all Irish rents under £50 a year.

Speaker therefore ruled out all those that were inconsistent with the principle of each measure, and so the Tithes Bill and Local Taxation Bill began to move at last. But all other Bills seemed doomed, and Mr. Smith on the 17th of June accordingly proposed a new Standing Order enabling Bills in Committee to be revived next session at the same stage as that which they had reached when the House was prorogued. Day after day was wasted in barren talk, and finally the Government offered to withdraw the licensing clauses in the Local Taxation Bill—"ear-marking" the taxation it levied, so that it might be appropriated by future legislation. The Speaker, however, ruled that the taxes raised in the session must be disposed of in the Appropriation Bill of the year—the result being that the clauses were withdrawn altogether, and the money applied to relieve rates. The new Standing Order was so bitterly opposed that the Ministry resolved to abandon all their Bills and take them up again unconditionally in an autumn session which was to meet in the last half of November. The Estimates were wrangled over in the usual manner, and the Police Bills, the India Councils Bill, and the Savings Banks Bill were carried after much barren strife. But when Parliament met again in November the whole situation was changed as if by the stroke of a magician.

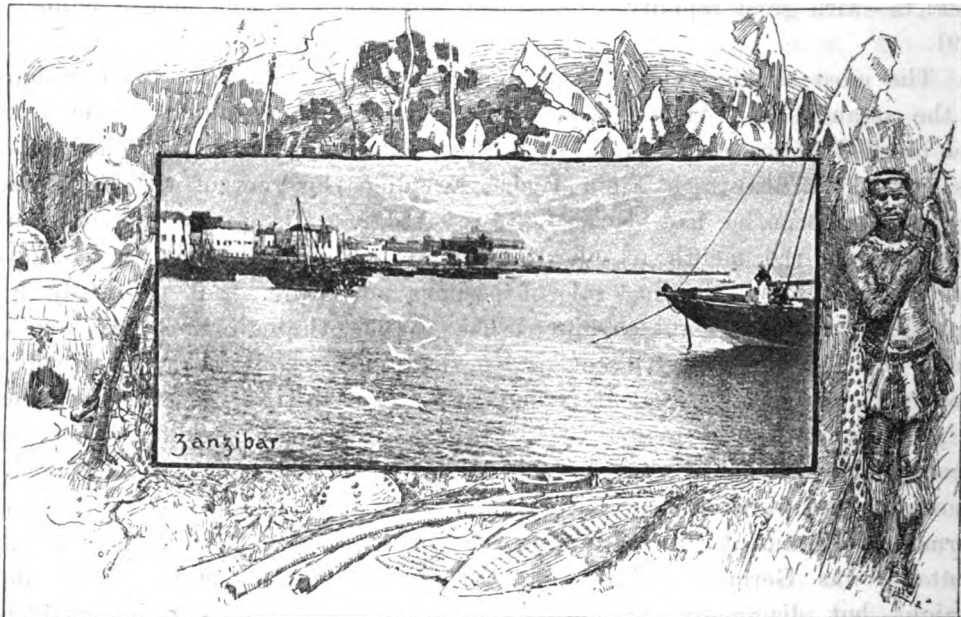
The verdict in the long-pending divorce case, *O'Shea v. O'Shea* and Parnell, was given on the 13th of November, and it convicted Mr. Parnell—who never offered any explanation of his behaviour—of committing adultery with the wife of Captain O'Shea, a politician whom he had made member for Galway, greatly to the displeasure of his more pious Catholic followers. Nevertheless, the Irish Party held a great meeting in the Leinster Hall, Dublin, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, at which they bound themselves to adhere to Mr. Parnell as their leader, in spite of what had happened. When Parliament met, therefore, Mr. Parnell was unanimously re-elected "sessional chairman," or leader of the Irish Home Rulers. In the meantime, the Gladstonian Nonconformists insisted that either Mr. Parnell or Home Rule must be thrown over. Mr. Gladstone bowed to the storm. He wrote to Mr. Morley a letter in which he said that if Mr. Parnell continued to lead the Irish Party his own leadership would be "reduced to a nullity." Then disruption overtook the Irish Party, and in the course of the contest between the contending factions in Committee Room No. 15, in the House of Commons, Mr. Parnell revealed what he said was the general drift of Mr. Gladstone's new Home Rule Bill, as communicated to him at Hawarden in November, 1889. He also offered to withdraw from public life if the Home Rule members could extract from Mr. Gladstone a promise that he would give the Irish Parliament control of the police, the magistracy, and the law courts. Mr. Gladstone gave no such promise, and the end was that the majority of the Irish members seceded from the old independent Irish Party, and formed themselves into a Nationalist Party, under the wise

and benignant leadership of Mr. Justin McCarthy. A vacancy now occurred in Kilkenny, and Mr. Parnell exerted himself to defeat Sir John Pope Hennessy, the "anti-Parnellite" candidate, whose election was easily carried by the efforts of the Roman Catholic priests.

While the fight was going on in Committee Room No. 15, a strange, one might almost say a holy, calm had come over the House of Commons, during which ministers put through all the Bills they desired to carry—the Tithes Bill, the Purchase Bill, the Free Education Bill, and the Bills enabling the Irish Government to relieve distress by advancing money for seed potatoes, opening up light railways, and developing local resources in poor districts—with great rapidity. Parliament adjourned till the 22nd of January, 1891.

The most striking political event of the time in England was her share in the scramble for Africa. The Portuguese, at the beginning of the year, had recalled Major Serpa Pinto from Nyassaland, and Mr. Stanley had made his way to Zanzibar with Emin Pasha, Egyptian Governor of the Equatorial Provinces, whom he had been sent to rescue. His weary marches and voyages from the mouth of the Congo through the heart of Africa gave him material for a thrilling tale of perilous adventure. But politically his exploration was important because, when passing through the Lake region, where he made important discoveries, he had also negotiated treaties which practically put Uganda and its tributaries under British influence. Uganda is probably the only region in Central Africa worth holding, alike on account of the comparatively civilised character of its people and of its resources, and it was only natural that Germany should covet it. The German Government started a theory that everything behind their coast-frontage was German "Hinterland," and by drawing their boundaries not straight but diagonally to north and south they modestly included in German Africa nearly the whole of the continent that was left to be scrambled for. A draft treaty had been agreed on, some of the provisions of which were in substance revealed by the *Daily Chronicle*, which accused Lord Salisbury of weakly surrendering Uganda—"The Pearl of Africa"—as well as the greater part of Nyassaland to Germany. The addresses of Mr. Stanley—upon whom the freedom of London City had been conferred on the 13th of May, at the Guildhall, before a distinguished assembly—all over England also roused public opinion, and the affair of the Anglo-German agreement hung fire. The attacks of the Radical Unionists again grew stronger, and the result was that a fresh arrangement was made by which Germany surrendered to the British sphere Vitu and the region north of a line drawn through Victoria Nyanza, while Zanzibar was put under a British protectorate. English rights on the Zambesi and in the direction of Nyassaland were also recognised. The German sphere, on the other hand, was to extend from the coast to Lake Tanganyika. On the

whole the bargain was such a good one for England that only a few complained that it was purchased by the cession of Heligoland to Germany and the recognition of dubious French rights in Madagascar—France having a just claim as a guarantor of the independence of Zanzibar to veto a British Protectorate over it. Her sphere of influence was still further recognised as extending from Algeria to Lake Tchad and the sources of the Niger. Abroad, the retirement of Prince Bismarck from office and the appointment of General Von Caprivi in his place did not produce any striking effect. The change was accepted by Germany as inevitable when it was seen that



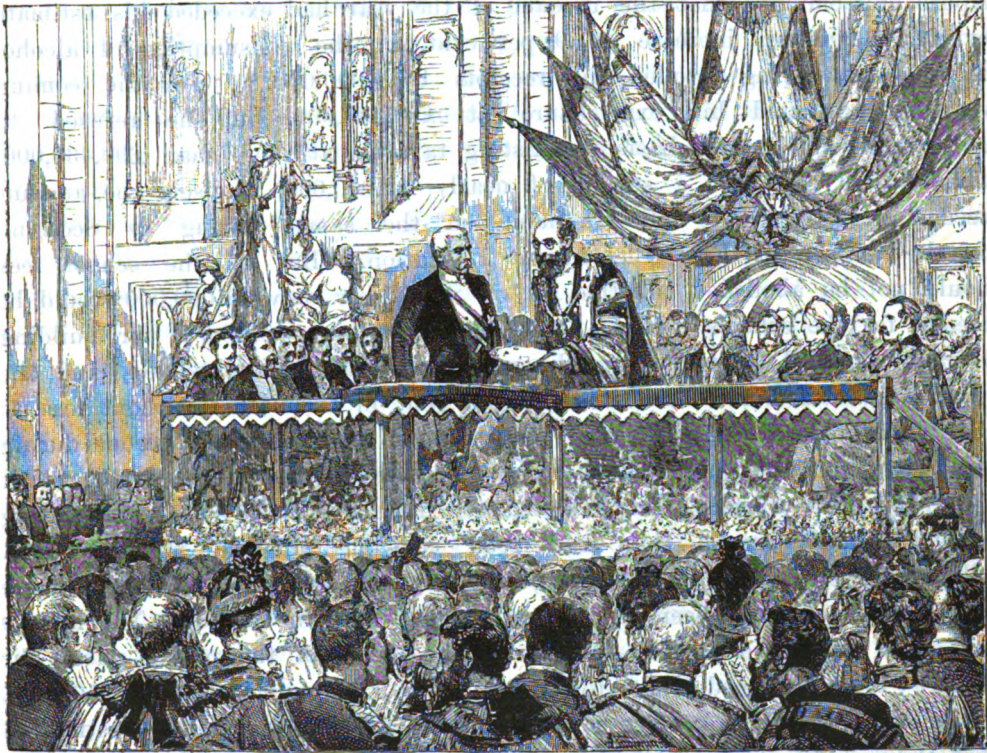
ZANZIBAR.

the young Emperor meant to rule as well as reign, and when the wreck of the National Liberal Party which had kept Prince Bismarck in power rendered political concessions necessary which he refused to make.

The advance to power of that section of the working-classes whose leaders were bent on using the machinery of legislation and administration for bettering their condition was continued, and the indifference with which the feuds of the Irish Parties filled the minds of the people seemed to stimulate interest in social questions. This was indicated by the enthusiasm with which the public hailed a scheme for the reclamation of the lapsed masses, which was put forth by Mr. William Booth, the General of the Salvation Army. But there was woe in the City. The bubble of inflated speculation in South America burst in November, when the great house of Baring collapsed under its liabilities, and would have spread ruin far and wide had

not the Bank of England and the leading financial firms, alarmed at the crisis, come forward to guarantee the settlement of all its obligations under a reconstruction scheme.

Seldom in the Queen's reign has the country enjoyed a happier New Year than that of 1891. Lord Salisbury's vigilant management of Foreign Affairs kept away the panics that vexed the nation under former governments. Party politicians were paralysed. People who supported the Administration



MR. STANLEY RECEIVING THE FREEDOM OF THE CITY OF LONDON AT THE GUILDHALL. (See p. 795.)

confessed that Mr. Chamberlain's influence had merely obtained for its servants permission to do the good work for the public which they were paid out of the taxes for doing. They had to admit that as no emotional agitations were manufactured in populous centres by either of the Irish factions—now devoted to political fratricide—it had been easy to carry on the Queen's government quietly and rationally.

When Parliament met on the 22nd of January the Government enjoyed an unexpected advantage. The Gladstonian Irish did not oppose their two chief measures—the Irish Land Purchase Bill and the Free Education Bill. Dread of the Irish peasantry deterred them from opposing the former and of the Irish priesthood from objecting to the latter, which

gave valuable grants to denominational schools. The Tithes Bill, which had been read a second time in December, obtained Royal Assent before the Easter Holiday. Supplementary estimates were fairly discussed, and private members, who had made a great fuss about the confiscation of their nights by Government in the previous session systematically let the House be counted out time after time on the nights set aside for them.

When Mr. Goschen brought in his Budget on the 23rd of April, he set at rest all doubt as to the prospects of Free Education. He told the House of Commons that the revenue of the year had exceeded his estimate by £1,800,000—an increase of 9 per cent. in the consumption of alcohol in England having swollen his receipts by £900,000.* For the coming year he estimated his expenditure at £88,440,000, but he refused to estimate revenue on the basis of existing taxation at more than £90,430,000, which would give him a surplus of nearly £2,000,000, precisely the amount needed every year to put England on the same footing as Scotland in the matter of Free Elementary Education. But as the school fees would not be abolished till the 1st of September only £1,000,000 would be needed for the schools. Hence he could appropriate £500,000 for building barracks instead of borrowing the money, as had been intended, and the balance enabled him to call in the light gold in circulation without loss to the “last holder.” The working classes must have been prosperous during this year, for not only was there an increase in the yield of the spirit duty, but the tobacco duty showed an increase of £450,000, representing 3,000,000 more ounces than had been consumed in the previous year. Allowing twelve pipes to the ounce, the inference was that 36,000,000 more pipes of tobacco had been smoked in 1890–91 than in 1889–90. The income tax again suggested a great increase in the means of the middle-class. Sir Robert Peel reckoned that for every penny it ought to yield £500,000. When Mr. Goschen took office a penny yielded £2,000,000. He now estimated that the yield would be £2,300,000. This was really bad news for the middle-classes, because the loss of £2,300,000 a year that would be incurred every time a penny was cut off, was obviously such a serious one that it was scarcely possible to suppose a Chancellor of the Exchequer would ever venture to cut another penny off the tax—which must accordingly become a fixed impost of 6d. in the £.

The Irish Land Purchase Bill was virtually the same as the Bill that had been stranded in Committee since the 5th of December, 1890. But the Land Commission was made permanent, and the machinery of transfer under the Ashbourne Acts substituted for that in the original measure. Mr. Parnell was the only person who forced any modification of it on the Government. In order to meet his demand that the purchase money “should

* This increase of one million gallons is the largest on record since 1880. On balancing income and expenditure Mr. Goschen had a net surplus of £1,756,000.

be made to go farther," Mr. Balfour agreed that the sum to be lent to each county should be applied in proportion to the number of holdings above and below £30 annual valuation. As the original proposal was to allot the money in proportion to the valuation of the holdings in each class a strong advantage was here gained by the poorer tenantry. A few large and highly-valued holdings could no longer absorb the greater part of the money—leaving a vast number of small holdings out in the cold. Though the Irish landlords were supported by Mr. Gladstone's English and Irish followers in resisting this change in the Bill, it passed through Committee on the 22nd of May. The only concession that Mr. Balfour could be persuaded to make was to raise the limit from £30 to £50. The Lords, however, induced the Commons to accept an amendment to the effect that if the poor tenants did not take up their share in the first year it might be divided among the rich ones.

On the 8th of June the Free Education Bill was introduced by Sir William Hart Dyke. To all schools that chose to take it a grant of ten shillings per pupil in average attendance was offered in lieu of fees. Hence, where the fees were less than the grant the schools would be free. Where they were in excess of the grant they could only be freed at a loss to their managers. In this class of schools managers were allowed to charge fees to meet the deficit, but only up to a defined limit. The grant was offered only for children between the ages of five and fourteen. An attempt was made by Mr. Fowler to alter the Bill by moving an amendment withholding the grant from all schools that did not accept the popular control. His position was curiously illogical. The grant being an Imperial one, the only popular control it carried was obviously that of the Education Office. But the Roman Catholic priests—whose schools by reason of their low fees must gain more than any other by the grants—would not listen to any proposal for subjecting them to the control of elected school boards, and so Mr. Fowler was defeated by a majority of 267 to 166—Mr. Gladstone's Irish supporters deserting the Nonconformist Liberals when the division was taken. The limit of age was extended to include children between three and fourteen, and the Bill passed through its various stages in both Houses of Parliament. A useful Factory Act was passed, an amendment prohibiting the employment of children under eleven years of age being carried against the Home Secretary's opposition by Mr. Buxton. A Public Health Bill for London was the only other important measure of the year that survived.

A vote of censure on Mr. Balfour moved by Mr. Morley was rejected, and the House expunged the resolution of 1880, by which Mr. Bradlaugh had been offensively prohibited from making an affirmation or taking an oath. The grace of this step was enhanced by the circumstance that Mr. Bradlaugh was dying when the resolution was carried, and only lived long enough to hear that justice had been done to him. The session ended on August 1st.

It had been a quiet, business-like, but sickly session. Many of the leading men had been laid low by illness. Archbishop Magee—the wittiest and most eloquent of Prelates—and Lord Granville, the most polished of political satirists, had passed away. The death of Mr. Gladstone's eldest son had prostrated the Leader of the Opposition, already enfeebled by illness. Mr.



THE MANSION HOUSE, LONDON.

W. H. Smith, the Leader of the House, was also ill, and it was feared he might have to retire from his post. Influenza had left its deadly effects behind it, and at one time the Cabinet had actually been rendered unable to transact business, by sickness traceable to this subtle malady. The only important Parliamentary changes were the succession of Lord Kimberley to Lord Granville's leadership of the Opposition in the House of Lords, and the formal acquiescence of the Opposition in the Commons to the leadership of Sir William Harcourt in Mr. Gladstone's absence. The death of the aged Duke of Devonshire transferred his son and heir, the Marquis of Hartington, to the House of Lords, and the leadership of the Liberal Unionists in the House of Commons was conferred on Mr. Chamberlain.

Nothing happened after the session ended to interest politicians till the

National Liberal Federation met at Newcastle and promulgated what Sir William Harcourt called its "multifarious programme." It put Home Rule in the background, but this was afterwards corrected by Mr. Gladstone, who, moreover, adopted with several qualifications the programme of Parish Councils; Small Holdings, which by public subsidies were to make abandoned land in England blossom like the rose; the "mending or ending" of the House of Lords; "one man one vote;" land law reform; taxation of ground-rents; free sale of land; popular veto on licensing public-houses; international arbitration; and extension of the Factory Acts.

When the country was discussing the Newcastle programme the face of affairs was changed by two deaths. Mr. W. H. Smith and Mr. Parnell both died on the 6th of October. Mr. Smith's death was generally lamented, because he had been a temperate and dutiful leader of the House of Commons. Mr. Balfour was nominated as his successor, and accordingly became First Lord of the Treasury, the Irish Secretaryship being given to Mr. Jackson, a business-like Yorkshireman, who was Financial Secretary to the Treasury. He proved himself quite fit to cope with the Irish party when Parliament met. He was always ready with a plain, courteous answer to their questions, and when they tried to terrify him by vituperation he only beamed on them with the kindly smile of an old playgoer at a stale comedy. Very soon the Irish members ceased to rail at Mr. Jackson. He also became popular in Ireland, because of his honest effort to carry out Mr. Balfour's remedial policy in the West. Irish Agrarian Crime had now almost ceased, and the coercive clauses of the Crimes Acts had been put in abeyance, except in some turbulent districts in Clare. The Irish Party were fighting over the possession of their political fund, which had been lodged in the hands of Parisian bankers in the names of trustees who, like Mr. Parnell and Mr. Justin McCarthy, were now in rival camps. In Ireland, however, Mr. Parnell at every bye-election was beaten by the priests. His efforts to hold his ground wore out a constitution that was never robust. It is too soon to speak of Mr. Parnell's character. Next to Pym and Peel he will rank in the history of the House of Commons as its "greatest Parliament man." In so far as he undertook to serve the Irish people three things must be admitted. He enabled the Irishman who was landless to stand up with his back straight in the presence of the Irishman who had land. He transferred about fifty per cent. of the Irish landlords' exorbitant rents to the pockets of the Irish people, who had for centuries scrimped, stinted, and starved to pay them. He had—except when the interests of the Irish party were concerned—invariably thrown his influence in Imperial politics into the scale of democratic progress, with a plain-spoken modesty and sincerity that made Englishmen regret often they could not enlist his statecraft in their own service. But his life remains—till the secret of his private papers is revealed—an enigma. He was a cold, proud, self-centred man, suggesting

always Carlyle's "fanatical, sea-green incorruptible republican"—yet with a trace of perfervid genius only held in restraint by the high aristocratic breeding which his bearing and speech usually betrayed. Like Mr. Smith O'Brien, he was the only Irish leader who was a Protestant and devoid of gushing eloquence; like him he was the only one who ever reigned in the hearts of the Irish democracy as an "uncrowned king." In losing him Ireland lost the greatest statesman she has produced in our time. He had exorcised the spirit of Fenianism from Nationalism, and converted one of the great ruling parties of England to Home Rule. That nine-tenths of the Irish people towards the end of his career turned to rend him, at the bidding of the Roman Catholic clergy—to whom, as a Protestant with strong secularist proclivities, he had been obnoxious—was regrettable, but inevitable. Mr. Parnell only shared the common fate of those who in giving their lives to the Irish people have refused to mortgage Ireland to the service of English party government. Cork, which he represented, refused to return Mr. John Redmond—his successor in the leadership of the independent Nationalists. Waterford, however, reversed the verdict of Cork when Mr. Michael Davitt contested the constituency against Mr. Redmond, after the death of Mr. Richard Power had vacated the seat.

The shadow of the impending General Election was over the land throughout the year. The first indication given of the probable defeat of the Government came from London in the autumn. The Conservative Party identified themselves with the candidature of those who sought seats on the London County Council with the intention of paralysing it. The result was that the "Progressive candidates," who were for the most part Liberals, won the fight by a large majority—their success being mainly due to the Labour vote.

Court life was uneventful in 1891. On the 26th of February the Queen and most of her family visited Portsmouth, where she launched the *Royal Sovereign*, the largest ironclad afloat. The Empress Frederick came to her after her unfortunate visit to Paris, where her trip to Versailles gave dire offence, and on the 5th of March they both graced the Horse Show in Islington with their presence. On the 18th her Majesty proceeded to Grasse, returning on the 30th; and on the 17th of May was gratified to learn that the Duchess of Fife had presented her with a great-granddaughter—the first born on English soil. On her way to Balmoral her Majesty laid the foundation stone of the new buildings of the Royal Infirmary at Derby on the 21st of May. An interesting function in which she took part was the marriage of her godchild, Miss Ponsonby, daughter of her old and faithful friend and servant, Sir Henry Ponsonby, at the Guards' Chapel in Wellington Barracks. The arrival of the French Fleet under Admiral Gervais was the sensational event of August, and on the 19th the Queen reviewed the French squadron at Spithead with great pomp and ceremonial dignity.



THE DUKE OF CLARENCE AND AVONDALE.

(From a Photograph by Lafrayette, Dublin.)

The new year of 1892 was again clouded by dread of influenza. The epidemic broke out, but in a comparatively mild form, though in some places in the provinces, like Tiverton, Windsor, and Dover, the attack was severe. The death of the Khedive of Egypt in the first week of the year gave rise to some fear that an attempt would be made by France and Russia to induce the Sultan to refuse recognition to Tewfik's son, Abbas Pasha, unless the British troops were withdrawn. This suspicion proved groundless, and popular interest was soon absorbed by two calamities that occurred almost simultaneously—the deaths of Cardinal Manning and the Duke of Clarence and Avondale. This amiable young prince had felt ill after attending the funeral of Prince Victor of Hohenlohe, and was reported to have caught a chill at a shooting party a few days later. Then it was said he had influenza. But symptoms of pneumonia appeared; his strength gave way, and he died on the 14th of January. Popular sympathy went out to the Queen and to his parents without stint, partly because the young Prince had endeared himself to everybody by his simple, modest life, and his manifest devotion to its highest duties. Moreover his betrothal to his cousin, the Princess Victoria of Teck, had only been announced on the 7th of December in the previous year, and in his grave were accordingly buried many high hopes and vaulting dynastic ambitions. On the same day there died in his eighty-fourth year Cardinal Manning, a scholarly and benevolent prince of the Roman Catholic Church, whose mission in life was the sympathetic embodiment by a patriotic Englishman of democratic Roman Catholicism. The Queen was so deeply moved by the universal expression of sympathy which the death of the Duke of Clarence elicited that she addressed a pathetic letter to the people thanking them for their unfailing kindness to her in moments of bereavement.

In February the virulence of the influenza epidemic abated, and interest in politics again awoke. The victory of Mr. Maden, the Gladstonian candidate, at the Rossendale election pointed a likely forecast of the result of the impending General Election. On Tuesday, the 9th of February, the last session of the Twelfth Parliament of the Queen's reign was opened. The Royal speech promised only one Bill of supreme interest—the measure reforming the Local Government of Ireland. This Bill had been postponed on various pretexts for four years. It could be postponed no longer. Objecting to Home Rule as a solution of the Irish problem, Ministers were bound to offer an alternative one. If it were bold and democratic, and if at the same time it protected minorities in Ireland from sectarian oppression whilst it kept the Union intact, it would enable the Coalition to vindicate its existence. But if the Bill failed to satisfy these hopes, it was felt that in a General Election the Government would be defeated, and Mr. Gladstone would again be permitted to take the Irish Question in hand. One other important measure was also mentioned in the Royal Speech, for increasing small agricultural holdings in

England. The debate on the Address was not notable save for Sir William Harcourt's refusal to meet the Parnellite leader's challenge when he asked whether Mr. Gladstone's proposed Irish Parliament would have its legislation reviewed by the Imperial Parliament; Mr. Chamberlain's dashing combativeness in his first appearance as a party leader; and the demand of the Irish Parnellite members, temperately set forth by Mr. Redmond, that imprisoned dynamitards should be set free.

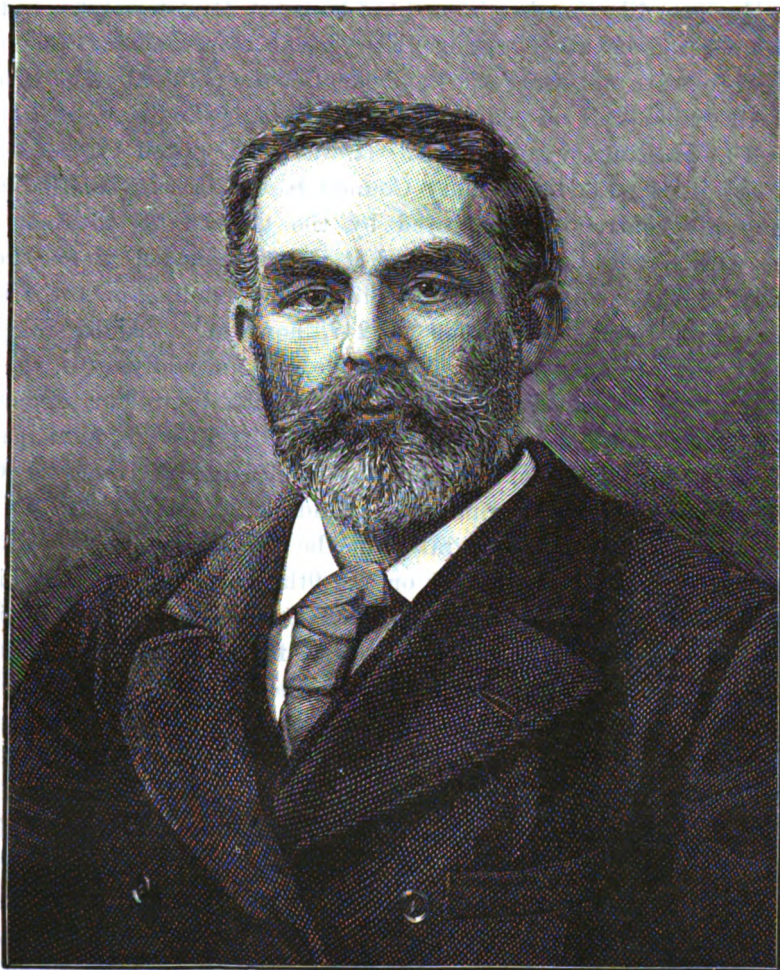
The death of Mr. Spurgeon, the Pope of the Baptists, on Sunday, the 31st of January, was felt as a national calamity, and diverted the public mind from politics. It took away a polished shaft in the Temple of Protestant Nonconformity, a princely administrator of charity, a statesmanlike organiser, a pastor of unaffected piety, and a preacher representing all that was most powerful and persuasive in the eloquence of the old English Puritan divines.

When Mr. Balfour brought in his Irish Local Government Bill on the 18th of February, experienced observers confidently foretold the course of events. The Government would, they said, have to go to the country on this Bill, and be beaten. It was an admirable cesspayer's bill, and it adapted with unquestionable honesty the system of English and Scottish local government to Ireland. By setting up subordinate bodies corresponding to district councils in Ireland it was even a more democratic measure than the English or Scottish Bills. But its fatal defect, from a Radical Unionist point of view, was its failure to popularise the Central Government of Ireland in Dublin Castle. It left Ireland under the Government of nine "Boards," composed not of representatives of the people, but of Crown nominees. An unfortunate clause also gave power to the Lord-Lieutenant on the petition of twenty ratepayers, and the decision of the judges in their favour, to dissolve a County Council for misconduct. Nobody was ever able to explain why faulty Councils could not be left to the power of the ordinary law.

Mr. Chaplin's Small Holdings Bill was, however, more successful. It allowed County Councils to raise loans not exceeding 1d. a pound on rating, and carrying interest at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., to buy land from people willing to sell it. It authorised the resale of this land in small holdings not exceeding fifty acres in extent. The buyer put down one-fourth of the value, and paid the rest by instalments. The Opposition attacked the Bill because it was not compulsory, but Mr. Chaplin's measure passed into law. There was less interest in politics in spring than one might have expected—the dread of a coal famine, due to the threatened strike of the miners in the North of England, lay heavy on family life, and in London it produced a panic that ran up the price of coal to the poorer classes till it reached £2 a ton. But political life was soon quickened by the triumph of those Radicals in the London County Council Election who had contrived to exploit the Labour vote in the interest of the Liberal party. The growing importance of the Labour vote was the most significant feature of this contest, and it suggested that in a General Election the party that failed to capture it was certain of defeat. The dispute with the United States over the right of Canadian sealers to work in

Behring Sea outside the three-mile limit of Alaskan territory was conducted by Lord Salisbury to friendly arbitration.

On the 11th of April Mr. Goschen introduced what was justly called "a humdrum Budget." With a General Election impending he was disinclined



MR. JOHN BURNS, M.P.

(From a Photograph by Lombardi and Co., Pall Mall East, S.W.)

to make proposals that might involve great changes. On the transactions of the year, partly owing to an expansion of revenue and savings in estimated expenditure, there was a surplus in hand of £1,067,000. Influenza had increased the yield of the death duties. City business had declined, but not to the extent of very seriously depressing the stamp duties, and the returns from Customs were largely in excess of the estimates. For the coming year expenditure was put at £90,253,000, and revenue at £90,477,000, leaving a probable surplus of £224,000. From this Mr. Goschen took £24,000 for a

remission of certain patent duties, thus keeping open an estimated surplus of £200,000. After the Easter holidays the House of Commons was put to the work of dealing with minor measures, but it was clear that legislators were more anxious about "nursing" the constituencies to which they were soon to appeal than about furthering public business. The victory of a Unionist candidate in the North Hackney Election brightened the hopes of Ministerialists, and the zeal of Government on behalf of their Irish Local Government Bill manifestly cooled. Yet to those who were mere onlookers of the political game it seemed as though Lord Salisbury's discouragement of Labour Legislation in a speech he delivered at Hastings was ominous. It was made when the leaders of the Labour Party in the London County Council had with ease carried a resolution forcing all contractors employed by the Council to do their work in accordance with Trade Union rules, and it therefore boded ill for the success of his party at the coming election. The second reading of the Irish Local Government Bill, by a vote of 339 to 247, however, inflamed the sanguine optimism of the Unionists. Mr. Gladstone, in an address to the London Liberal and Radical Union at the Memorial Hall in Farringdon Street, made a powerful appeal for the support of all advocates of municipal reform, and then, sick of waiting for its sentence of death, the House of Commons eagerly co-operated with Government in winding up its business so that the dissolution of Parliament might be taken at the end of June. Mr. Chamberlain, in a remarkable speech at Southwark on the 9th of June, made high bid for the Labour vote, and the Irish Nonconformists published a manifesto imploring their co-religionists in England not to vote for a Home Rule Parliament, that would subject them to Catholic persecution. Their great convention in Belfast showed that the resistance of Ulster to any scheme of Home Rule to which it was not a party had been under-estimated by Mr. Gladstone. On the 20th of June Mr. Balfour told the House of Commons that Parliament would be dissolved on the 28th of July, and the country was soon deluged with election addresses.

The conflict of parties at the polls was rougher than usual, and there was a tendency to rowdiness at party meetings which recalled contests of the pre-reform era. In Ireland the fight was unusually savage—the priests taking a share in the battle that was scarcely compatible with the dignity of their office. The leaders on both sides in England endeavoured to confine the issue to Home Rule. Their followers, however, soon found that outside Ireland this question roused less interest than many others affecting the social condition of the masses and the claims of labour. The long pent-up animosity of the peasantry to the squirearchy and the clergy was not assuaged by the conciliatory agrarian legislation of the Government, and it was soon apparent that the strength of the Liberal party lay in the counties. The pollings were unusually heavy all round. The Liberal victory (marked, among other things, by the election of Mr. John Burns for Battersea), though complete, was not absolutely decisive, Mr. Gladstone having a

majority of only 40, including the Nationalist and Parnellite sections of the Irish party. The new Parliament met on the 4th of August, and Ministers resolved to retain office till ejected by formal vote of want of confidence. If they hoped in the course of the debate on the Address to extract from Mr. Gladstone some definite declaration of policy they were mistaken. The whole Opposition combined to support Mr. Asquith's amendment to the Address, and on the 12th of August the Government was defeated by a vote of 350 to 310. Ministers resigned on the 13th, and Mr. Gladstone was, for the fourth time in his career, Premier of England. He created much discontent among inexperienced politicians who imagined that his Cabinet would consist chiefly of representatives of the extreme Radical wing who had fought his battle in the country with unsparing zeal. On the contrary, it was largely composed, as might have been anticipated, of his old and tried colleagues. He himself became First Lord of the Treasury and Lord Privy Seal. Lord Herschell was Lord Chancellor; Lord Kimberley, Secretary of State for India and President of the Council; Lord Rosebery, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Lord Ripon, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Asquith, Home Secretary; Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Secretary for War; Lord Spencer, First Lord of the Admiralty; Sir William Harcourt, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. John Morley, Irish Secretary; Sir George Trevelyan, Secretary for Scotland; Mr. Mundella, President of the Board of Trade; Mr. Fowler, President of the Local Government Board; Mr. Arnold Morley, Postmaster-General; Mr. Arthur Acland, Vice-President of the Council; Mr. James Bryce, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; and Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Chief Commissioner of Works. This was considered, on the whole, a very strong combination of talent. Lord Houghton was Lord-Lieutenant for Ireland.

At the beginning of the year great interest was roused in Court circles by the announcement that the Queen in her annual trip to the land of flowers would visit Costabelle. This naturally brought to the front the district of Hyères, comparatively little known to English birds of passage in the Riviera. That it is nearer London by a hundred miles than Mentone was an advantage not to be overlooked. Her Majesty succeeded in renting two hotels, situated on a hill from which the eye can roam over a magnificent view undazed by the too near glare reflected from the sea. The death of her nephew, Prince Victor of Hohenlohe, on the 31st of December, caused much grief to the Royal Family—for the Prince, better known as Count Gleichen, was an amiable person who had devoted himself to sculpture with fair success after retiring from honourable service in the Royal Navy. Another death interfered with the Queen's plans in the spring when the Grand Duke of Hesse—husband of the Princess Alice—passed away on the 13th of March. This delayed the migration of the Court from Windsor to Hyères. On the 19th, however, the Queen started from Portsmouth for the South of France, and found on her arrival at Hyères that the local authorities had made every conceivable arrangement for her comfort, spending £1,000 on new roads and decorations alone. President Carnot's kind and sympathetic

telegram of welcome was waiting her, and her reply to it expressed in graceful and simple words her gratitude for the tact and kindness with which the people on her journey had respected her desire for the privacy needful to her after so many cruel bereavements. A veteran of Trafalgar, M. Cartigny, died at the time in Hyères, and the Queen ordered Sir Henry Ponsonby to attend his funeral as her representative and sent Mr. Childers as pall-bearer—a graceful courtesy which was highly pleasing to the chivalrous people of France. Residence at Hyères soon effected a marked improvement in the Queen's health and spirits, and she drove and walked about the country with the Princess Beatrice, and even made sketches of the scenery, renewing her practice of an old and favourite amusement. Three Crimean veterans were received by her and went away delighted by her kindness. Her gratitude for the courtesy which she met at all hands was substantially testified by a munificent donation to endow four new beds in the local hospital. She visited Toulon, and had a charming reception there. They toasted her health with great enthusiasm on every available opportunity at public banquets in the locality, and the Princess Beatrice was loaded with presents on her birthday, some of them being most curiously artistic and original in design. This delightful visit ended on the 25th of April, when the Queen went to Darmstadt, where she met amongst others the German Empress Frederick. On the 3rd of May her Majesty was home again at Windsor, and on the 20th, with the Princess Louise and Princess Beatrice and her children, she migrated to Balmoral. On the 24th she celebrated her seventy-fourth birthday, and among the honours that were distributed was a peerage conferred on Prince George of Wales, who became Duke of York, Earl of Inverness, and Baron Killarney. On the 22nd of June the Queen returned to Windsor, in view of the approaching dissolution of Parliament. On the 27th she laid the foundation of a new church at Aldershot, and afterwards reviewed a march past of the troops. Life at Court was brightened by a visit from the young Duke d'Aosta, heir to the Crown of Italy. Clarence House, however, now became a centre of social interest, because of the betrothal of the Duke of Edinburgh's daughter, the Princess Marie, to Prince Ferdinand of Roumania. This led to a visit from the King and Prince of Hohenzollern, and many other quiet festivities in the Royal circle. Their visit was followed by one from His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda and his family, to whom her Majesty gave a particularly gracious reception. But the most distinguished of all her Majesty's guests this year was the young German Emperor, who came to Cowes for the yachting season, entering his cutter the *Meteor* for many races.

With the appointment of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry on the 18th of August the record of England and the Court during the Queen's Twelfth Parliament may fitly come to an end.

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